

The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam

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The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam

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To my parents
David H. Baird
and
Bertis Lee Baird

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Introduction*

*in quo multis annis vixi sacerdos et predicator
existens, et multa vidi et in multis provinciis
habitavi et multa didici*

I

"I have been in this Order for many years as priest and preacher: I have lived in many provinces, seen many things, and learned much." At the time he wrote these words in 1283, Salimbene de Adam had indeed been many years in the Franciscan Order — almost half a century. He had indeed seen and learned many things, and he has left a vivid account of them in his *Cronica*. It is this great wealth of personal experience recorded in simple, unpretentious style that makes his *Chronicle* one of the richest sources of information about medieval life to have come down to us. The work is simply a vast storehouse of information about the people and events of that turbulent and troubled era of thirteenth-century Italy, recording its remarkable excesses of extreme cruelty and extreme sanctity, of ecclesiastic greed and saintly otherworldliness, of religious fervor and heretical deviance. And although he shares that common fault of medieval chroniclers, lack of discrimination with respect to the relative importance of the events he records — under the year 1282, for example, he devotes about the same amount of space to a scourge of caterpillars as to an account of the infamous Sicilian Vespers — his work is still of monumental importance as an historical record of the time. Salimbene was an eyewitness of the many events and changes that were taking place in the early Franciscan Order, and he has taken care to set them down in his history. One of the most frequently recurrent phrases in the *Chronicle*, in fact, is *ut vidi oculis meis*, and many of these events that he "saw with his own eyes" have been re-

*This Introduction was written by J. L. Baird. Yet the contribution of my colleague, Giuseppe Baglivi, must be gratefully acknowledged here. Professor Baglivi's suggestions and criticism, especially with respect to Italian scholarship on Salimbene, have been invaluable.

ported to us only by him. Yet in those instances where his facts can be checked against outside sources, the *Chronicle* has been shown to be generally trustworthy and reliable, even in the harsh account of Brother Elias, for example, where all of Salimbene's most violent prejudices have been engaged to blacken the character of a man he so evidently disliked.¹ Salvatorelli may have been guilty of some exaggeration in designating the *Chronicle* as "the greatest work of Italian historiography of the thirteenth century,"² but it would be difficult indeed to find a modern scholarly work dealing with thirteenth-century Italian history generally or with the early development of the Franciscan Order specifically which does not rely heavily on Brother Salimbene's work. The *Chronicle*, for example, provides us with information about daily life among the early Franciscans which we get from no other source, and, most importantly, the *Chronicle* is virtually our only source of information about the spread of Joachimist thought in the Franciscan Order before 1250. Without Salimbene, to take a specific instance, we would scarcely be aware that the famous Hugh of Digne was considered by his contemporaries to be a *magnus Joachita*.³

It is not, however, in such purely factual matter of history that the real fascination of Salimbene lies; it is rather in the fleshing out of that history, in the full rounded quality imparted by his choice little anecdotes, incidental details, and extremely vivid and striking vignettes, employed as often as not to illuminate totally insignificant events and people. Such, for example, is the account of Brother Aldebrand of the unlovely head, who had to suffer under the witty humor of his fellow friar—"you must have had an ugly Form in the mind of God"—and who was terribly embarrassed and confused when it fell his turn to sing the antiphon which began *Caput draconis*, "head of the dragon." Similar in its vivid, almost iconographic, quality is the picture of the Dominican friars with heads bent down over the privy searching for a lost relic while the Franciscan Detesalve stirs up the excrement violently in order to give them the full brunt of the odor. It does not really matter, in fact, whether some of the stories Salimbene reports ever actually took place or not. What does matter is that many people apparently did believe that they occurred. As Augustine once remarked about the creatures of the bestiaries, it is of little importance whether certain of the creatures ever existed or not; what is important is the higher truth that they represent. One could scarce imagine, for example, a more perfect distillation of the hatred and distrust for unauthorized and semi-heretical religious movements of the thirteenth century than Salimbene's picture of Gerard Segarello, leader of the sect of the so-called Apostles, seeking to imitate Christ by lying in a straw-filled manger suckling the breasts of a pure virgin. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a reading of Salimbene *in toto* gives one a greater "feel" for the Middle Ages than any amount of reading in more purely factual histories. Coulton once called the *Chronicle* "the most remarkable autobiography of the Middle Ages."⁴ It is, in a very large sense, an apt description, and yet, although Salimbene is "never reluctant to include himself and his own opinions in the details of his vast canvas,"⁵ it seems an odd

shrinking of things to restrict his work to such dimensions. Only if the term *autobiography* were used in the same breath to apply to the work of those later, greater writers Dante and Boccaccio (with whom Salimbene has so much in common) could one be completely happy with such a designation. "In a familiar way," a recent scholar has written, Salimbene "mixes in his own history with the history of the world and the history of his Order."⁶ Certainly, the *Chronicle* is a most remarkable record of an age, filtered through the consciousness of a thirteenth-century Franciscan friar, who was at the same time, somehow, an intensely aware, worldly man of the world.

II

At the time that Salimbene joined the Franciscans in 1238, the Order was not yet fully formed; the movement still partook of the nature of a kind of bizarre experiment, whose final form and structure no one had as yet envisioned. And although the signs of things to come were already there in abundance (and had been even before the death of St. Francis), those numerous, thorough-going compromises with the real world, which were eventually to make the friars the most popular subject of ridicule and satire in medieval literature, had not yet been made. The papacy had not yet granted to the Order those various and sundry privileges, which were abhorrent to the very soul of St. Francis.⁷ By the time Salimbene was engaged in the task of writing (1283–1288), on the other hand, the Order had made its peace with the world: it possessed its own famous and learned scholars; it had become, *de facto* if not *de jure*, rich in property and goods; it had already addressed itself to the task of silencing the Spiritual Brothers (who were far closer to St. Francis' original ideals than their critics), a program which was to lead ultimately to their total suppression, and indeed almost to the destruction of the very Order itself.⁸ The Order had, in short, come to terms with harsh reality (perhaps inevitably if it was to continue to exist), while still espousing ideals which it no longer embodied. Salimbene is himself a perfect exemplar of the inherent contradictions which are characteristic of his Order. He tells us, for example, that on first entering the Order he was taken into the infirmary where he was given the finest kind of meal (*optime comedere*), but that ever afterward (*omnibus diebus vite mee*) he had to content himself with cabbages, which he thoroughly despised. Yet there is little cabbage-eating recorded thereafter, while there is registered a great deal of concern with fine food and drink. On one occasion, for example, he tells us that

We had, first of all, cherries and, later, the finest white bread; "Wine also in abundance and of the best was presented, as was worthy of a king's magnificence" [Esther 1.7]. And in the Gallic manner many were invited and "compelled to drink," although they "were not willing" [Esther 1.8]. After-

ward, we had fresh beans cooked in milk, fish, crabs, eel-cakes, rice in almond milk and grated cinnamon, roasted eel in splendid sauce, cakes, cheese, and fruit in abundance.

It is true that this was an exceptional case, since he was eating with King Louis of France. Yet on another occasion he records that a certain countess had him and his Brother companion to dinner, and although she placed before them twelve different dishes, Salimbene expresses the regret that the count, her husband, was not at home, since he would have fed them even more lavishly. Also at one point he speaks of eating frequently with a cardinal: "We had a great abundance of fine food, and"—he finishes off the idea, as so frequently, with a quotation from the Bible—"wine in abundance and of the best was presented,' [Esther 1.7] with all kinds of delicacies. Then I began," he adds delightfully with his charming and naive candor, "to love the cardinal, according to the words of Proverbs 19 [.6]: 'Many honour the person of him that is mighty, and are friends of him that giveth gifts.'" Moreover, Salimbene shows an extraordinary interest in wines, at one moment pronouncing on the relative merits of the wines of various regions, at the next setting down snatches of poetry that he remembers on the subject. The French, he recalls with relish, are accustomed to say that wine should have three *b*'s and seven *f*'s:

El vin bons e bele e blance,
forte e fer e fin e franble,
fredo e fras e formijant.

Similarly, in his various accounts of people Salimbene exhibits a kind of vain pride in his worldly associations not altogether becoming to a follower of St. Francis. He rarely reports of any rich and powerful person, for example, without remarking on his own close friendship with him. A rather extreme case perhaps, but one which illustrates the point very well, is his account of Lord Nazario Ghirardine, a wealthy nobleman of Lucca: "A handsome and wealthy man, Lord Nazario was a close friend of mine, whom I became acquainted with while I was living in the convent of the Friars Minor at Lucca." And his beautiful wife, Lady Fior-doliva, was *mihi familiaris et devota*. Yet as Salimbene goes on to tell us, this Lord Nazario, at the time that he was podestà of Trent, had taken this woman away from her husband and brought her back with him to Lucca, where he then had to dispose of his own connubial encumbrance by sending her off to one of his castles to live out her days. Now, it may be that these awkward little arrangements had taken place in the far distant past and been duly repented of—but Salimbene does not say so. Salimbene's immediate point of departure is the good these people did for the Order, but clearly he cannot help insinuating into his account his own personal friendship with the rich and powerful. He is on such intimate terms with the lady, in fact, that he knows her feelings (*ut mihi dixit*) of having been taken advantage of in her remarriage after the death of Lord Nazario. Similarly,

he reports at another time of his intimate conversation with a lady on the frivolous subject of women's fashions. Now, these attitudes are characteristic of the gregarious and worldly side of Salimbene's personality: he delights in reporting that the pope spoke with him in his private chambers, *familiariter*; that this nobleman was his close friend; that that lady was his intimate *amica*. Furthermore, he almost never fails to note the beauty of the particular woman under discussion — *pulchra domina, pinguis et carnosus*, "a beautiful lady, fleshy, and well-formed," becomes almost a beauty formula which is repeated over and over again in the *Chronicle*. Placed alongside the ideals of St. Francis, these attitudes are, of course, very striking, and they become a kind of measure of the distance the Order had travelled since the death of its founding saint. Yet there is another side to Salimbene which it would be a mistake to leave out of the balance. Without the least sense of contradiction, he sounds sharp warnings against the dangers of intimate contact with women, incorporates large sections of antifeminism into the chronicle, and roundly condemns certain frivolous lay brothers for their familiar conversations with women. Moreover, this lowliest of the friars in the Order, as he calls himself in the traditional formula (*cuius Ordinis modicus et infimus frater sum ego*), expounds at length on humility, and his highest praise is reserved for those who exhibit this virtue. Salimbene is nothing if not ambivalent.

A like ambivalence is expressed in his account of his family. "I, Brother Salimbene, and my brother, Guido de Adam," he writes, "destroyed our house in both the male and the female line by entering the Religious Order, so that we might build it up again in heaven." Nevertheless, his lengthy family record, with its unconscious stress on worldly stability and success, strikes an odd note alongside this statement. Even his story of his father's efforts to get him out of the Order stresses power and influence. His father complained to the Emperor Frederick, and the emperor wrote the Minister General on his behalf. His father hoped that Pope Innocent IV would intervene to help him achieve his aim of retrieving his son, for he knew the pope very well, and besides "my father's daughter Maria had married Lord Azzone, who was a relative of Lord Guarino, the pope's brother-in-law." Unfortunately, *morte preventus* (as Salimbene laconically remarks) his father failed once again, but Salimbene believed that the pope would not have acquiesced in any case, "though he might have elevated me to a bishopric or some other high office." And half a century after his renunciation of the world, Salimbene still remembers with what can only be described as a kind of wistful regret the property that "I used to own" in Gainaco. It appears likely too that this kind of pride in family background affects Salimbene's attitude toward the lay brothers of the Order, for whom he has great contempt. At one point, for instance, he complains that men who were noble and influential in secular life are, on entering the Order, placed in subordinate positions to men who are not only ignorant and unlearned but are deficient with respect to birth (*qui natus erit ex genere non satis claro*).

How shocking that last notion would have been to the Poverello of Assisi! On

the other hand, modern scholars have looked too much askance at Salimbene's "worldliness" and have as a result tended to misrepresent his religious position. Recently, for example, Duane Lapsanski has measured Salimbene by the standards of the *vir evangelicus* and dismissed him abruptly as "*der charmante und geistreiche* 'Gentleman,'" a statement punctuated as a recent reviewer remarks (though, be it noted, without any attempt at rebuttal) with "indignant exclamation marks."⁹ Moreover, Nino Scivoletto speaks of Salimbene's essential paganism, and argues that his joining the Order was merely the result of a youthful enthusiasm, which soon waned.¹⁰ There is absolutely no evidence for this in the *Chronicle*. Judged simply from those things he admired on the one hand and had the deepest hatred for on the other, Salimbene must be given very high marks indeed for the "proper" attitude. For despite his transparent concern with power and influence, the real heroes of the *Chronicle* are basic, simple, holy men of deep spiritual persuasion, men like the saintly John of Parma. And in his stories of such men, "which maintain at all times a popular tone, there is an atmosphere of naive, candid, and sweet mysticism, which recalls the Fioretti," as Scivoletto oddly but correctly remarks in another context.¹¹ There is, in fact, a strain of the mystical in Salimbene's own make-up: he seems to slip very easily out of the real, everyday world into a semi-mystical, visionary experience, and he reports these events in the most homey and commonplace of terms, as if it were the most natural thing in the world to speak face to face with the Holy Virgin or Jesus Christ himself. He tells us, for example, that after his confrontation with his father the Blessed Mary rewarded him for his steadfastness by appearing to him while he was at prayer. She held the Christ child in her arms, and when she reached the child out to him, he was abashed and refused him. Yet gaining confidence, he took the child, embraced and kissed him, and held him for a long time. "But when I could not get enough of him, the Holy Virgin blessed me and said, 'Go, go quietly, beloved son, lest the friars, arising for Matins, find you here with us.'" And on another occasion during his early days in the Order when he was somewhat embarrassed to go forth and beg, he had a vision of the entire Holy Family going as mendicants from door to door helping him to fill his basket.

Moreover, it is an important fact of Salimbene's religious temperament that he reserves his most virulent criticism for those ecclesiastical authorities who misuse their office, who support their lovers and kinsmen with Church wealth, who are guilty of simony, of lust, of greed, of misuse of power, of simple neglect of the cure of souls. He reports shocking stories of women unsafe in the confessional, of a director of an orphanage who allows children to die unbaptised in order to save expenses for his institution. He spares neither pope nor priest. With great gusto, he reports at length and in detail, for example, Hugh of Digne's mordant attack on the papal court: you are *carpinales* (grabbers) not *cardinales*, he thunders. Salimbene's basic religious feelings are, in short, exceedingly difficult to pinpoint; he is exasperatingly ambiguous, vague, and flatly contradictory. How is one to interpret him, for example, when he takes such obvious delight in relating an

anecdote with a mildly obscene punchline, but then follows the story up with a long section enumerating eight reasons why one should not speak so dishonorably, but then follows *this* up with a section laying out three reasons why it is entirely proper to use such *inhonesta verba*, with both sides of the question being lent weighty authority by abundant quotation from the Scripture. In like manner, one is quite surprised to hear him lamenting at one point that many friars gain positions of authority and importance merely on the strength of their family connections, when earlier (as noted above) he had complained of just the opposite. A list of all such contradictions and ambiguities in the *Chronicle*—frequently with no thesis to promote at all—would be quite lengthy. And such discrepancies do not seem to arise merely out of a querulous temperament which seeks assiduously for something, anything, to complain about. They seem, rather, to be a product of a distinct duality of religious temper, which has never fully come to terms with itself. For all his seeming simplicity, Salimbene is a very complex personality, and it does little to advance understanding of him as Franciscan friar (and, by extension, something of the general spirit of the Order in the second half of the thirteenth century) to simply dismiss him out of hand as a worldly, unspiritual man whose “standards were not those of a true friar minor,”¹² whatever a “true” Franciscan of the late thirteenth century might be conceived to be. To observe, for example, that Salimbene was never more than a “*pro forma* follower of St. Francis”¹³ is quite accurate, of course, but it gives the wrong impression. Friars of Salimbene’s temperament were not unusual in the second half of the thirteenth century; what is unusual is that one of them—Salimbene—sat down and, with rather startling openness and candor, recorded his thoughts for us. To see how far from the spirit of St. Francis the Order has moved as early as 1257, for instance, one need only read the letter issued by Bonaventure immediately after he had assumed the Minister Generalate. Even with allowances made for the hyperbole of the reformer, the divergences from the ideal are alarming. John Moorman has provided a succinct summary of the list:

First the multiplicity of ways in which money is being obtained, then the laziness of the friars, their wandering about, their importunate begging whereby people are as fearful of meeting a friar as of meeting a robber, the grandeur of their buildings, their over-friendliness with certain people (presumably the rich and influential), the unwise bestowal of office in the Order, a greedy desire for burials and legacies, frequent changes from simple dwellings to more sumptuous ones, and general luxuriousness of living.¹⁴

In contrast to such fulminations from figures of authority, Salimbene’s *Chronicle* is important as our most complete record from the standpoint of the average friar of these deviations from the original Franciscan ideal.

III

For all its richness and variety, however, at times the Chronicle is, it must be admitted, an extremely loose and disjunctive kind of work, wherein the reading sometimes becomes a tedious process of attempting to sort out the labyrinthine argument with its catalogues within catalogues and numerous anecdotes illustrating points and sub-points. For at times Salimbene simply does not have the slightest sense of proper — which is perhaps to say *modern* — structure and form: he will interrupt himself in the midst of a discussion to follow up an idea or ideas which have only the most tenuous connection to the matter in hand (laying the whole process out, ironically, in highly structured form, with a scholastic-sounding *primus*, *secundus*, etc.), and then haphazardly return to his proper subject many pages later without the slightest nod to his struggling reader. In the long narration of his vision of Christ, for example — which, including the interruptions, takes up some eleven pages in Scalia's edition — he interrupts the account twice without any overt sign whatsoever to indicate where vision ends and personal moralization begins. At one point within the vision Christ touches upon God's goodness to mankind, and this theme sets Salimbene off. In a long digression (about five pages in Scalia), he feels called upon to prove this goodness by citation of Scripture and authority, while the theme itself gradually shifts from general divine benevolence to the rewards God gives his "servants," which in Salimbene usually means the Friars Minor. Finally the whole is capped by an exemplum dear to the hearts of the friars illustrating the rewards of generous alms-giving, a tale which in its length and inherent interest tends to take over and overwhelm the original thesis being illustrated. During the course of this lengthy and disruptive digression, Salimbene cites some twenty-seven different passages from the Bible and two (one twice) from the Fathers, gives seven illustrative examples from saints' lives, and one long story from the *History of the Lombards*. Then suddenly, without warning, he returns abruptly to his vision: *Igitur in visione mea Domino meo dixi*. After a few words of exchange between Christ and the dreamer, he once again interrupts to illustrate the points raised with numerous Scriptural quotations, and then again returns abruptly to the vision.

But perhaps the most egregious example of Salimbene's odd and distracting tendency to stray erratically from his subject comes at the end of the "Book of the Prelate," where he starts off to sum up his harsh invective against Brother Elias. "If anyone were to ask," he begins, "what Elias looked like in physical appearance, I can say that he looked almost exactly like Hugo of Reggio, who was called Hugo Paucapalea." Then he continues for the rest of the paragraph discussing, of all things, Brother Hugo: this Brother Hugo was a great orator and preacher, with a huge stock of proverbs, exempla, and anecdotes, and he was famous for his attacks on the enemies of the Franciscan Order. One such enemy was Master Guido Bonatti of Forli, whom Hugo so confounded that he neither dared to open his mouth nor show his face, etc., etc. So, to the end of the

paragraph. Then the next, and the final paragraph of the "Book of the Prelate" begins, "But enough of Brother Elias."

The most disruptive, at times downright annoying, element in the *Chronicle*, however, is Salimbene's inveterate habit of quoting Scripture at every possible opportunity. Sometimes in order to illustrate the most mundane point, he will fill page after page with nothing more than Scriptural citations strung loosely together. At all times, the Bible is his constant point of reference, molding the way he sees things and supplying him with a ready-made descriptive phrase. He opens an account of a battle between the Cremonese and Milanese, for example, with the words "And behold suddenly there came a sound." The quotation is from Acts describing the events at Pentecost, and it is employed here only because that particular battle took place on the day of Pentecost. This kind of incidental use of Scripture, usually without any substantive connection at all to the events being described, is extremely common in the *Chronicle*, and it indicates well — far better, certainly, than his long set quotations — the full living quality that the Bible had for Salimbene. It is surprising, in fact, how fully biblical phrase and expression has entered into the fibre of Salimbene's style. He scarcely seems to be able to describe the coming together of a large group of people, for example, without using the words of Psalms 148.12, "young men and maidens . . . the old with the younger," a phrase which he employs again and again in like descriptive contexts. Similarly, the description of a death-bed scene seems to bring automatically into play the words of I Machabees 6.8, "he laid himself down upon his bed." Sometimes this incidental use of Scripture draws the modern reader up short with rather shocking effect, as when, for example, Salimbene uses the august words of Daniel 7.9, "ancient of days," simply to characterize an old man.

Salimbene was, in fact, somewhat excessively proud of his knowledge of the Bible. At one point, he recounts how he summed up a situation beautifully with an apt quotation from the Bible and how he was admired by his audience for his ability. At another, he tells us that he pointed out to Hugh of Digne how, during his famous diatribe against the papal court, the Cardinals could have confounded him from the Scripture itself if they had been knowledgeable enough — and he proudly cites the biblical passages. One thing is certain, Salimbene fully demonstrates this ability within the context of the *Chronicle*. Sometimes he seems to feel the need to fulfill the function of a regular biblical concordance for his reader — at one point he does indeed tell us that he has cited at length for the benefit of those who would preach on the subject. In discussing the proper qualities of a good prelate and pastor, for example, he quotes some ten different biblical passages relevant to the point, one after the other without comment. In another instance, he even gives a biblical quotation inside a biblical quotation. For the modern reader, certainly, these are the dullest, most wooden and monotonous, sections of the *Chronicle*.

Yet one should avoid the temptation to skip over these sections as merely extraneous and otiose, for such biblical usage is clearly a very basic quality of

Salimbene's mode of thinking, and indeed often illuminates his habit of mind better than anything else could. Frequently in his hand, in fact, biblical citation has a solid and effective rhetorical function within the framework of the argument being presented. In the "Book of the Prelate," for example, he suddenly draws up short from his criticism of Brother Elias to incorporate a long section which he entitles "Six kinds of men are said to have called out to God." He then sets out to enumerate these groups, always with copious biblical quotation to support his point. The first are the Children of Israel in Egyptian captivity; the second, the Children of Israel under the hard reign of Roboam, Solomon's son; the third, the holy fathers crying out from limbo; fourth, the converts of the early Church; fifth, also the members of the early Church. The sixth and final group is the Order of the Friars Minor which cried out to Pope Gregory IX against the intolerable burden of that worst Minister General, Brother Elias. Now, this section is certainly flat enough with its constant biblical quotation (fifty or so within four of Scalia's pages) and its digressions (within this series of six Salimbene incorporates a series of three about the foolish acts of Roboam). Nevertheless, by the time he reaches *sexto et ultimo*, Salimbene has managed to enlist the whole authority of the Old and New Testaments and the Early Church against Brother Elias. It is an extremely effective device.

Moreover, Salimbene furnishes an excellent example of early Franciscan biblical interpretation. He makes very specific application of biblical passages to Minorite affairs, or, more precisely, he sees certain Scriptures as having been written specifically to or about the Franciscan Order. In recounting the deposition of Brother Elias, for example, he quotes Psalms 10.14, 17, and supplies his own gloss: "To thee is the poor man left: thou wilt be a helper to the orphan. . . . The Lord hath heard the desire of the poor,' that is to say, when he caused Elias to be deposed by Pope Gregory IX; 'thy ear hath heard the preparation of their heart,' that is to say, when the Ministers and Custodians of the Order, inspired from heaven, chose that good man Brother Albert of Pisa as Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor." Furthermore, Christ spoke directly to the Franciscans in the Scripture: "What the Lord says to the Order of the Friars Minor in the Psalm [49.15] is noteworthy: 'Call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.' And the Order responds to Him [Psalms 17.7]: 'In my affliction I called upon the Lord, and I cried to my God: And he heard my voice from his holy temple: and my cry before him came into his ears.'" Moreover, when Brother Elias began to suspect that the Provincial Ministers and Custodians were seeking to depose him, Salimbene informs us, he sent instructions out to the whole Order that Psalms 79 was to be read in the daily service, for "the entire psalm appears to pertain to the Order of the Blessed Francis, and it, in fact, contains as many verses as the number of years that St. Francis lived in the Order, that is to say, twenty." And so, to Salimbene's amazement, the psalm was repeated every day for a full month; yet, as one might expect, Salimbene nevertheless manages to reinterpret the psalm so as to put Elias in a bad light. More

generally (though one suspects they always have a specific application for Salimbene), the words of Ecclesiasticus 11.33, "blot on the elect," are almost invariably evoked by an account of anyone seeking to do harm to the Order.

Salimbene's interminable Scripture-quoting does, however, have its lighter side: it is simply delightful to hear him bandying about Scriptural quotations with Jesus Christ himself, as he does in one of his visions. "Why is it, Lord," he asks Christ pointedly, that there are contradictions in your Word, quoting seemingly contradictory biblical passages. Patiently and at length, Christ justifies the apparent contradictions, citing his own series of Scriptural passages in support of his argument. Later, Salimbene raises the question of the Jews. "Why is it, Lord," to which Christ answers that the Jews have always hated him and his friends and thereupon quotes seven passages from the Bible to demonstrate it, and then cites further Scripture to prove the Jews wrong when they accuse him of injustice. And when Salimbene very sensibly replies that the Jews take these Scriptures to be about the God of Moses, not the Son of Mary, Christ confounds him with a multitude of new quotations, at times providing, like Salimbene himself, his own gloss: "Whence Job says, 16 [.12], 'God hath shut me up with the unjust man,' that is to say, Pilate, 'and hath delivered me into the hands of the wicked,' that is to say, the Jews."

IV

Salimbene has an acute eye for the striking, significant detail, by which he renders a character or event full-rounded, solid, unforgettable.¹⁵ Few medieval writers—Dante comes immediately to mind, and perhaps Froissart—have managed to capture so fully the spirit of an age by means of so large an array of discrete, particularized, historical characters starkly depicted in all their greatness and triviality. There is the saintly Brother Rainald of Arezzo, agonizing in his soul over having accepted a bishopric and eventually returning to the simple, pure life of a lowly mendicant; there is Cecilia, the harsh, unmerciful abbess of Chiavari, who heartlessly cast out a nun, and who, stricken by God and unable to confess or take the Sacrament, died crying out repeatedly, "Go and take in that Sister. Go and take in that Sister. God has struck me because of her"; and the vindictive old nun who, in her vengeful piety, calls down God's wrath on the cruel abbess; there is Boncompagno, of the University of Bologna, famous author and lecturer on the *ars dictaminis*, playfully announcing that on such and such a day he will fly from a mountain top, and, the people having gathered, calling down scornfully from his great height, "Go, with God's blessing, and let it suffice that you have looked upon the face of Boncompagno"; there are the nameless friars who, having granted Salimbene's father permission to speak with his son alone, nevertheless listen curiously behind the doors; and Brother Gerard of Modena, who suddenly interrupts his sermon before a large audience, covers his head with his hood, sinks

into meditation, and, after a long period of silence, comes to himself and intones the solemn words of Apocalypse 1.10, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day," informing the people that he had just had a vision of John of Vicenza preaching on such and such a text in such and such a town—all of which he had planned beforehand with his fellow preachers; and there is Salimbene's own *bête noir*, Brother Elias, who in his *rusticitate* refuses to acknowledge the presence of the podestà of Parma by rising from his luxurious couch. The list could go on and on.

Even with famous men he never personally knew, Salimbene seems to have an unerring ability, which he again shares with Dante, to focus on their distinguishing characteristic and render it in a scene which seems to capture the very essence of the personality. Such, for example, is his description of that magnificent pope, Innocent III, holding up the seamless robe of the Lord and measuring it to himself, thinking, "The Lord must have been a man of small stature." And such also is his portrait of Alberigo da Romano (that very *membrum diaboli* and *filius iniquitatis*, as Salimbene calls him) obscenely baring his bottom and turning it up to the heavens in derision of God; or his report of Frederick II's remark that if God had seen *his* land of Sicily and Apulia, he would never have spoken so highly of the Promised Land; or fierce old Pellavicino setting up gibbets to demonstrate his course of action if any wild flagellant dare set foot in his territory.

Salimbene also has a good ear for language, and is, in fact, something of an amateur linguist. His charming story of a possessed peasant illustrates this interest very well indeed: a peasant possessed of a devil was brought to a certain convent of the Friars Minor, and one of the friars spoke to him, saying that he would know him to be a devil if he would use the Latin language. When the demon replied, however, he used such poor Latin that the friar, much amused, rallied him insultingly about his incorrect grammar. Whereupon the demon replied indignantly, "I can speak as good a Latin as you, but this peasant's tongue is so thick and ill-adapted to speech that I can scarcely make use of it." Salimbene demonstrates this interest in language in various ways in the *Chronicle*, at one moment preserving for us an old Tuscan proverb, *D'ohmo alevandhiço et de pioclo apicadhiço no po l'ohm gaudére*, which he then translates literally into Latin, "There is no pleasure to be had from a stranger nor from a clinging louse," and then, rather amusingly, goes on to explain, "that is to say, 'you can take no more pleasure in a stranger you are harboring than in some one else's louse which is clinging to you.'" At the next, he shows an alert interest in dialectal usage. In relating an anecdote which involves a *vasculum vini*, "vessel of wine," for example, he pauses long enough to note that the Tuscans call this a *flasconus*, the Lombards, a *botacium*; or, in another case, on mentioning a *domum ad hospitandum*, "hostel," he adds "which the Pisans call a *fundicum*." Again, we find him preserving a particularly vivid French expression, such as King John of Jerusalem's angry exclamation to Frederick II, *fi de becer diable*, "you son of a butcher!" or the drinking toast, which, he informs us, the English customarily use, *Ge bi a vo*; or, again, the splendid little retort of the priest to those Frenchmen who resorted to him early in the morn-

ing to get holy water with which to cleanse their wine-reddened eyes: *Alé! Ke mal onta ve do Dé! Metti de l'aighe in le vins, non in lis ocli*, "which is to say," as Salimbene literally translates, "Get out of here! God's curses on you! Put the water in your wine when you have to drink, not in your eyes." Even more important is his preservation of numerous bits and pieces of vernacular poetry in both French and Italian, as, for example, that satirical couplet, occasioned, as he remarks, by that evil Elias and sung by the peasants and children whenever they meet a friar in the byways of Tuscany:

Hor atorno fratt' Helya,
ke pres'ha la mala via.

There goes old Brother Elias,
Not too good and not too pious.

As Edward Peters rightly notes, "Salimbene provides us with information concerning popular religious and lay poetry and music which is hard to find at all outside his *Chronicle*."¹⁶

V

Salimbene de Adam was born in Parma to Guido and Immelda de Adam on October 9, 1221. "Lifted from the baptismal font" by Balian of Sidon—as he himself tells us, and then, characteristically, supplies two different sources of this information which, one would have thought, hardly needed documentation—he was christened with his godfather's name. Yet while he was known to neighbors and outsiders as Balian of Sidon (rather Balian of Sagitta by mistake, he notes), within his own family he was called simply Ognibene, a name which he, in fact, carried with him into the Order. It was not until he was in his teens after he had joined the Franciscans that he received the name by which he is known to history. Soon after his entry into the Order, he met an old friar who "was, as he told me himself, the last Brother whom St. Francis himself received into the Order. Hearing that I was called Ognibene, he was astonished, and he said to me, 'Son, "none is good but God alone" [Luke 18.19]. Rather, let your name be Brother Salimbene, because you have made a good leap by entering a good religious order.'" And *Salimbene* it was, of course, to be henceforth, though, as he himself wryly remarks, he would have preferred Dionysius, on whose feast day he was born. The son of wealthy parents of well-established, though probably not noble, family,¹⁷ Salimbene could have looked forward to a comfortable worldly existence, but suddenly on February 4, 1238, apparently without any warning whatsoever, he renounced this world absolutely by joining the Order of the Minorites, an act for which his father never forgave him.

Yet Salimbene probably exaggerates his father's efforts to get him out of the

Order. At one point, for example, he reports that his father had offered a reward for his capture and had hired pirates to kidnap him; nevertheless, whenever he meets emissaries from home, as he does a number of times, they seem to content themselves merely with harsh words to him, which Salimbene then counters with appropriate Biblical citation. Whatever the case, Salimbene's account of his fiery encounter with his father is almost certainly more a matter of fabrication after the fact than report of actual events.¹⁸ For both St. Francis' similar renunciation and the Gospel version of Christ's third temptation in the wilderness seem to have supplied him with models. Moreover, the account may well have received its initial impetus from St. Bernard's famous letter to the family of a young man who had just joined the Cistercian Order (from which Salimbene quotes immediately after the report of the encounter), since the letter has the same general theme of renunciation of parents and employs the same significant Bible verse that Salimbene quotes to his father. All of which is not to say, of course, that life does not sometimes imitate art, but, on the whole, it seems more likely that Salimbene is guided more by a desire for edification than by everyday factual truth. In any case, Guido de Adam's distress is certainly understandable, since Salimbene's entry into the Order deprived him of his last possible heir. For although there were three other sons, one, Guido, had preceded Salimbene into the Order; another, Nicholas, had died early, probably in childhood; and the third, John, was illegitimate.

Salimbene entered the Order just twelve years after the death of St. Francis, while some of the first members of the Order were still alive, and he met, as he tells us, both the first and the last friar that St. Francis himself had received into the Order. He lived for a time in a convent, in fact, with Francis' first companion, the revered Brother Bernard of Quintavalle, who related to him and the other young friars many stories about the founding saint. Soon after becoming a Franciscan, Salimbene came under the influence of the writings of Joachim of Fiore. The event as he records it is of great historical interest, for it is the earliest record that has come down to us of the infusion of Joachimism into the Franciscan Order,¹⁹ a mode of thought which was to assume remarkable prominence among the Spirituals of the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century. "I had heard of this doctrine earlier when I was living in Pisa," Salimbene notes as a kind of afterthought in his record of events of a later time,

where I was taught it by a certain abbot of the Order of Fiore, an old and holy man, who had collected and stored in the convent at Pisa all the books by Joachim that he owned, since he was afraid that the Emperor Frederick would destroy his own monastery, which lies between Pisa and Lucca on the road to Luni. For he believed that in Frederick all the mysteries were to be fulfilled at that time, because Frederick had such great discord with the Church. And it was because of this collection of Joachim's books in our convent that Brother Rudolph of Saxony, who was lector at Pisa, a great

logician, theologian, and debater, laid aside his study of theology and became a great Joachite.

Salimbene gives no precise date for this event, but it probably took place in the early 1240's, since we know that he was living in Pisa from 1243–1247. Brief as it is, the account betrays something of the type of thought that had developed out of Joachimism at this early stage. It will be noted, for example, that the abbot fled his monastery not out of fear of an impending attack by the Emperor nor even because of any overt Imperial threat, but because "he believed that in Frederick all the mysteries were to be fulfilled." Salimbene never fully recovered from this early exposure to Joachimism. Later, without express permission, he leaves the University of Paris where he had been sent for study and makes his way to Hyères in order to hear the Joachimist lectures of Hugh of Digne. Hugh is for him a *magnus Joachita* and so is the Minister General John of Parma, but the term, with the proper adjustments being made, might well be applied to the chronicler himself. For although he specifically dissociated himself from the movement—a politic thing to do in the late thirteenth century—he does not attempt to conceal his extraordinary interest in Joachimist and pseudo-Joachimist writings, and again and again he recounts an event and then sums it up with such words as *ideo verificatum videtur verbum abbatis Ioachym*. Thus it is, too, that he reports his amazement on hearing of the death of Frederick II, the Antichrist figure of Joachimist thinking:

Horui, cum audirem, et vix potui credere. Eram enim Iohachita et credebam et expectabam et sperabam quod adhuc Fridericus maiora mala esset facturus quam illa que fecerat, quamvis multa fecisset.

When I heard this, I was horrified and could scarcely believe it. For I was a Joachite, and I fully believed, and even hoped, that Frederick would do even greater wicked deeds in the future than he had yet done, numerous as his past evils had already been.

It was, in fact, the emperor's death and the passing of the year 1260—that portentous year for the Joachites—which cured him, or so he relates, of his Joachimism:

Sed postquam mortuus est Fridericus, qui imperator iam fuit, et annus millesimus ducentessimus sexagesimus est elapsus, dimisi totaliter istam doctrinam et dispono non credere nisi que videro.

But after the death of the Emperor Frederick and the passing of the year 1260, I completely abandoned that doctrine, and, from now on, I intend to believe only what I can see.

Despite this "cure," however, it must be borne in mind that Salimbene was writing the *Chronicle* in 1283–1288, a few short years before his death, and at that time

he is still narrating events and remarking, "and this is what the Abbot Joachim predicted." Certainly, it is true that Joachimism is a very important element in the *Chronicle*, an aspect of Salimbene's work which has yet to receive definitive scholarly treatment.²⁰

Despite a certain tendentious and (it must have been) annoying element in his character, Salimbene was apparently a very gregarious kind of man who made friends easily. And if the number and quality of the friendships a man makes can be taken, in some measure at least, as an index of his character, Salimbene has to be rated very highly, for he knew an exceedingly large number of the most important men of his time, some quite intimately. But, more significantly, some of these men—those, in fact, that Salimbene seems to have been on the closest terms with and to have had the highest admiration for—were men of the finest moral character and sweetness of spirit, men like Hugh of Digne, John of Parma, and Rainald of Arezzo. In any case, to call the roll of Salimbene's friends and acquaintances is to name the most notable people of the thirteenth century: Innocent IV, St. Louis of France, John of Piano Carpine, Gerard of Borgo San Donnino, Bernard of Quintavalle; not to mention those he had the deepest kind of moral hatred for, like Brother Elias and the Emperor Frederick II. Popes, emperors, kings, Ministers General, simple friars—Salimbene's net is very wide.

At one point Salimbene relates that he had to quit work on one of his chronicles because he ran out of parchment and was unable to afford more. In reading the present extensive *Chronicle*—originally over four hundred folios, some two hundred of which have been lost—with its extensive, space-consuming biblical quotation, it is hard to believe that he ever felt a need to ration his writing materials. Besides, as he informs us in various asides, he produced a large number of works in addition to the present one. As Scivoleto remarks, "from his own declarations, it seems clear that his main activity in life was to write chronicles."²¹ In addition to a chronicle with the incipit *Octavianus Cesar Augustus*, apparently a history of the Roman Empire, he produced a treatise entitled *The Twelve Evils of the Emperor Frederick*, as well as other chronicles for which it is difficult to establish the contents. One of these, however, seems to have dealt with the prophecies of Joachim of Fiore about the two orders of friars. He also wrote a treatise on Elisha (probably inspired by his own acquisition of the relics of that prophet) and one on Pope Gregory X; he mentions also having written on the correspondences between St. Francis' life and Christ's, whether in a separate work or as a part of another it is impossible to determine. Moreover, he writes that he turned his hand to a purely literary—was it a poetic?—work, a *Book of Pests* in imitation of Patecchio, whom he greatly admired. Unfortunately, none of these works has come down to us. Other than the *Chronicle*, only one work of Salimbene's has been preserved. This is the tendentious *Liber de Prelato*, in which he so thoroughly castigates Brother Elias. Yet this treatise cannot be properly thought of as a separate work, for Salimbene himself did not apparently consider it to be so. The opening words of the "Book of the Prelate," for example, appear in the first column of folio 246v

of the *Chronicle*, but not until the middle of the sixth line of that column, and although the work does have its own separate title, that appears to have been an afterthought, inserted by Salimbene in the top margin of the folio, a space normally left blank. "The 'Liber de Prelato,' " as Rosalind B. Brooke points out, "is not a separate book but an integral part of the larger work."²² Judging from the fate of Salimbene's other works, in any case, it seems clear that the "Book of the Prelate" owes its preservation to the fact that it was incorporated into the *Chronicle*.

Salimbene's life was very much that of the itinerate friar, for he travelled very widely, throughout most of France and Italy: Paris, Troyes, Villefranche, Provins, Avignon, Geneva, Lyons, Bologna, Ferrara, Jesi, Reggio, to name a few of the places he visited. Even for a friar, whose movements, of course, were much less restricted than the monks', such extensive travel is extraordinary. After reading the *Chronicle*, one carries away the impression of Salimbene almost always on the move, and indeed he sometimes did travel beyond all bounds of what was proper for him. In 1248, for example, he was sent up to the University of Paris for theological study; yet he remained there only one short week. And on another occasion he reports having been taken to task by the Minister General John of Parma for illegitimate moves. Yet this feeling of continual movement is deceptive, for Salimbene did spend long periods of time quietly in various convents, as at Ferrara, where he remained for seven years, or at Reggio, where he began work on the *Chronicle* in 1283. Finally, in 1287 he took up residence at Montefalcone, where he seems to have died, probably in the year 1289, at about the age of 67.

VI

In the 1972 introduction to the new edition of Coulton's *From St. Francis to Dante*, Edward Peters felt obliged to begin with a commentary on the hard times which had befallen chronicles and similar narrative literary documents. Since the late nineteenth century, he points out, social historians have turned more and more away from such highly subjective, solipsistic works toward more "scientific" sources, like "parish and episcopal records, wills, tax rolls, accounts of family wealth, and the documentaion of investments in companies, long-range commercial projects, and public charitable funds." For unlike the chronicles, such records "respond readily and regularly to questions of accuracy, reliability, impartiality, and consistency."²³ Vehemently and rather scornfully, the Carlylean, and one might add Coultonian, notion of history as the "essence of innumerable biographies" was rejected in favor of science and objectivity, with subjective materials like Salimbene's *Chronicle* being left more and more in the hands of the purely literary scholar or the popular historian. In the meantime, however, a new school of historical criticism has been growing up, whose scholars have been returning with renewed interest to the chronicles, and which has stubbornly insisted on the necessi-

ty of supplementing the hard, objective facts of such quanto-history with the subjective, the personal, even the obviously exaggerated and violently prejudiced. For what the people of a particular era believe to be true, these scholars rightly maintain, has at least as much validity and importance for the historian as the pure, unadulterated fact itself. It is to be hoped that work in this vein, such as John Barnie's *War in Medieval English Society*, will continue to flourish, for it may well, as William Dunham points out, "open up new perspectives in intellectual history."²⁴ Salimbene's *Chronicle* is clearly one of the indispensable documents for such history.

VII

Salimbene produced the *Chronicle*, he informs us, for the instruction and edification of his niece Agnes, a member of the Order of St. Clare in Parma. Yet the very form of his statement (*cui scribebam*, rather than, say, *tibi scribo hoc opus, Agnes*) implies a wider audience, as do certain other remarks, such as his note that he has recorded all relevant biblical passages for the benefit of those who might have to preach on the subject. The fact is that Salimbene had apparently never fully settled in his own mind the question of the particular audience to whom the *Chronicle* was directed. It is this factor more than any other that gives the peculiar quality to his work. At times the *Chronicle* is personal and chatty, even petty and gossipy, in the extreme, to a degree unimaginable for those other chronicles devoted to the history of the Franciscan Order like Thomas of Eccleston's *De adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* or Jordan of Giano's *Chronica*. At times it is laconic and objective in the style of the most unimaginative annalist, repeatedly summing up an entire section with a bare sentence, despite the fact that he himself had been an eye-witness of stirring events, as in the following: *Mantuani etiam venerunt tempore illo et totum Casale Maius combusserunt, ut vidi oculis meis*. Sometimes he is clearly writing specifically with his niece in mind, detailing personal and family matters at great length, so that Sister Agnes will know "for whom she should pray." At other times, he seems almost to be writing simply for the pure therapeutic value of the exercise, even repeating at length observations he had made earlier down to the very quotations from the Bible and the Fathers, in the same order, that he had used before, and finally remarking rather aimlessly that "I may have spoken of this matter earlier" or "I seem to remember that I wrote on this subject above," as if he could not check from the manuscript before him. Salimbene himself is quite aware of this aimless, disjunctive quality of his work, and at one point seeks to justify it by citing Scripture: "The wind [*spiritus*] blows where it will" (John 3.8) and "It is not in man's power to stop the spirit," (Ecclesiastes 8.8), surely one of the oddest uses of Scripture on record.

If the *Chronicle* did indeed come into the hands of Salimbene's niece — and we have no way of knowing whether it did or not — it apparently went very little beyond

her, for although occasionally referred to by chroniclers of local Italian history, silence is the general rule. It is true, however, that the historian Albert Milioli of Reggio was well acquainted with the *Chronicle* and made use of it extensively in his *Liber de temporibus*, and it may indeed be that the borrowing was mutual, that, in some manner not yet definitively established, the two chroniclers collaborated with one another.²⁵ Nevertheless, from the records that have survived it seems apparent that Salimbene's work was very little known and read in the Middle Ages. No copy of the original, for example, appears ever to have been made, for the single manuscript that has come down to us is, it seems clear, a holograph, written, illuminated, and corrected (including most of the additions in the margin) by the hand of Salimbene himself. The first Franciscan historian to make use of the *Chronicle* was Affò.²⁶

It was as late as the mid-nineteenth century (1857) that the first edition of the *Chronicle* appeared,²⁷ a work which was, unfortunately, excessively deficient and inaccurate, and which as a result did very little to draw attention to the *Chronicle*. The first full, scholarly edition of the *Chronicle* was that produced by O. Holder-Egger between 1905 and 1913.²⁸ It was this monumental edition that made the *Chronicle* fully available to the scholarly community in a sound critical text with an extraordinarily thorough and comprehensive critical apparatus. In 1942, a new edition was produced by Ferdinando Bernini.²⁹ Bernini criticized Holder-Egger's mediocre knowledge of Italian, which, he maintained, caused him to produce a deficient text. In fact, however, Bernini's edition, with respect to text alone (not to mention its inferior scholarly apparatus), cannot compare to Holder-Egger's work. The most recent edition of the *Chronicle*—now the standard edition of the text—was produced in 1966 by Giuseppe Scalia.³⁰ Yet even this fine scholarly edition must be supplemented by the critical apparatus of the Holder-Egger edition.

The entire text of the *Chronicle* has never been translated into any language. There have, however, been a number of partial and abridged translations. As early as 1882–83 a translation of the *Chronicle* into Italian was produced by C. Cantarelli,³¹ but this work has little or no value, since it was based on the poor edition of 1857. As late as about 1926, some thirteen years after Holder-Egger's edition, G. Pochettino³² produced an Italian translation which, as he himself admitted, is not *assolutamente originale*, since he, oddly, based it on the earlier translation by Cantarelli. These two translations are, of course, of minimal interest. Two later Italian translations, however, one by Ferdinando Bernini and one by Giuseppe Tonna,³³ are both useful works, although they both tend to translate too literally and, in Tonna's case, to be rather too self-conscious in the use of archaisms and dialectal features. Soon after the appearance of Holder-Egger's edition, Alfred Doren produced an abridged version in German.³⁴ Scalia calls this the best translation of the *Chronicle* available, but it is marred by arbitrary deletion of almost all biblical citations and adjacent material, by an overliteral approach to the work, and by a number of minor errors. There are two partial translations of the *Chronicle* into French, both reproducing only those sections dealing

with Salimbene's travels in France, one by Pacifique M. d'Aincreville, the other by Marie-Therese Laureilhe.³⁵ There has been only one full-length, though still greatly abridged, version of the *Chronicle* in English. This is the justly famous work of G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*.³⁶ Coulton was, of course, instrumental in bringing Salimbene to the attention of the scholarly world. It is, therefore, unfortunate that his work is flawed by a kind of Victorianism which prevented him from translating sections which he felt "quite impossible in modern print" (p. 28). Coulton also incorporated into his work sections from various other medieval chronicles and documents, connecting all of these with his own running commentary, so that at times it becomes extremely difficult to sort out just who at any given moment is speaking, whether Coulton himself, Salimbene, or some other medieval writer. A partial English translation of the *Chronicle*, dealing only with Salimbene's travels in France, was produced by Placid Hermann, O.F.M., in 1961.³⁷

The present work is the only complete translation of Salimbene's entire text.³⁸ For the first time, the *Chronicle* in its entirety—including all biblical quotations, which previous translators have felt unnecessary; scatological anecdotes, which Coulton felt unprintable; and other portions, which have simply been neglected—will be available in English translation. Yet it is, we recognize, important to be able to turn to the original text for any particular passage in a translation; thus Scalia's page numbers are listed in the margins of the translated text. In addition, a table listing the corresponding page numbers of the two major editions is given in the appendix for the convenience of the reader who prefers to use the Holder-Egger edition.

A few specific notes are in order with respect to certain features of the present work. Biblical passages cited by Salimbene, for example, are quoted directly from the Douay-Rheims Bible, as the version in English closest to the Vulgate. We have followed this practice in almost all instances, even where the language of Douay sounds rather odd in the context. In a few cases, however, where Salimbene's intended sense is clearly not consonant with the Douay version, we have rendered the passage ourselves, duly making note of that fact in the footnotes. The numbering of the Psalms, it should be noted, corresponds to the Douay version, and Psalms 9 and 113, which are divided in Douay, are numbered 9A and B, and 113A and B respectively. All other translations of works that Salimbene cites are our own, even those, like St. Augustine or St. Gregory, that are readily available in translation. It should be noted at this point, however, that Salimbene's quotations from the Fathers and other Christian writers are seldom ever exact quotations in the modern sense, certainly not in the form that we have them in modern critical editions. Sometimes, the difference is only a matter of few words (a synonym of the expected word, for example, frequently appearing); sometimes the divergence is so great that identification becomes difficult; and sometimes sentences, or parts of sentences, from two quite distinct works are cited as one single unit. Salimbene quotes poetic texts a number of times throughout the *Chroni-*

cle, and, again, translations of these, as pure texts, are the work of all three collaborators. The versified, rhymed forms of these, however (where such was feasible), are the work of Professor Baird alone. The originals of all the poetic texts are, save where length made the practice prohibitive, reproduced in the notes.

The matter of proper names is always a problem in a work of this type; just how, in fact, does one translate a proper name? We have attempted to establish for ourselves certain broad lines of policy with enough flexibility preserved to avoid becoming overly rigid and dogmatic. Where a clear English equivalent of a particular name exists, for example, the English form has normally been employed: it seems somehow precious in an English translation to use *Rolando*, *Bernardo*, or *Gerardo*, in place of the simple English *Roland*, *Bernard*, and *Gerard*. In cases where there is no corresponding English name (as, for example, *Guido*), we have simply translated Salimbene's Latinate form into Italian. Last names pose an even greater problem. When, for example, is one to assume that a place name has become a legitimate cognomen in its own right, rather than simply an indication of a person's current sphere of activity or birth? Guido de Corigia, for example, clearly is, or was, "of Correggio," but he is just as clearly "of Parma," since all of the major activity Salimbene records of him has to do with that city. Thus we have recorded his name as Guido de Corigia of Parma, to avoid (in this case as in many others) the absurdity of Guido of Correggio of Parma. Salimbene himself is also obviously "de Parma," but he clearly always thinks of himself as Salimbene de Adam of Parma, and the family name should by all means be preserved, despite the careless modern tendency to designate him simply as Salimbene of Parma. We have, however, sought to avoid the various confusing forms of *di*, *da*, *degli* (Salimbene degli Adami, for example). The names of famous people made familiar by custom and usage, on the other hand, have been preserved in their traditional form, for example, Ezzelino *da* Romano.

In its original language, the *Chronicle* is, on the whole, a very free-flowing, highly readable work, characterized by a basic simplicity of style and ease of manner. The normal particle of conjunction, for example, is *et*, with elements—both clauses and single nouns with modifiers—strung loosely on either side of this ubiquitous connective in seemingly haphazard fashion. And there is, I suppose, something lost with respect to subordination of ideas and delicate shades of meaning in such style, but the fact is that a great deal is gained also: a feeling of naturalness and ease, and, at its best, a real power in the sheer force of accumulated images. Note the strength and effectiveness of the following passage, for instance, despite its obvious looseness of structure and almost total indifference to the normal devices employed to achieve a careful subordination and balance of ideas, and to effect a sense of coherence among the large number of images and details incorporated into the description:

Quasi alter Iohannes Baptista videbatur, qui prederet ante Dominum et
"pararet Domino plebem perfectam." Hic habebat in capite capellam

Armenicam et barbam longam et nigram et tubam eneam, sive de oricalco, parvulam, cum qua bucinabat, et terribiliter reboabat tuba sua nec non et dulciter; zona pellicea erat accinctus; habitus eius niger erat ut saccus cilicinus et longus usque ad pedes; toga erat ad modum guascapi facta, et in anteriori parte et in posteriori crucem habebat magnam et latam et longam et rubeam, descendente a collo usque ad pedes, sicut in planetis sacerdotalibus fieri solet. Taliter iste indutus ibat cum tuba sua et in ecclesiis et in plateis predicabat et Deum laudabat, quem sequebatur maxima puerorum multitudo, frequenter cum ramis arborum et candelis accensis. Sed et ego super murum palatii episcopi, quod tunc temporis edificabatur, vidi ipsum pluries predicantem et Deum laudantem. Et inchoabat laudes suas hoc modo et in vulgari dicebat: "Laudato et benedetto et glorificato sia lo Patre!" Et pueri alta voce quod dixerat repetebant.³⁹

This passage is not, of course, lacking its own niceties of subordination (cf. *descendentem a collo usque ad pedes, sicut in planetis sacerdotalibus fieri solet*). Or note the sensitive feel for the flow of language in the shift to a coordinate *et* clause with change of subject used to enlarge upon and extend the meaning of the preceding dependent construction in which the sounding of the horn is first introduced: *cum qua bucinabat, et terribiliter reboabat tuba sua nec non et dulciter*. But the main force of the whole descriptive passage derives from the cumulative effect in the rhythm and flow of that continuous, reiterative *et, et, et*. In the English prose tradition, there is nothing quite like this kind of loose juncture of ideas simply combined with perfect clarity and smoothness, save perhaps for Malory in the *Morte D'Arthur*. Such effects are, of course, impossible to duplicate in translation, but this work attempts to preserve as much as possible of the flavor of this nicely flowing style, while remaining totally faithful to the literal sense of the original text.

Notes to the Introduction

1. That is not to say, however, that Salimbene does not present a one-sided view of Elias; he neglects to mention, for example, Elias' commendable efforts in missionary work, and he criticizes actions such as Elias' acceptance of lay brothers which were clearly a part of St. Francis' own policy. Yet most of his grievances against Elias—his use of Visitors, his failure to call General Chapters, his luxuries of eating alone and riding a fine horse, his association with the Emperor Frederick, etc. — are substantiated by other chroniclers, such as Jordan of Giano and Thomas of Eccleston. It is noteworthy too that he does give Elias his due for promoting education in the Order, Elias' only virtue in Salimbene's eyes. "Such an accumulation of corroborative testimony," as Brooke writes, "is strongly in favour of a presumption of Salimbene's general reliability in matters of fact." See Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 49, and 45–55 for a full discussion.

2. Luigi Salvatorelli, *L'Italia Comunale* (Milan, 1962), p. 599.

3. Jacques Paul, "Hugues de Digne," in *Franciscains d'Oc: Les Spirituels ca. 1280–1324* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1975), pp. 69–97, espec. 80–97. For the influence of Joachimism on the early Franciscans, see also E. R. Daniel, "A Re-Examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachitism," *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 671–76; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), espec. pp. 175–90.

4. G. G. Coulton, *From St. Francis to Dante*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), p. 1. First published in 1907.

5. *Ibid.*, "Introduction" by Edward Peters, p. xix.

6. Marie-Therese Laureilhe in the Introduction to the section on Salimbene in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, translated by Placid Hermann, O.F.M. (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961), p. 195.

7. It is true that Pope Gregory IX's bull *Quo elongati* had been issued as early as September 28, 1230. And in its provision for "spiritual friends" who could own property by proxy for the friars, this bull does indeed, as Moorman notes mark "a turning-point in the history of the Order of S. Francis." Yet it is only the first in a long line of relaxations, and it is not until November 14, 1245, that the bull known as *Ordinem vestrum* is issued by Innocent IV. It is this bull which creates the legal fiction of papal ownership of friar property, and provides for the "conveniences," not just the "necessities" of life for the friars (*pro necessitatibus aut commodis*). For a full discussion, see John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 90–95; 116–22.

8. See Gordon Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester University Press, 1967), I, 51–255.

9. Duane V. Lapsanski, *Perfectio evangelica; Eine begriffsgeschichtliche Untersuchung im frühfranziskanischen Schrifttum* (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1974), p. 270. Review by Lester K. Little in *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 388–90. Lapsanski's book has been translated by the author and published under the title *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources* (The Franciscan Institute, 1977).

10. Nino Scivoletto, *Fra Salimbene da Parma e la storia politica e religiosa del secolo decimoterzo* (Bari: Laterza, 1950), pp. 162, 155.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 137.

12. Brooke, p. 55.

13. Edward Peters, "Introduction," p. xix.

14. *A History*, p. 145.

15. Scalia writes of Salimbene that "La sua vera vocazione, pero, resta fondamentalemente

lettuararia, piu che storica." See *Salimbene de Adam: Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia (Bari: Laterza, 1966), II, 967. See also Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 187-88; F. Bernini, "Petrarca e Frate Salimbene alla spelonca della Sainte-Baume," *Archivio storico per le province Parmensi*, NS 34 (1934), 271-77; Bernini, "Dante e Salimbene," *Convivium* (1936), 49-57.

16. Edward Peters, "Introduction," p. xx.

17. See F. Bernini, "Il parentado e l'ambiente familiare del cronista frate Salimbene da Parma secondo nuovi documenti," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 28 (1935), 345-73; and Bernini, "Nuovi documenti sulla famiglia del cronista frate Salimbene," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 31 (1938), 198-201. Interesting also is Bernini's "Tracce di fra Salimbene a Parma," *L'Almanacco Parmense* (1927), 34-36.

18. Holder-Egger remarks flatly that "nobody believes Salimbene really said these things to his father." *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum* (Hanover: Hahn, 1905-1913), p. 40.

19. But see E. R. Daniel, "A Re-Examination of the Origins of Franciscan Joachimism," *Speculum*, 43 (1968), 671-76, who argues for earlier influence of Joachimism on the Order on the basis of the implications of Salimbene's later remarks.

20. Delno West has sought to define the nature of Salimbene's Joachimism in a number of articles. See "The Re-Formed Church and the Friars Minor: the Moderate Joachite Position of Fra Salimbene," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, nos. 3-4 (1971), 274-84; "Between Flesh and Spirit: Joachite Pattern and Meaning in the Cronica of Fra Salimbene," *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), 339-52; and "The Education of Fra Salimbene of Parma: The Joachite Influence," in *Prophecy and Millenarianism*, ed. Ann Williams, pp. 191-216. Currently, a study is under way by Deborah S. Workman which will provide a new perspective on the problem.

21. *Fra Salimbene*, p. 46.

22. *Early Franciscan Government*, p. 47, n. 3.

23. Edward Peters, "Introduction," p. vii.

24. Review of John Barnie, *War in Medieval English Society: Social Values in the Hundred Years War, 1337-99*, in *Speculum*, 52 (1977), 344.

25. We have made no attempt to indicate the large number of passages where the two chronicles parallel each other. For this it is best to consult Holder-Egger's notes. For discussions of the relationship between the chronicles, see "Rapporti tra la 'Cronica' di Salimbene e il *Liber de Temporibus*," *Accademia delle Scienze di Torino—classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche—Atti*, 90 (1955-56), 443-61; and the notes in Scalia's and Holder-Egger's editions.

26. See Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, pp. 46-47.

27. *Chronica Fratris Salimbene Parmensis Ordinis Minorum ex Codice Bibliothecae Vaticanae nunc primum edita* (Parma, 1857).

28. *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum* (Hanover: Hahn, 1905-1913). The present translation, of course, makes full use of Holder-Egger's extensive notes. Save where specifically indicated, we have carefully checked out his references. There were a fairly large number of the inevitable errors, which we have, silently for the most part, corrected. Also, in a few instances we were able to locate the source of quotations that eluded Holder-Egger. Further, for the sake of convenience, we have given Patrologia volume and column numbers where such was feasible.

29. *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam* (Bari, 1942).

30. *Salimbene de Adam: Cronica* (Bari: Laterza, 1966). For summary account of the editions, see pp. 1007-23, and for the translations, pp. 983-84.

31. *Cronaca di Fra Salimbene Parmigiano* (Parma, 1882-83).

32. *La Cronaca* (Sancasciano, [1926?]).

33. *La Bizzarra Cronaca di Frate Salimbene* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1926); and *La Cronaca* (Milan: Garzanti, 1964).

34. *Die Chronik des Salimbene von Parma* (Leipzig: Dyk Verlag, 1914).

35. "Voyage de Fra Salimbene en France (1247-1249)," *La France franciscaine*, 1 (1912), 21-75; and *Jourdain de Giano, Thomas d'Eccleston et Salimbene d'Adam, sur les routes d'Europe au XIIIe siècle—Chroniques* (Paris, 1959).

36. *From St. Francis to Dante*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972). First published in 1907.

37. *XIIIth Century Chronicles: Jordan of Giano, Thomas of Eccleston, Salimbene degli Adami* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961). This is a translation into English of Laureilhe's work by Hermann, who notes that he has preserved intact Laureilhe's introductions to the various sections but has translated the chronicles directly from the originals.

38. With the exception of the opening section which is based exclusively on Bishop Sicardo's chronicle.

39. Scalia, pp. 100-101.

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*Errata. These four pages replace pp. xxxvii-xl of
Baird, Kane, Baglivi, The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam.*

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The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam

The Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam

Up to this point¹ there have been many superfluous words, which indeed were very rough, crude, and unsophisticated; in many places they do not even obey the laws of grammar, though they do observe the proper narrative sequence. Therefore, it will behoove us to organize and improve by adding, deleting, and supplying correct grammar, wherever necessary. It will, in fact, become obvious that we have already done so on numerous occasions in the early parts of this Chronicle, wherever we found inaccuracies or barbarisms, some of which were the work of the scribes, who frequently distorted the text, while others were from the hand of the original authors. Moreover, the continuators of the Chronicle followed their originals blindly without considering whether they were correct or not. And they did so either in order to avoid the work involved or simply because they lacked the historian's skill. Nevertheless, it was better to have recorded the matters, however crudely done, than to have omitted them entirely. Indeed, if it had not been for these chroniclers, the huge number of events which took place in the millenium after the Incarnation would have remained, we must admit, utterly unknown to us. Thus we are, after all, indebted to them for a fairly truthful account of historical events, which we might not otherwise possess, unless, of course, God had chosen to reveal it, just as he revealed future events and celestial secrets to Moses, Esdras, John in the Apocalypse, Methodius the Martyr in prison, and many others. It is in this respect that the blessed Jerome says that "everyone offers what he can in the tabernacle of the Lord. Some offer gold, silver, and precious stones; others, jacinths and silks of red and purple. We do well then when we offer pelts and goat-skins, for the Apostle holds our somewhat paltry offerings as the more necessary, since it was pelts and goat-skins which were used to cover the ornaments of the tabernacle — the present and future Church — in all their splendor. For it is these paltry things which keep off the scorch of the sun and the harm of the rains."² And we have done the same in many other chronicles that we have written, edited, and emended.³

In that same year [i.e., 1212] the King of France, along with the Count of Mont-

fort, became a Crusader and was preparing to join the army in Spain with other Crusaders.⁴ In the meantime, however, the Emperor of the Saracens was defeated at Muradal. Although he had fifty kings at his command, he was vanquished by three Spanish kings—of Castile, Navarre, and Aragon—with the assistance of the Portuguese. In this battle, eleven thousand were killed in the first rush.

In that same year of 1212, three boys of about twelve years of age, who said that they had seen a vision, took the cross as Crusaders in the region of Cologne. Persuaded by them, a vast number of poor people—men, women, and children—took the cross and journeyed from Germany into Italy. With one voice and one heart, they said that they would cross the sea dryshod and restore the Holy Land of Jerusalem to God's kingdom. But almost the entire multitude simply disappeared. In that same year there was a famine so severe, especially in Apulia and Sicily, that mothers even ate their own children.

In the year 1213, the second of June, on the day of Pentecost (which in that year fell on the feast day of the holy martyrs Marcellinus and Peter), the Cremonese joined unanimously together at Castelleone, and, taking their carroccio⁵ with them, came to the assistance of the Pavians, many of whom, as mentioned earlier, had been captured by the Milanese on the king's march from Pavia to Cremona. And the Cremonese were reinforced by a mere three hundred Brescian knights. And behold "suddenly there came a sound" [Acts 2.2];⁶ the Milanese with their own carroccio charged forward like flying arrows, swift as lightning. Their ranks had been swelled by knights from Piacenza, archers from Lodi, and both knights and infantry from Crema, as well as cavalry from Novara and Como; and even from Brescia as many, if not more (as we have already mentioned) as had come to the aid of the Cremonese. With a great cry, all these forces rushed with one mind and spirit upon the Cremonese and their allies, capturing, conquering, and putting them to flight. Yet the Cremonese were victorious over the Milanese and their armies, and, in fact, captured the Milanese carroccio, taking it with triumphant joy into the city of Cremona. And in that same year on the thirteenth of June,⁷ the city of Bologna swore to make war on the Modenese on behalf of the city of Reggio, and promised to serve the city of Reggio and never to make peace with the Modenese without the consent of Reggio.

In the year of the Lord 1214, the knights of Reggio joined with the forces from Cremona and Parma, and marched into the bishopric of Piacenza in order to lay waste that territory, and they took up quarters near Colomba, a Cistercian monastery.

In 1215 Pope Innocent III held a solemn council in the Lateran,⁸ at which he corrected and reorganized the ecclesiastical service, making his own additions and rejecting undesirable accretions. Yet even up to the present day, some flaws remain, as many men say, and it is indeed true. For it contains much that is superfluous, which causes boredom rather than devotion, both to the congregation and to the celebrants. Take, for example, the Hour of Prime on Sunday:

priests are required to say their own private Masses, forcing the laity to wait impatiently. There is no celebrant, for he is still occupied. The same is true with the recitation of eighteen psalms in the Office of Nocturnes on Sunday before the *Te Deum Laudamus*, both in winter and in the summer time, with its short nights, intense heat, and pestiferous fleas: only weariness can come forth from such an ordeal. Even now, there are many things in the ecclesiastical service which could be changed for the better, and rightly so, since, though not recognized by everyone, it is full of crudities.

In 1216 Pope Innocent III died at Perugia in the month of July, and he lies buried in the Church of the Bishop. During Innocent's pontificate, however, the Church grew and flourished, maintaining its preeminence over the Roman Empire and all the kings and princes of the whole world. He himself, nevertheless, was the source of the ill will and dissension between the Roman Empire and the Church, because of his close association with the Emperors Otto IV and Frederick II, the latter of whom he exalted and called the Son of the Church.⁹ For this Frederick was an evil and accursed man, a schismatic, an heretic, and an epicurean, who defiled the whole earth [cf. Jeremiah 51.25], because he sowed the seeds of division and discord in the cities of Italy, which has lasted up until the present time. Note, for example, what the prophet Ezechiel says about the sons having a right to complain about the fathers: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the teeth of the children are set on edge" [Ezechiel 18.2]. And as Jeremiah says in the last chapter of Lamentations: "Our fathers have sinned, and are not: and we have borne their iniquities" [5.7]. It appears too that the words of Abbot Joachim¹⁰ were fulfilled in his prophecy to the young Frederick's father, the Emperor Henry,¹¹ when he asked about the boy's future. Joachim said: "O Prince, your boy, your son, your heir is perverse and evil. Ha! God! He will shake the earth 'and shall crush the saints of the most High'" [Daniel 7.25]. The words uttered by the Lord through Isaiah 10 [.7] about Assur or Sennacherib are similarly appropriate to Frederick: "his heart shall be set to destroy, and to cut off nations not a few." All of these things were fulfilled in Frederick, as we saw with our own eyes; and I am now living in 1283 at the time of this writing, on the Vigil of the Magdalene.¹² Pope Innocent III can be excused, however, because it was with good intentions that he deposed Otto and exalted Frederick, as it says in the Psalm [74.8]: "One he putteth down, and another he lifteth up."

This Innocent, however, was an audacious man, a man of great spirit, for he once held up and measured to himself the holy relic of the seamless robe of the Lord, and it seemed to him that the Lord was a man of small stature. Yet when he put the robe on, he saw that it was far too big for him. And so he stood in great awe and revered it, as indeed was proper.

Innocent was also accustomed to have a book open before him when he preached to the people, and when his chaplains asked him why he, a man so learned and wise, did so, he answered, "I do it for your benefit, as an example to you, because you are ignorant and yet you are ashamed to learn."

Moreover, he was a man who took time out from his heavier duties for lighter, more playful things.¹³ Thus when once a minstrel from the Marches of Ancona saluted him saying:¹⁴

Papa Innocentium,
doctoris omnis gentium,
salutat te Scatutius
et habet te pro dominus,

the Pope responded to him:

Et unde est Scatutius?

And the minstrel answered:

De Castro Recanato,
et ibi fui nato.

And the Pope added:

Si veneris Romam,
habebis multam bonam,

that is to say, "I will do well by you." The Pope here simply practiced what the grammarian teaches: "One should answer a question in the manner that it is asked." For since the minstrel used bad grammar with the Pope, he received bad grammar from the Pope.

Once, too, when Innocent was preaching to the people, he took note of a certain scholar who was making fun of his sermon. And so when he finished preaching, he had the man brought secretly to his quarters and asked him why he had derided holy words propitious for the saving of souls. And the scholar answered that the words he had preached were mere words, but that he himself knew how to produce works by which the dead might be resuscitated and demons commanded. And so the Pope knew from his remarks that he was a necromancer [*nigromanticus*] and that he had studied at Toledo.¹⁵ Innocent then asked him to bring back to life a dead friend of his so that he could talk with him, face to face, about the state of his soul. They set up a meeting, therefore, in a certain deserted and secret place in Rome, to which the Pope made his way, at the appointed time, as if he were merely taking a stroll. Innocent then commanded his companions to leave him and await his return, which they, of course, did, thinking simply that he was pressed by "the necessities of nature." Thus it was that the scholar brought back to life for Innocent III the Archbishop of Bismantova—in all of the pomp and vainglory with which he used to display himself in the papal court. First of all, however, young children came forth to prepare the way for him, and afterward a large number of donkeys laden with treasure; then followed in succession well-trained young servants and knights. Finally, the Archbishop himself appeared, accompanied by a multitude of chaplains. And when the magician asked

him where he was going, he answered that he was making his way to the papal court for an audience with Pope Innocent, his friend, who wished to see him. And the scholar said to him, "Here is your friend Innocent, who wishes to know how it is with your soul." Wherefore, the spirit answered him and said, "I am in great misery, for I am damned on account of my pride and vainglory and the many other sins that I committed and never repented of. And so I have been assigned a place among the demons and among those who 'go down to hell'" [Psalms 113B.17]. At the conclusion of these remarks between the two, the vision disappeared, and the Pope rejoined his companions.

Honorius III¹⁶ succeeded Innocent.

In the year 1216, the knights and archers in the service of Bologna surrounded the fortification of Sant' Arcangelo di Romagna controlled by the forces of Rimini, and laid a siege which was prolonged until peace was made. And they freed the men of Cesena — seven hundred in number — who were being held in the dungeons of Rimini.

During that same winter, a very heavy snow fell amid intense cold, so that all the vineyards were destroyed. The river Po, in fact, froze over so firmly that the womenfolk danced on it, the knights held tournaments on the ice, and the farmers even crossed the river with laden wagons, carts, and sleds. This ice remained firm for two whole months. During this harsh time, a sextarius of wheat sold for nine imperials, and a sextarius of spelt for four.¹⁷

In that same year also, the Queen,¹⁸ wife of the Emperor Frederick, travelled to her husband, son of the late Emperor Henry, and on her way from Apulia to Germany, arrived at Reggio, which city bore her expenses during her stay there.

In the year 1217, Honorius III was made Pope.¹⁹ Honorius then convened a council, at which he established the law that no one, on pain of excommunication, could enact a statute infringing upon the freedom of the Church. He also decreed that priests and prelates were forbidden to study law, and, further, that legal studies were not permitted at the University of Paris. Moreover, he deposed a bishop who had never read his Donatus.²⁰ Honorius commanded also that a light must always precede the Eucharist, and that on the occasion of ministering to the sick, a priest must bear the Eucharist before his breast.

In the month of June, 1218, the men of Reggio, with their forces in the service of Cremona and Parma, marched against the Milanese and their allies at Zibello. And on a certain Thursday during the summer, a great battle was fought between them. On both sides many were killed, and even more were captured. But then a treaty of alliance was concluded between the cities of Reggio and Parma, and at that time Lord Guido of Reggio was podestà of Parma. Also in that same year Damietta was besieged by the Christian pilgrims.

In the year 1218, Indiction 6,²¹ in mid-May, the Christian armies took ship and the following week on a Tuesday, having entered the land of Egypt, encamped round about the city of Damietta and placed it under siege. They maintained the siege throughout the summer and winter, until in the following year, 1219,

Indiction 7, the fifth of November, on the Vigil of St. Leonard, the city was captured by the pilgrim Christians to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. The pilgrims were led by John, king of Jerusalem,²² an extraordinary, noble, and wise man, a man of great faith and discretion; by the patriarch of Jerusalem, a man endowed with wisdom and good morals; and by many other noble leaders—all of whom are enumerated in the history of that city's fall.

Thus it was in 1219 that Damietta was captured by the Christians.

In 1220 Frederick, son of Emperor Henry, was crowned by Pope Honorius III on the feast day of St. Cecilia, virgin and martyr, in the Church of St. Peter at Rome. And his wife Constance was crowned Empress with the unanimous consent of the Romans, a circumstance almost unique in the Imperial annals. Frederick reigned for thirty years and eleven days, and, on that same feast day²³ on which he was crowned Emperor, he died in Apulia in the little city of Fiorentino near the Saracen city of Lucera.

In the same year the fortress of Gonzaga, which was held by the Mantuans and by Count Albert de Casaloldo in the bishopric of Brescia, was besieged by the forces of Reggio, Parma, and Cremona. In the same year the excavation of the Taleata canal was begun and completed, and the Po was diverted into it.²⁴ The fortress of Bondeno was captured on Tuesday, the 16th of June, by the armies of Mantua, Verona, Ferrara, and Modena. And in that same year on the feast of St. Lawrence, the 10th of August, the Mantuans were overcome, put to flight, and captured by exiles from Bedullo, who had come from Fabbriico and Campagnola in order to burn and pillage Bedullo.

In 1221 the Blessed Dominic²⁵ died on the 6th of August. And I, Brother Salimbene de Adam of the city of Parma, was born in this same year on the 9th of October, the feast of Saints Dionysius and Doninus. As my relatives tell me, Lord Balian of Sidon, a great baron of France—who had just returned from the Holy Land to join the Emperor Frederick II—received me at the Holy baptismal font, which was near my home in Parma. I was told this also by Brother Andrew Ultramarine of Achon, a Friar Minor, who saw and remembered the event, because he had been with Lord Balian and his retinue as a companion on his journey.

In 1222 the moat of the city of Imola was breached by the forces of Bologna and Faenza, and the gates of the city were carried off into Bologna. And in that same year on Christmas Day, there was a great earthquake in the city of Reggio, while Bishop Nicholas of Reggio was preaching in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore. And this earthquake was felt throughout Lombardy and Tuscany. But it was given the name of the Earthquake of Brescia, because it was strongest there, so powerful, in fact, that the Brescians went outside the walls of their city and camped in tents, lest the buildings fall on them. And many Brescian houses, towers, and even fortresses were destroyed by the earthquake. In fact, the Brescians became so used to the earthquake that whenever a tower or house fell, they merely looked on and laughed. And someone wrote the following poem about the event:

Twelve hundred and twenty-one years after your Incarnation,
 Christ, you wrought, in the fullness of time,
 O Blessed King, such great miracles:
 In late August, a comet burst forth in great brightness;
 The September rains flooded the vineyards and the grapes,
 And, like a violent river, cast homes down;
 And the moon was eclipsed in the month of November;
 And on your Nativity, at midday, Christmas,
 The earth groaned, roared, and shook time and again;
 Roofs fell in; whole cities quaked wildly;
 Temples fell to the earth; great lords were killed by falling walls;
 Brescia especially overwhelmed its citizens by its fall;
 And, remembering their sources, even the rivers left their channels.²⁶

My mother used to tell me that during the time of this great earthquake I lay
 in my crib, and that she grabbed up my two sisters, one under each arm—for
 they were small—and, with me left in the cradle, she ran to her family's home.
 For she feared, she said, lest the baptistery near our home should fall on her.
 And because of this, I could never afterward love her as much as before, because
 she ought to have been more careful of me, the male of the family, than of the
 daughters. Her explanation, however, was that they were easier to carry, although
 they were larger.

On the first of May in 1223, the Cremonese sailing with almost a hundred boats
 loaded with salt were captured by the Mantuans, and the vessels were destroyed
 and sunk in the water of the river Bondeno.

In 1224 the Mantuans came in their boats and closed off the highway to Reg-
 gio which passed through the swamps and over the Taleata, and they prepared
 bundles of combustible wood to set fire to the bridges and to the ships at their
 moorings.

It was at that time that Lord Jacopo de Palude was killed, an event which pro-
 voked great conflict between the Palude and the Fogliani families of Reggio.

In 1225 a treaty was concluded between the people of Reggio and Mantua,
 a truce which was brought about through the efforts of Lord Ravanino de Bellotti
 of Cremona, podestà of Reggio.

In the year of the Lord 1226, the fourth of October, on a Saturday evening,
 the Blessed Francis,²⁷ founder and leader of the Order of the Friars Minor,
 passed from the shipwreck of this world to the celestial kingdom. And he was
 buried on Sunday in the city of Assisi, glorified by the stigmata of the Lord Jesus
 Christ. At the time of his death, St. Francis had fulfilled twenty years of service
 from the year of his conversion, for he began his work in 1207 under Pope Inno-
 cent III. St. Francis' career is summed up in the following verses:

In the time of Innocent, his work arose
 from its source,

And ended, under Honorius, its glorious,
 terrestrial course;
 Yet, under Gregory, his miracles and fame
 Bestowed an even more sanctified name.²⁸

In the same year in the district of Canossa, Lord Ugolino de Fogliani and Lord Guido de Baisio were killed.

In 1227 there was a great shortage of grain and of general foodstuffs, so that a sextarius of wheat sold in open market for twelve to fifteen imperial solidos; a sextarius of spelt for five to six; a sextarius of millet for eight; and a pound of pork for twelve.

In 1228 the Bolognese went with their carroccio and besieged Bazzano, and the troops of Modena, Parma, and Cremona went out against them in force, burning the countryside of Bologna and making their way all the way up to the river Reno, where they watered their horses. And as these forces were making their way back, the Bolognese engaged them in the region of Santa Maria in Strada, and a great battle took place between the two armies, with many being killed on both sides. And in the same year while the Bolognese were still laying siege to Bazzano, the men of Modena, Parma, and Cremona captured and burned down the fortress of Piumazzo.

And in that year on the feast of St. Christopher,²⁹ a great snowfall commenced, although up until that time beautiful weather had prevailed and the winter had been so hot that the roads had remained very dusty. In that year also the first Mass in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Campagnola was celebrated by Cardinal Ugolino,³⁰ Ruler, Protector, and Corrector of the Order of the Friars Minor. At this time Ugolino was also papal legate in Lombardy. Pope Honorius died this year,³¹ and this same Cardinal Ugolino, who was from Anagni, was elected Pope in the same year, taking the name of Pope Gregory IX.

Gregory IX replaced the five volumes of the ancient laws with a new collection in a single volume.³² Gregory was also frequently at loggerheads with, and fought battles against, the Emperor Frederick II, for Frederick committed many evil deeds against the Church of God, which had, in fact, nourished him and placed the crown on his head. So great was the strife between these two that the Ship of St. Peter under the pontificate of Gregory was almost sunk into the abyss. And this is what Abbot Joachim had predicted of the Roman pontiffs: "Some shall contend against princes, while others shall live their days in peace."³³ For Alexander III, Innocent III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV struggled mightily against the princes of the state, but Honorius III, Alexander IV, and Clement IV lived peacefully.³⁴ Also the Papal lands were almost totally occupied by Frederick II, and large numbers of prelates, not excluding Cardinals, both on sea and on land were placed in great danger by the Emperor.

In that same year the Spanish recovered Merida in the province of Lusitania and also Badajoz, Clavigana, and the Fortress of Equina in the province of Algarve,

as well as Elvas, Rumenia, Alcust.,³⁵ Serpa, Moura, Cordova, Valencia, the Majorcan Islands, and numerous other lands.

In that same year also Hungary was greatly ravaged by the Cumans and the Tartars.

Pope Gregory IX excommunicated the Greeks, because they held erroneous views about the procession of the Holy Spirit, and refused to obey the proper authority of Rome.

On the sixteenth of July, 1228, Francis was entered in the catalogue of saints and canonized by Gregory IX. Gregory also canonized the Blessed Elizabeth,³⁶ daughter of the King of Hungary and wife of the Landgrave of Thuringia. Besides innumerable other miracles, Elizabeth had raised sixteen people from the dead and restored sight to a man blind from birth. To this very day oil can be seen to flow from her body. After the death of her husband, St. Elizabeth had become a tertiary³⁷ of the Order of the Friars Minor and thereafter remained devoted to the Order.

In August of 1229 the army of Bologna besieged the Castle of San Cesario and captured it even in the very presence of the armies of Modena, Parma, and Cremona, for the Bolognese had constructed a fortification in such a way that these opponents of theirs could not successfully attack them. Yet on a later night there was a major encounter between these forces and the Bolognese. But the men of Bologna had mangonels³⁸ on wagons—an unusual method of fighting at that time—with which they hurled rocks at Parma's carroccio and the men around it. This bombardment effectively emptied the carroccio, since no man dared stay on it. Lord Jacopo de Boveri alone remained. And when he was warned to get down lest he be killed, he boasted that he would gladly die for the honor of the city of Parma. But as it is said in Ecclesiastes 7 [18]: "Be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time." For "it is wise to fear whatever may happen," as St. Jerome says.³⁹ Yet Lord Jacopo was not killed there, for the Cremonese quickly came to the aid of Parma and her carroccio, since, at this time, these two cities were on very friendly terms. For in the earlier battle of Santa Maria in Strada, the Bolognese forces had engaged the Cremonese as they were making their way back from the Reno. Yet just as the Cremonese were on the verge of being completely overwhelmed, the Parmese (who were also just returning from the Reno) came swiftly to their aid. In this battle of Santa Maria in Strada there were no foot soldiers, only cavalry.

In the battle of San Cesario, Lord Bernard Oliver de Adam of Parma was killed, a famous judge of great prowess in arms. And his body was carried to and laid in the baptistery in Parma, near his home, where it lay on the bier until his friends and neighbors gathered together. Afterward, his body was buried in his vault, which stands in front of the door of St. Agatha, a chapel on the south side of the cathedral in Parma. And this man was a first cousin of my father, for they were the sons of two brothers.

My father, Guido de Adam, was a strong and handsome man. And in the time of Count Baldwin of Flanders, whose journey I have already described, he sailed to the aid of the Holy Land, at a time when I was not yet born. My father told me that when the other Lombards overseas with him resorted to divination to find out how things were at home, he himself refused to do so. Then at his return he found his home peaceful and orderly; whereas the others found the miseries foretold by the oracles. My father also told me that the war horse he took with him to the Holy Land was commended for its beauty and excellence over all the others in his company. Moreover, when the baptistery of Parma was being built, my father, so he told me, laid commemorative stones in the foundation. This baptistery was constructed on the site of the homes of my kinsmen, who, after the demolition of their homes, left the city and became citizens of Bologna, where they took the name of *Cocca*. Moreover, my family name was formerly *Grenone*, as I have learned from old charters. And it was only later that they were called *de Adam*. There were others in Parma called *Grelone*, who spelled their name with an *l*, and their ancient home is at the end of the bridge in the street which leads to Borgo San Donnino. The elm tree which grew in front of their gate was very famous, and it was known as John Grelone's Elm. The Oliver de Grenone recorded as having founded the community of Santa Maria of Parma was, therefore, actually Oliver de Adam, the father of the aforementioned judge. For Adam de Grenone had two sons: one named Oliver de Adam, the other John de Adam. Oliver de Adam, in turn, had two sons, namely Bernard Oliver, the abovementioned judge, and Roland Oliver. And Bernard Oliver fathered four sons: Leonard, Emblavato, Boniface, and Oliver; and four daughters: Lady Aica, a nun of St. Paul's; Lady Ricca; Lady Romagna, a Sister in the convent of St. Clare⁴⁰ in Bologna; and Mabilia, who died a maiden. To Roland Oliver were born six sons: Bartholomew, Francis, Oliver, Guido, Pino, and Rolandino; and two daughters: Mabilia and Alberta.

John de Adam had two sons: Adamino, a worthy, courtly, and generous man, who died childless; and Guido de Adam, the father of four sons. Guido de Adam's eldest son was Brother Guido de Adam, a member of the Friars Minor until the end of his life. This brother Guido was married to the noble lady Adelasia, daughter of Lord Gerard de Baratti, and Guido had only one daughter, called Sister Agnes. Both the mother and the daughter ended their lives laudably in the convent of the Order of St. Clare in Parma.⁴¹ Brother Guido, however, the husband and father, was a judge in secular life, but a priest and preacher in the Order of the Friars Minor. Brother Guido's in-laws, the Baratti, prided themselves on being related to the Countess Matilda⁴² and on the fact that their household provided forty knights for military service to the city of Parma.

The second son of the elder Guido de Adam was named Nicholas, but he died as a child, according to the word: "whilst I was yet but beginning, he cut me off" [Isaiah 38.12]. I, Brother Salimbene, was the third son, and when I had completed a decade and a half of my life and had arrived at the turning point of the

proverbial Pythagorean Y,⁴³ I entered the Order of the Friars Minor.⁴⁴ And I have been in this Order for many years as priest and preacher: I have lived in many provinces, seen many things, and learned much. In secular life some people called me Balian of Sagitta—they meant to say, that is, of *Sidon*—because it was he, as noted above, who lifted me from the sacred font. My friends and family, however, called me Ognibene. And it was under that name that I lived for an entire year in the Order. Yet when I was moving from the Marches of Ancona to take up residence in Tuscany, I passed through Città de Castello and met in a hermitage there a certain noble friar, old and full of days and good merits, who in secular life had had four sons, who were knights. He was, as he told me himself, the last brother whom St. Francis himself received into the Order. Hearing that I was called Ognibene, he was astonished, and he said to me, “Son, ‘none is good but God alone’ [Luke 18.19]. Rather, let your name be Brother Salimbene, because you have made a good leap by entering a good religious order.” And I was glad, knowing that he was moved by reason and seeing that my name had been given me by so holy a man. Yet I still had not received the name that would have been most pleasing to me, for I had really desired the name Dionysius, not only because of my reverence for that most estimable teacher and disciple of the Apostle Paul but also because I had been born on his feast day. And so it was that I saw the last friar that St. Francis had received into the Order. But I also saw the first, Brother Bernard of Quintavalle, with whom I lived an entire winter in the convent at Siena. He was my very close friend, and he told me and the other young men many great things about St. Francis, and I heard and learned from him much that was good.

All his life my father sorrowed over my entrance into the Order of the Friars Minor, and would not be comforted, because he had no son left to him as an heir. And so he complained to the Emperor, who was at that time in Parma, that the Friars Minor had stolen his son away from him. The Emperor then wrote to Brother Elias,⁴⁵ Minister General of the Order, enjoining him to return me to my father, if he wished to remain in his good graces. It was, indeed, Brother Elias himself who had received me into the Order in 1238, at the time he was making his way to the Emperor on a mission from Pope Gregory IX. My father then went to Assisi to see Elias and handed him the Emperor’s letter in person. The beginning of the letter read as follows: “In order to lessen the great sorrows of our faithful Guido de Adam,” etc. I know this because, many years later, Brother Illuminatus showed me the letter when I lived with him in the convent at Siena, for Illuminatus had been secretary to Brother Elias and he had copied into a notebook all of the fine letters sent by the princes of the world to the Minister General. This Brother Illuminatus was later made Provincial Minister of St. Francis’ own province, and afterward even became bishop of Assisi, and ended his days there.

After reading the Emperor’s letter, Brother Elias immediately wrote the friars in the convent at Fano, where I was then living. And his command was that if

I wished to leave the Order of my own free will, they should return me without the slightest delay to my father, but that if I did not wish to go, they should retain me and cherish me as they would the very pupils of their eyes. And so my father came to the convent at Fano, accompanied by a large number of knights, curious to see how the matter would end. To them, the whole matter was a mere spectacle; to me, the very root of my salvation.⁴⁶ Then with all the friars and laymen gathered together and after a great many things had been said on both sides, my father pulled out the Minister General's letter and showed it to the friars. After the letter had been read, the Custodian,⁴⁷ Brother Jeremiah, answered my father in the hearing of all: "Lord Guido, all of us have compassion for your sorrow, and we are ready to obey our father's letter. Yet he is your son, 'he is of age, let him speak for himself' [John 9.21]. Ask him: if he wishes to go with you, let him go in the name of the Lord; if not, however, we cannot force him to go with you." My father, therefore, asked whether I wished to go with him. And I answered him: "No. For the Lord says in Luke 9 [.62], 'No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.'" And my father said to me, "You do not care for your father or your mother, who have suffered such woes for you." And I answered "Truly, I do not care, because the Lord says in Matthew 10 [.37], 'He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me.' And he also says about you, 'he that loveth son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me.' You ought, therefore, to heed, father, the One who hung on the cross for us that he might give us eternal life. For it is He himself who says in Matthew 10 [.35-36], 'For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law. And a man's enemies shall be they of his own household. [and also, 32-33] Every one therefore that shall confess me before men, I will also confess him before my Father who is in heaven. But he that shall deny me before men, I will also deny him before my Father who is in heaven.'" And the friars marvelled and rejoiced because I said such things to my father. And then my father said to the friars: "You have cast a spell upon my son and deceived him so that he will not obey me. I shall, therefore, once again lay my complaint about you before the Emperor and the Minister General. Yet let me speak with my son in private, and you will see that he will follow without delay." And so the friars permitted this private meeting, especially because they had been greatly encouraged by my previous remarks. Yet they listened behind the door to what was being said, for they trembled like a reed in the water⁴⁸ lest my father should change my mind by his persuasion. They were fearful, after all, not only because the salvation of my soul was at stake but also because my departure might prevent others from entering the Order.

Then my father said to me: "My beloved son, don't put any faith in these piss-in-tunics"⁴⁹—that is, those who urinate in their robes—"who have deceived you. But come with me, and all that I have I will give to you." And I answered and said to my father: "Go, go, father!"⁵⁰ The Wise Man says in Proverbs 3 [.27]: 'Do

not withhold him from doing good, who is able: if thou art able, do good thyself also.'” And in tears my father answered: “What, son, what shall I say to your mother, who suffers unceasingly on your account?” And I said to him: “Tell her for me: thus says your son: ‘my father and mother have left me: but the Lord hath taken me up’ [Psalms 26.10]. And that he also says, as in Jeremiah 3 [.19], ‘thou shalt call me father and shalt not cease to walk after me.’ For ‘it is good for a man, when he hath borne the yoke from his youth’” [Lamentations 3.27]. Hearing all these things and despairing of further attempts to persuade me to leave, my father prostrated himself on the ground in the presence of the friars and the laymen who had come with him, and he said: “Accursed son, I give you to a thousand devils, along with your brother, who is here a friar with you, assisting in your deception. I lay my everlasting curse upon your head and bequeath you to the infernal demons.” And so he departed, troubled beyond measure. We, however, remained, greatly comforted, giving thanks to our God in these words: “They will curse and thou wilt bless” [Psalms 108.28]. For “he that is blessed upon the earth, shall be blessed in God, amen” [Isaiah 65.16]. Thus it was that even the laymen who were present went away greatly edified by my constancy. And the friars, of course, were extremely happy, because the Lord had worked so powerfully through me, his little one, and because they recognized how true the words of the Lord are in Luke 21 [.14–15]: “Lay it up therefore in your hearts, not to meditate before how you shall answer: For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay.”

On the very next night the Blessed Virgin rewarded me. For it seemed to me that I lay in prayer before the altar (as friars are accustomed to do at Matins), and I heard the voice of the Blessed Virgin calling me. And lifting my head, I saw the Holy Virgin sitting on the altar in the place where the Host and Chalice are stored. And she had her little son on her lap, and she reached him out to me, saying, “Come forward and kiss my son, whom you confessed yesterday before men.” And as I hesitated with fear, I saw the child spread open his arms, awaiting me eagerly. And so gaining confidence from the happiness and the innocence of the child, as well as from the great generosity of the mother, I moved forward and embraced him and kissed him. And the mother, in her kindness, let me hold him for a long time. But when I could not get enough of him, the Holy Virgin blessed me and said, “Go, go quietly, beloved son, lest the friars, arising for Matins, find you here with us.” I did as I was told, and the vision disappeared. But so great a sweetness remained in my heart that I could not tell it. Truly, I confess that never in the world have I ever experienced such great sweetness. And then I understood the truth of the words, “all fleshly things are insipid, once one has tasted of the spirit.”⁵¹

When I was still in the convent at Fano, I had a dream in which I saw the son of Lord Thomas de Armari of Parma killing a monk, and I recounted that dream to my brother. A few days later, Amico de Amicis, a good friend and neighbor of ours, visited us at the convent in Fano, while on his way to Apulia

to collect some money. And when we inquired discreetly about the man in my dream, Gerardo de Sinzanese by name, his reply was, "Things are going badly for him, for he killed a monk the other day." And so we realized that sometimes dreams do come true.

When my father first passed through Fano—at that time when he was making the journey to Assisi to confront Brother Elias—the friars of the convent hid both me and my brother for several days in the residence of Lord Martin of Fano,⁵² a master at law. During our stay in his villa by the sea, he used to come and discuss God and Holy Scripture with us, while his mother took care of our daily needs. Hence, a long time afterward—when Lord Jacopo Pennacius de Sesso was podestà of Reggio—I was empowered to select a competent arbitrator to draw up a treaty of peace between the cities of Bologna and Reggio, and, remembering the hospitality of Lord Martin, my choice fell on him. The people of Reggio were delighted with his performance of the task. Subsequently, the Modenese hired him as lecturer, and, within two years, Genoa chose him as podestà. Upon completion of this duty, he entered the Dominican Order, where he ended his days laudably. While he was in this Order, however, he was chosen bishop of his own native city, which was involved in a serious war at that time. But the Dominicans would not permit him to accept the bishopric, because they did not wish to lose him. Thus when I visited him at Rimini in the convent of the Dominicans, I congratulated and rejoiced with them, saying: "Now you have done precisely what was once said by Jacob the Patriarch: 'It is reasonable therefore that I should now provide also for my own house'" [Genesis 30.30]. This quotation pleased him so much that he asked chapter and verse for it.

Brother Martin would have entered the Order of the Friars Minor, save that he was dissuaded by Brother Taddeo de Bonocomite, a member of our Order. For Taddeo was pressed hard by the Friars Minor to make restitution of his ill-gotten gains, before they would admit him to their Order. So he said to Lord Martin, "They will do the same to you if you enter this Order." This intimidated Martin and he joined the Dominicans instead. And perhaps this decision was better for him—and for us.

When Brother Elias was informed about how firmly I had taken my stand in the Order, he wrote to me and showed his appreciation by assuring me that if I would let him know my preference for any particular province in the Order, he would immediately grant permission for me to live in the place of my choice. On the advice of two Tuscan friars who were with me at that time in Fano, I replied to Elias that I wished to be sent to the province of Tuscany. These two friars were named Brother Vitale of Volterra (a tutor working under our teacher, Humile of Milan) and Brother Mansueto da Castiglione of Arezzo, both of whom later became esteemed teachers within the Order.

Now, the convent at Fano is situated outside the city walls, close to the seashore. As a result, I was in danger there, because my father had arranged for the pirates of Ancona to kidnap me if ever I took a walk along the beach. Moreover, his

offer of a reward for my capture had drawn the troops in the service of the podestà of Fano into the locality from Cremona. Thus to avoid these dangers, I left Fano and spent the whole period of Lent in the convent at Jesi, until a letter from the Minister General arrived after Easter.

Jesi is the city where the Emperor Frederick II was born. And there was still gossip abroad in that city about his birth. People asserted that his father was a certain butcher in the city of Jesi, because, so the story ran, the Empress Constance was already advanced in years when the Emperor Henry married her and it was known that she had had no other child, son or daughter, except this son Frederick. Thus, so the story went, she pretended to be pregnant, acquired the infant from his father the butcher, and concealed it in such a way that she could pretend to give birth to it as if the child were her own.⁵³ Three factors lend credence to this account: First, trickery of this kind is common among women, as I myself have frequently discovered. Secondly, because of the words of Merlin: "The second Frederick, man of wondrous and unexpected birth."⁵⁴ And, last, because John,⁵⁵ King of Jerusalem and father-in-law of the Emperor, was once so enraged because Frederick sought to kill his kinsman Walter that he glowered at him and bellowed, "You son of a butcher!" Fearful that the kingdom of Jerusalem would devolve to this Walter, Frederick laid plans for his murder, and since he had not succeeded by means of poison, the deed was to be done by the sword, while Walter sat at chess with the Emperor. But King John got wind of it, and taking the arm of his kinsman, he led him away from the game. Then he roundly cursed the Emperor in his pithy French: "Fi de becer diabele!" The Emperor was so taken aback that he was speechless.

King John was a huge man, strong and tall, powerful and skilful at war, a veritable second Charlemagne. And when he went to battle striking here and there with his iron club, the Saracens fled before him as if they were facing the very devil himself or a lion ready to devour them. Indeed, as common report had it, there was no soldier of his time better than he. Whence it was that in praise of him and also of Master Alexander⁵⁶ (the best scholar in the world, a professor at Paris, and a Franciscan) a laudatory song was composed, part in French, part in Latin, a song which I have sung many times. And it begins in this fashion:

In the forefront of all men now
A wonder in our times.⁵⁷

Yet whenever King John was being armed for battle by his men, he used to tremble like a reed in water. And when his men would ask him why he, so powerful and strong a warrior, was trembling, he always replied that it was not for the body that he feared but for the soul, lest it be out of favor with God. And this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.14]: "Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil." Thus too Ecclesiasticus 18 [.27]: "A wise man will fear in everything." St. Jerome also says, "It is wise to fear whatever may happen."⁵⁸ But sinners are afraid where there is nothing

to fear, and where there is need of fear (that is, lest they have offended God), they are not afraid, unlike Job, who says of himself in Job 31 [.23]: "For I have always feared God as waves swelling over me, and his weight I was not able to bear." So it was with King John. And thus his fate was like that spoken of in Ecclesiasticus 33 [.1]: "No evils shall happen to him that feareth the Lord, but in temptation God will keep him, and deliver him from evils." Truly, thus it was. For he became a Friar Minor, and would have rendered invaluable service to the Order, if God had not cut him off in his prime. It was Brother Benedict of Arezzo, a holy man and Provincial Minister of Greece, who received King John into the Order. This King John was the maternal grandfather of King Conrad, son of Emperor Frederick II. He was also, through the marriage of his second daughter, father-in-law to Baldwin, Emperor of Constantinople, and, upon Baldwin's death, John served as regent of the Empire on behalf of his young grandson. The words used to describe Judas Machabeus in I Machabees 3 [.4] characterize King John perfectly: "In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey." For whenever he went to war, he fought with great ardor, and nobody dared to confront him; rather, faced by such a doughty warrior, his enemies fled in terror.

After I received the letter from Brother Elias, the Minister General, I went to live in Tuscany, where I stayed for eight years—two in Lucca, two in Siena, and four in Pisa. It was during the first year of my stay in Lucca that Brother Elias was deposed from office, and Brother Albert of Pisa became Minister General.⁵⁹ At this time there was a total eclipse of the sun, as I saw with my own eyes, in 1239, on Friday, the third of June, at the ninth hour.

When I was living in Pisa, I was very young, and my assigned companion was a certain fickle and lightheaded lay brother⁶⁰ from Pisa. Years later while a member of the community at Fucecchio, this fellow, tempted by some unknown desperation or simple foolishness, threw himself down a well. He was rescued by the Brothers, but after a few days he simply disappeared and could not be found anywhere. The Brothers always suspected that the devil had carried him off. Let him look to it! Once when I was with him in Pisa making the rounds with our baskets begging bread, we suddenly found ourselves in a strange courtyard. A luxuriant vine overshadowed the whole place, and its greenness and shade were delightful, exceedingly pleasant, and restful. There were leopards in that place and many other strange beasts from beyond the seas, and we gazed upon them for a long time, since they were so unusual and beautiful. Also, handsome young boys and girls were there, dressed in splendid clothes, marvellous and lovely to look upon. All of them, boys and girls alike, carried harps, viols, and various other musical instruments, on which they played sweet melodies, dancing all the while gracefully to the accompaniment. And there was no noise there, and no one spoke, but all listened in complete silence. It was a strange and beautiful song that they sang—not only in the words sung but also in the harmonious variety of vocal melody—so much so that joy beyond measure filled our hearts. Nobody

said anything to us, and we spoke to no one. And for the whole time that we were in the garden, they never ceased to sing and play. We were transfixed there for a long period of time and could scarce pull ourselves away. I know not—God knows—how such an occasion of so great joy came about, for we had never seen the like before, nor were we likely to ever see it again.

When we had left, however, a man from Parma, whom I did not know at all, approached and began to rebuke and condemn me harshly, saying, “Get out of here, you wretch! There are many ‘hired servants in’ your ‘father’s house’ who ‘abound with bread’ [Luke 15.17] and meat, and here you are going about from door to door begging bread from those who have none themselves, although you yourself are rich enough to share with a multitude of the poor. You should be riding through the streets of Parma on your fine horse and engaging in tournaments: in that way you would bring happiness to the sorrowful, cut a fine figure before the ladies, and be a source of comfort to the minstrels. Instead, on your account your father is consumed with grief and your mother almost despairs of God because of her love for you whom she is unable even to see.” And I answered, “Get out of here, you wretch! For ‘thou savourest not the things that are of God,’ but the things that are of ‘carnal men.’ [Matt. 16.23; Mark 8.33]. For ‘flesh and blood hath ... revealed’ these things ‘to thee,’ not the ‘Father who is in heaven.’ [Matt. 16.17]. Truly, you are convinced that you are speaking properly when you say these things ‘and knowest not, that thou are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked.’ [Apoc. 3.17]. For Holy Scripture says of the sinners of this world that they ‘have walked after vanity, and are become vain’ [Jeremiah 2.5]. ‘Vanity of vanities,’ says the Wise Man, ‘and all is vanity’ [Ecclesiastes 1.2]. And likewise: ‘And their days were consumed in vanity, and their years in haste’ [Psalms 77.33]. And again: ‘They have suddenly ceased to be: they have perished by reason of their iniquity’ [Psalms 72.19]. Also, another Scripture says, Job 21 [.12–13]: ‘They take the timbrel, and the harp, and rejoice at the sound of the organ. They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell.’ But because the ‘sensual man perceiveth not these things that are of the Spirit of God, it is foolishness to him, and he cannot understand’ [I Corinthians 2.14]. When he had heard me say these things, he went away in confusion, not knowing what to reply.

That same evening after our circuit was completed, I began to turn about in my mind and to think over all those things that I had heard and seen, because if I were going to live in the Order for fifty years as a mendicant, not only would it be a long road for me [cf. III Kings 19.7] but even, beyond my power, an embarrassing and unbearable kind of labor. And so with such thoughts on my mind, I spent almost the whole night sleepless. Finally, I fell into a light sleep, and it pleased God to send me a most beautiful vision, which brought consolation, happiness, and unbelievable sweetness to my soul. And then I understood that “Divine help is necessary when human help fails.”⁶¹ It seemed to me that in the manner of the friars I was going from door to door begging bread, and that I was making

my way through the district of St. Michael of Pisa, the section of the Vicecomiti family. On the other side, the merchants of Parma owned a hostel (which the Pisans call a *fundicum*). And I avoided that section on account of my shame — not yet being well fortified in Christ, for [Ecclesiastes 7.19] “he that feareth God, neglecteth nothing.” I was afraid that the Parmese might speak to me on behalf of my father and cut me to the heart. (For my father was always hounding me and laying traps for me in order to get me out of the Order of St. Francis. And persevering in his stubbornness, he was never reconciled with me all the days of his life.) And so as I was walking through the district of St. Michael on the side of the Arno, suddenly I looked up and saw the Son of God coming out of one of the houses, carrying bread and putting it in the basket. The Holy Virgin was doing the same and so was Joseph, the foster-father, to whom the Blessed Virgin had been given in marriage. And they kept doing this until the circuit was completed and the basket full. For it was the custom for the basket to be left below covered with a cloth while the friar went up to the houses to ask for bread, which he would then carry back down and place in the basket. And so after the circuit had been completed and the basket filled, the Son of God spoke to me: “I am your Redeemer and this is my mother, and the third one here is Joseph, who is called my father. It is I who left my home, gave up my inheritance, and delivered my beloved spirit into the hands of my enemies so that I might bring salvation to mankind. I am the One of whom my apostle Paul wrote in II Corinthians 8 [.9]: ‘For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich he became poor for your sakes; that through his poverty you might be rich.’ Therefore, do not blush, my son, to beg for love of me, so that you truly may be able to say as it is written [Psalms 39.18]: ‘But I am a beggar and poor: the Lord is careful for me.’” And I said to him, “Lord, were those words written about you or about your followers?” And the Lord said, “They were certainly written about me, for truly I was poor and a beggar, but they were also written about those who beg for love of me. And now you have discovered by your experience that I was concerned to assist you in your circuit and help you fill your basket. Therefore, son, [Lamentations 3.19]: ‘Remember my poverty and transgression, the wormwood and the gall.’ Bear in mind also what your father Francis, my friend and beloved, wrote in the Rule of the Friars Minor: ‘Let the Brothers go confidently seeking alms, like pilgrims and strangers in this world, serving the Lord in poverty and humility. And let them not be ashamed, because the Lord made himself a pauper for us in this world. This is that excellence of most high poverty that has made you, my beloved brothers, heirs and kings of the heavenly kingdom; it has made you poor in things and supreme in virtue. Let this be your portion, which will lead you into the land of the living. Being absolutely faithful to this, most beloved brothers, may you never wish to have anything else under heaven, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.’”⁶² And I answered and said to the Lord Jesus Christ, “Lord, since the Wise Man says in Proverbs 10 [.3]: ‘The Lord will not afflict the soul of the just with famine,’ why do you not give abundantly to

your servants and friends, who praise and bless you, so that they may not be forced to beg with such effort and labor?"

God wishes his friends to beg for two reasons: that those who give may be rewarded and that those who receive may repay with prayers.

And the Lord answered me: "It is my desire that men give that they may be rewarded for giving for love of me, just as those who receive are rewarded for begging for love of me. It was for this reason that the Apostle John did not break up and give to the poor the stones and twigs which he had changed into gems and gold. Rather, he turned them into stones and twigs again, because nobody in that instance was being rewarded for the act of giving.⁶³ Now, however, I wish for those who are rich to give to the poor out of love to me, so that on the Day of Judgment I may commend them and reward them in my kingdom. For it was I who taught the Jewish people through the Law of Moses that, Deuteronomy 15 [.11]: 'There will not be wanting poor in the land of my habitation: therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother, that liveth in the land.' Also Ecclesiasticus 29 [.12] says: 'Help the poor because of the commandment: and send him not away empty-handed because of his poverty.' In the same way the wise woman is commended in Proverbs 31 [.20]: 'She hath opened her hand to the needy, and stretched out her hands to the poor.' When you say, however, that I can reward abundantly when I wish you speak the truth, and you have learned that from the Scripture. For the Wise Man says in Wisdom 12 [.18]: 'for thy power is at hand when thou wilt.' Whence also Isaiah has written in chapter 59 [.1]: 'Behold, the hand of the Lord is not shortened that it cannot save: neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear.'"

Concerning the good that God did for the Jewish people in the wilderness, that hostile and waterless land.

This goodness of God was demonstrated to the Jewish people, as it is written [Psalms 104.40]: "They asked, and the quail came: and he filled them with the bread of heaven." Numbers 11 [.21-23] speaks of this also, when Moses spoke in great wonder at the Lord's promise to feed the Jewish people with meat:

There are six hundred thousand footmen of this people, and sayest thou: I will give them flesh to eat a whole month? Shall then a multitude of sheep and oxen be killed, that it may suffice for their food? or shall the fishes of the sea be gathered together to fill them? And the Lord answered him: Is the hand of the Lord unable? Thou shalt presently see whether my word shall come to pass or no.

This was shown also in the Jewish people when they ate manna in the wilderness for forty years, as Moses says in Deuteronomy 8 [.3-4]: He "gave thee manna for thy food, which neither thou nor thy fathers knew: to shew that not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God.

Thy raiment, with which thou wast covered, hath not decayed for age, and thy foot is not worn, lo this is the fortieth year." And later in chapter 29 [.5-7]: "He hath brought you forty years through the desert. Your garments are not worn out, neither are the shoes of your feet consumed with age. You have not eaten bread, nor have you drunk wine or strong drink: that you might know that" he himself is "the Lord your God. And you came to this place." See also Joshua 5 [.12]: "And the manna ceased after they ate of the corn of the land, neither did the children of Israel use that food any more, but they ate of the corn of the present year of the land of Chanaan." Thus is the old saying shown to be true: "Divine help is necessary when human help fails."⁶⁴ The Prophet also spoke of this matter in the Psalm [77.23-30]:

And he had commanded the clouds from above, and had opened the doors of heaven. And had rained down manna upon them to eat, and had given them the bread of heaven. Man ate the bread of angels: he sent them provisions in abundance. He removed the south wind from heaven: and by his power brought in the southwest wind. And he rained upon them flesh as dust: and feathered fowls like as the sand of the sea. And they fell in the midst of their camp, round about their pavilions. So they did eat, and were filled exceedingly, and he gave them their desire: they were not defrauded of that which they craved.

This is also what the Jews took pride in in the presence of Christ the Lord, John 6 [.31]: "Our fathers did eat manna in the desert, as it is written: *He gave them bread from heaven to eat.*"

It is proved by many examples that the Lord does not "afflict the soul of the just with famine" [Proverbs 10.3] and that God multiplies food for his servants.

Whether or not the Lord afflicts "the soul of the just with famine" is shown abundantly by Elijah. First of all, because "the ravens brought him bread and flesh in the morning, and bread and flesh in the evening" as is reported in III Kings 17 [.6]. Secondly, because the poor little widow fed him, and Elijah fed her again from that same food, as is related in that same chapter [III Kings 17.10-16]. And so this poor widow and her son could say to Elijah what King David said to the Lord in the last chapter of I Paralipomenon [29.14]: "all things are thine: and we have given thee what we received of thy hand." And thirdly when the angel of the Lord placed a vessel of water and a hearth cake before him in the desert, as is recounted in III Kings 19 [.6].

Furthermore, Paul, the first hermit, fully experienced the liberality of the Lord (that is, whether the Lord afflicts "the soul of the just with famine"), as St. Jerome tells us.⁶⁵ For Paul was fed by the raven a half a loaf of bread every day for sixty years, but when St. Anthony came to visit him, the Lord doubled the portion, sending him an entire loaf.

St. Benedict also experienced this liberality, for when he had need of oil he

uttered a prayer to God and found his pitcher miraculously filled, as Gregory tells us in the second Book of the *Dialogues*.⁶⁶ On another occasion at a time of severe famine when Benedict's monks were murmuring about the shortage of bread—just as in the Scripture [Psalms 58.16]: “and they shall murmur if they be not filled.”—God was moved to mercy by the power of his prayers, for one evening Benedict found two hundred measures of wheat laid before the door of the monastery.⁶⁷ This miracle was wrought to spare St. Benedict the slight which we read in Isaiah 9 [.3]: “Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy.” It came about also to make apparent the truth of the saying, “Divine help is necessary when human help fails,”⁶⁸ as well as the Scripture in Proverbs 10 [.3]: “The Lord will not afflict the soul of the just with famine.” See also Matthew 6 [.25]: “Be not solicitous for your life, what you shall eat, nor for your body, what you shall put on.” Further, St. Jerome says: “Let a man be what he ought to be and all his needs will be met.”⁶⁹ Moreover, the Prophet says of the servants of God [Psalms 36.19–20]: “They shall not be confounded in the evil time; and in the days of famine they shall be filled: because the wicked shall perish.” Thus it is rightly said about the servants of God [Psalms 33.10–11]: “Fear the Lord, all ye his saints: for there is no want to them that fear him. The rich have wanted, and have suffered hunger: but they that seek the Lord shall not be deprived of any good.”

Elisha, too, manifested this when he multiplied the oil of the widow woman, who is believed to have been the wife of the prophet Abdiah,⁷⁰ as is reported in IV Kings 4 [.1–7], and also when he multiplied the loaves in the time of famine, when he said to his servant: “Give to the people, that they may eat. For thus saith the Lord: They shall eat, and there shall be left. So he set it before them: and they ate. And there was left according to the word of the Lord,” IV Kings 4 [.43–44]. And yet again when he multiplied the wheat in the time of the siege of Samaria, as we read in IV Kings 7 [.1]: “Hear ye the word of the Lord: Thus saith the Lord: To-morrow about this time a bushel of fine flour shall be sold for a stater, and two bushels of barley for a stater, in the gate of Samaria.”

Furthermore, in the first Book of the *Dialogues*, St. Gregory records that a monk called Nonnosus multiplied the oil in his monastery by his merits and prayers.⁷¹ And in the same first book, he reports that while still a boy, Boniface, Bishop of Ferentino, multiplied the grain in his mother's barn and the wine in her cellar, and that, moreover, he besought the Lord for twelve large gold coins, newly minted, since he had given a like sum to the poor. Sanctulus also, the friend of St. Gregory, multiplied oil and bread.

In like manner the *Lives of the Fathers* gives the account of a certain holy Father who poured out prayers to God for provisions, because a number of other holy men had visited him for the Feast of the Resurrection.⁷² And, behold, angels of the Lord suddenly appeared bearing the finest kind of bread, the like of which had never been seen in the whole of Egypt. They also brought dates, fresh figs, grapes, and other delicacies, and laid them before these holy fathers. The abun-

dance was so great that it lasted until Pentecost. They were all greatly amazed, and they returned heartfelt thanks to the Lord, who [Psalms 144.16] "opens" his "hands and" fills "with blessing every living creature."

In many other ways does the Lord give to his servants when they are in need, as the Wise Man says in Ecclesiastes 2 [.26]: "God hath given to a man, that is good in his sight, wisdom and knowledge and joy: but to the sinner he hath given vexation and superfluous care, to heap up and to gather together, and to give it to him that hath pleased God." As also in Proverbs 28 [.8]: "He that heapeth together riches by usury and loan gathereth them for him that will be bountiful to the poor."

The story of a certain king who gave alms gladly for the love of Christ, whom God rewarded with the gift of hidden treasures.

A similar story may be found in the history of the Lombards, Book III, Chapter 34, towards the end.⁷³

The story of the king who gave alms.

There was a certain king who desired to follow the counsel of the Lord as expressed in Matthew 6 [.19-20]: "Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth; where the rust and moth consume and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven; where neither the rust nor moth doth consume, and where thieves do not break through nor steal." Thus did this king begin to distribute alms, every day sharing his wealth generously with the poor, in keeping with the exhortation in Ecclesiasticus 29 [.13-14]: "Lose thy money for thy brother and thy friend: and hide it not under a stone to be lost. Place thy treasure in the commandments of the most High: and it shall bring thee more profit than gold." Because of his generosity, the poor began to come to him from far and wide, so much so that his wealth was drastically diminished, according to what is said in Ecclesiastes 5 [.10]: "Where there are great riches, there are also many to eat them." And in like manner Proverbs 13 [.11]: "Substance got in haste shall be diminished: but that which by little and little is gathered with the hand shall increase." Therefore, the king began to ponder and be concerned about what he might give to the poor thereafter, not only to preserve his reputation but also to alleviate the needs of the poor. And one day while his spirit was disturbed by such concerns, the king said to his steward, "Let us go out together and give thought to this matter as we walk." And when they reached a grove beside a spring, the king began to discuss his dilemma with the steward, according to the words of Proverbs 25 [.9]: "Treat thy cause with thy friend, and discover not the secret to a stranger." Afterward, the king, feeling drowsy and wishing to sleep a while, asked his officer to watch over him while he slept. And so while the king was asleep, the watching steward saw a very beautiful little creature emerge from the king's mouth and kiss his entire body; then it attempted to cross the little stream, but without success. Observing this, the steward drew his sword and placed it across the stream. The little creature then crossed over and went to the mountain

near the grove, and, having touched it in several places, turned back to make the return trip. But the steward had removed his sword from the stream, and the little creature was greatly disturbed. When the steward observed this, he replaced the sword, and the creature made its way across and entered the king's body once again through the mouth. Then the king woke up and began to recount a dream that he had had. "It seemed to me," he said, "that as I slept my soul went out from my body and sought to cross a stream, but could not for lack of a bridge. Then just as she was beginning to become greatly agitated at this difficulty, lo, a certain officer made a bridge for her with his sword, over which she was able to make her way. She promptly went up to the mountain on the other side, in which she found a great store of treasure — gold, silver, and precious stones. When she returned to cross the stream again, she was once more dismayed because the bridge had been removed. But the officer once again very courteously made the sword bridge for her, and, having crossed, she came back into my body. Then I awoke." When the steward had heard this, he recounted to the king all those things that he had seen with his own eyes. And so they sent for a large number of wagons and men, who dug into the mountain and discovered the abundant treasure of gold, silver, and precious stones. Thus the king was rich once again, and he gave lavishly to the poor. In this king, therefore, was fulfilled what the Lord promised in Isaiah 45 [3]: "And I will give thee hidden treasures and the concealed riches of secret places: that thou mayest know that I am the Lord."

I know many other stories about such matters, but this, I think, will suffice.

The Son of God spoke with a certain brother in a vision about many pleasing matters, with frequent recourse to the authority of the Holy Scripture.⁷⁴

In my vision I asked my Lord, "Why is it, Lord, that the Apostle Paul in I Corinthians 4 [11] says, 'Even unto this hour we both hunger and thirst and are naked?' And in II Corinthians 11 [27], he also says that he was 'in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.' Yet at the time of your Passion you asked your disciples, 'When I sent you without purse and scrip and shoes, did you want anything? But they said: Nothing,' Luke 22" [35–36]. And the Lord answered me and said, "Both these statements — by Paul and by my disciples at the Last Supper — are equally true and not contradictory, for there is no denying that they did at times suffer hardships. Thus John wrote concerning me that, 4 [6,8], 'Jesus therefore, being wearied with his journey, sat thus on the well. It was about the sixth hour. For his disciples were gone into the city to buy meats.' Nevertheless, when they answered 'Nothing,' they were also speaking the truth, for they had the authority to buy food and the power to work miracles." Concerning the first, that is, the authority to buy food, the Apostle says in I Corinthians 9 [14] that "the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel." Also earlier in the same chapter [I Corinthians 9.11]: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it" not "a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" Thus it was that the Prophet says [Psalms 80.3], "Take a psalm, and

bring hither the timbrel," interpreted by the gloss as, "Gather spiritual things and distribute temporal ones."⁷⁵ Also the Apostle in Romans 15 [.27] says, "if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, they ought also in carnal things to minister to them." Further, Mark 6 [.8] records that when the Lord sent the twelve out to preach, "he commanded them that they should take nothing for the way, but a staff only," a passage which gives the authority for buying food.⁷⁶ Concerning the second, that is, the power to work miracles, John 14 [.12-13] speaks, "Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do he also shall do; and greater than these shall he do; Because I go to the Father," etc. The words of the disciples were verified in a third way also, for they could very well say that they lacked nothing, since in having Christ they had all things. And thus it is that the Apostle says in II Corinthians 6 [.10] that "as having nothing and possessing all things," and in Philippians 4 [.18], "I have all, and abound." Thus also says the Wise Man in Proverbs 13 [.7]: "One is as it were rich, when he hath nothing: and another is as it were poor, when he hath great riches." In like manner a poet writes:

An open, generous face ennobles the meanest repast.⁷⁷

Truly, in having Christ the disciples had all things, because Christ is God, and the Apostle says about God in I Corinthians 15 [.28] that He will be "all in all." Hence the damned on the Day of Judgment will say with Tobias 10 [.5] "We having all things together in thee alone ought not to have let thee go from us," complaining that they lost God through their own guilt.

Moreover, I said to my Lord Jesus Christ in my vision, "Lord, the Jews, who live among the Christians, have mastered Latin grammar and writing. Yet they have done so, not in order to love you or to believe in you, but rather to take away from you and to disparage the Christians, who worship you as their crucified Lord. The Jews, for example, say with Isaiah 45 [.20] that 'They have no knowledge that set up the wood of their graven work and pray to a god that cannot save.' They also use the following argument against us: 'Either your Christ was a just man or an unjust one. The words of our fathers, however, make it clear that he was unjust, for they said to Pilate, John 18 [.30], "If he were not a malefactor, we would not have delivered him up to thee." But in the law which our God gave us, He commanded the Jewish people, Exodus 22 [.18]: "Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live."' They further say that 'if the son of Mary died from his own guilt, it is his own fault. And that he did indeed die because of his own guilt is made clear in the words of our ancestors to Pilate, Luke 23 [.2]: "We have found this man perverting our nation and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar and saying that he is Christ the king." Also we can demonstrate that he was unjust by the words of the Prophet [Psalms 36.25]: "I have been young, and now am old: and I have not seen the just forsaken, nor his seed seeking bread." But as he was dying on the cross, your Christ cried out that he was forsaken, saying, as Matthew 27 [.46] reports, "My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

And even you yourselves, who are the seed of Christ and bear his name, go about begging daily. Thus either the Prophet did not speak the truth or your Christ who cried out that he was forsaken was not a just man.’”

And the Lord answered me and said, “Beloved son, the Jews do not love me; they have always hated me and worked against me and my friends, ‘that the word may be fulfilled which is written in their law: They hated me without cause,’ John 15 [.25]. Thus I may complain against the Jews, because they have reproached me so much, as is written in the Scripture [Psalms 68.10]: ‘and the reproaches of them that reproached thee are fallen upon me.’ And so the Prophet says of the Jews [Psalms 54.16] ‘Let death come upon them: and let them go down alive into hell.’ ‘Because they have not understood the works of the Lord and the operations of his hands, thou shalt destroy them, and shalt not build them up.’ Why? Because [Psalms 105.21–22] ‘They forgot God, who saved them, who had done great things in Egypt, wondrous works in the land of Cham: terrible things in the Red Sea.’ [Psalms 77.42] ‘They remembered not his hand, in the day that he redeemed them from the hand of him that afflicted them.’ And so, my beloved son, my apostle Paul spoke rightly of the Jews in I Thessalonians 2 [.15–16], that the Jews ‘Who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and have persecuted us, and please not God, and are adversaries to all men; Prohibiting us to speak to the Gentiles, that they may be saved, to fill up their sins always; for the wrath of God is come upon them to the end.’ Yet if the Jews complain that I am not just, let them simply read in Jeremiah 12 [.1] ‘Thou indeed, O Lord, art just,’ and in the writings of the Prophet [Psalms 10.8], ‘For the Lord is just and hath loved justice: his countenance hath beheld righteousness,’ and also [Psalms 118.137]: ‘Thou art just, O Lord: and thy judgment is right’ ” And I answered and said, “Lord, the Jews take these Scriptures to be about the God who gave the Law to Moses, and not about the son of Mary, whom they killed by hanging on the cross.” And the Lord replied, “Have you not read my words [John 10.30], ‘I and the Father are one’ and all that the father has is mine.” And I answered and said, “My Lord, I have read and read carefully, but the Jews refuse to believe in you. Speak therefore more openly, so that they may be confounded and overcome. For it is written of you [Psalms 50.6], ‘Thou mayst be justified,’ Lord, ‘in thy words, and mayst overcome when thou art judged.’”

And the Lord said, “Isaiah wrote about me in chapter 57 [.1]: ‘The just perisheth and no man layeth it to heart: and men of mercy are taken away, because there is none that understandeth; for the just man is taken away from before the face of evil.’ And, moreover, the centurion said of me in Luke 23 [.47], ‘Indeed this was a just man.’ And James said in his last chapter [5.5–6]: ‘in the day of slaughter. You have condemned and put to death the Just One; and he resisted you not.’ The Wise Man said also in Proverbs 11 [.31]: ‘If the just man receive in the earth, how much more the wicked and the sinner.’ And Luke also spoke concerning me, 23 [.31]: ‘For if in the green wood they do these things, what shall be done in the dry?’ When, however, the Jews say that I cried out that I was forsaken, they

are speaking the truth, for my father did forsake me, so that I might be put to death by them. Whence Job says, 16 [.12], 'God hath shut me up with the unjust man,' that is to say, Pilate, 'and hath delivered me into the hands of the wicked,' that is to say, the Jews. Moreover, Luke says in Acts 4 [.27-28]: 'For of a truth there assembled together in this city against thy holy child, Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the people of Israel, To do what thy hand and thy counsel decreed to be done.' That the Father did not really forsake me is demonstrated, however, in the words of the Prophet, who, speaking in my person, said [Psalms 15.10]: 'Because thou wilt not leave my soul in hell: nor wilt thou give thy holy one to see corruption.' Isaiah also said, 54 [.7-8]: 'For a small moment have I forsaken thee: but with great mercies will I gather thee. In a moment of indignation have I hid my face a little while from thee: but with everlasting kindness have I had mercy on thee, said the Lord, thy Redeemer.' Therefore, I was forsaken by the Father for a time, because I was delivered into the hands of the wicked, that is to say, the Jews, so that they might put me to death for the salvation of the world, but I was not actually forsaken, because he brought me back from the dead on the third day. And so the prophetic words remain true, because David did not see 'the just forsaken,' nor did he see 'his seed seeking bread,' [Psalms 36.25] according to his understanding."

That there are two kinds of Poverty.

"There are two kinds of poverty. Voluntary poverty, which is for those who would be perfect, who sell all their goods and give to the poor, wishing to possess nothing in this world, because they know what the Apostle says in I Timothy 6 [.7-8] is true: 'For we brought nothing into this world; and certainly we can carry nothing out. But, having food and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content.' [Hebrews 13.14] 'For we have not here a lasting city; but we seek one that is to come.' These are the poor whom I commended in Matthew 5 [.3]: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit,' that is, the humble and voluntary mendicants, 'for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' These are the poor of whom Isaiah 29 [.19] spoke: 'and the poor men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.' Truly, these are the seed of Christ, about whom the Prophet said [Psalms 111.2]: 'His seed shall be mighty upon earth: the generation of the righteous shall be blessed.' Isaiah also said of them, 61 [.9]: 'All that shall see them shall know them, that these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed.' [Isaiah 65.16] 'In which he that is blessed upon the earth shall be blessed in God, Amen.'

The second kind of poverty includes those who are necessarily and inevitably poor, who are constrained, willy-nilly, to beg because of their lack of worldly goods."⁷⁸ These are the poor of the world, of whom the Lord spoke in Matthew 26 [.11]: "For the poor you have always with you; but me you have not always." The Lord spoke of such poor to Eli in I Kings 2 [.36]: "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall remain in thy house shall come that he may be prayed for; and shall offer a piece of silver, and a roll of bread; and shall say: Put me, I beseech

thee, to somewhat of the priestly office, that I may eat a morsel of bread." Also David called down upon Joab this worldly and involuntary poverty in II Kings 3 [.29]: "and let there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue of seed, or that is a leper, or that holdeth the distaff, or that falleth by the sword, or that wanteth bread." And thus it is that I have fully settled the question of the Jews, and have said many good things about this matter.

The Position of Master Guillaume of St. Amour against the Mendicant Orders.

The vision which I described above is true and contains absolutely nothing false, although I have added some words to that material with respect to the work written by Guillaume of St. Amour,⁷⁹ which was condemned and destroyed by Pope Alexander IV.⁸⁰ In this book he had asserted that no religious order depending for its existence on alms, even those that preach the word of God, could be saved.

After my vision, I was so comforted in Christ that although my father sent vagabonds [*ystriones*] or, as they are called, "knights of the court" to turn my heart away from God, I cared no more for their blandishments than for the fifth wheel of a wagon. One of them came to me one day and said, "Your father sends his greetings to you, but your mother says that she would like to see you one day and die the next, so little she cares about her own death." And he thought that he had said very moving words to me which would win me over. But I answered him angrily, "Get away from me, you wretch; I will listen to you no longer. My 'father was an Amorrhite,' and my 'mother a Cethite'" [Ezechiel 16.3]. He withdrew in confusion and never returned.

In the year 1247 Parma rebelled against the Empire and the Emperor.

After having lived for eight years in Tuscany, I went to the ecclesiastical province of Bologna, where I was received into the convent at Cremona. And while I was living there, the Emperor Frederick—who had already been deposed⁸¹—was making his way from Turin to Lyons in order, as it was believed, to seize the Pope and the Cardinals. In the meantime, his son King Enzo was besieging the Brescian fortification at Quinzano with the assistance of the Cremonese. At that very time, Sunday the 16th of June, 1247, my native city of Parma rebelled against the Empire and sided wholly with the Church. Then I went to live in Parma, where Gregory of Monte Longo,⁸² who subsequently was head of the church at Aquileia for many years, was serving as Papal Legate. And in that same year while Parma was being besieged by the deposed Frederick, I set off for Lyons, where I arrived on All Saints Day. The Pope had me brought to his private chambers and talked with me in a most friendly way. The Pope was particularly concerned about the state of Parma, because he had seen no messenger nor received any letters, since my departure from that city. He received me graciously and granted my requests, for he was an extremely courtly and generous man.

Now, however, I would like to pursue further the account of my lineage. My father's fourth son, born of the concubine Rechelda, was called Master John. A

handsome man and a fine soldier, he voluntarily left Parma and allied himself with the Emperor. As an act of penitence for this deed, however, he made a pilgrimage to St. James at Compostella, and on his return he chose to take up residence in Toulouse. After he became a citizen there, he took a wife, who bore him sons and daughters. Eventually, "he laid himself down upon his bed" [I Machabees 6.8] and died, after having confessed to the friars. And he lies buried in the convent of the Friars Minor in Toulouse. He was a very courtly and generous man, who gladly gave hospitality to all Italians. For he would take them into his home and entertain them lavishly, especially pilgrims and the poor, not to mention his own acquaintances, for they themselves have told me this fact.

My father also had three daughters, beautiful ladies who married into noble families. The first one was Lady Maria, and the second was Lady Karacosa. After the death of her husband, the Lady Karacosa entered the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Parma. Then after several years she led some of the sisters from the convent at Parma to the city of Reggio, where there had not before been a chapter of the Order of St. Clare, and she became their prioress. Later, however, she asked to be relieved of this duty and returned to the city of Parma, where she ended her life laudably. She was a lovely, wise, honorable, and gracious lady, not only in the eyes of God but also before men. May her soul rest in peace! My third sister was Lady Egidia, who had four children, all of whom died except the first, who was named Andrew de Pucilesio, a great lawyer.

My paternal grandmother was named Ermengard. She was a wise lady, and she lived to be a hundred years old. I lived with her for fifteen years in my father's house. May God bless her for the many times that she taught me to avoid bad company and to associate only with good companions, so that I might become wise, good, and well-behaved. How often she did this! She lies buried in the sepulchre mentioned above, which, of course, was shared by my immediate family and all our relatives. Yet my father's own sepulchre, which is in Vetere Square in front of the door of the Baptistery, was brand new (nobody having been buried there before), since the other burial place was filled.

My father's sister was the Lady Ghisla, who had two daughters, Grisopola and Vilana, who were both splendid singers. Their father was Lord Martin Ottolino de Stephanis, a jovial, pleasant, and good-natured man. He was a man who enjoyed his glass of wine, and could sing very well indeed and play various musical instruments; yet he was not a frivolous minstrel. Once in Cremona, he played a great trick on Gerard Patecchio⁸³ (who wrote the book entitled *The Book of Pests*); but this Gerard well deserved what befell him.

The mother of Brother Guido, my own brother, was Lady Ghisla de Marsili. Her family was an ancient one, noble and powerful in the city of Parma, and their residence was in the lower part of Vetere Square near the episcopal palace. I have myself seen most of the members of this family. Some of them, especially the judges, dressed in scarlet. I was also related to this family on my mother's side, since she was the daughter of Lord Gerard de Cassio. This Gerard, I believe,

lived to be a centenarian, a handsome man, and he is buried in the Church of St. Peter. He had three sons: Lord Gerard, who wrote a book on the art of letter writing (for he was an excellent writer of the high style); Lord Bernard, who was an illiterate and simple, but pure man; and Lord Hugo, who was a learned judge and magistrate. This latter was a bon vivant, who always accompanied the podestà as lawyer. He had a son who was a priest and preacher in the Order of the Friars Minor, a learned, honorable, well-mannered man, who was a good friar. He was called Brother James de Cassio, and he died, I believe, in Sicily in the city of Messina.

My mother was called Immelda, a humble lady who was devoted to God. She fasted much and gave alms freely to the poor. She was never seen to be angry, and never once did she strike any of her servants. In winter, for the pure love of God, she always took in some poor mountain girl to spend the winter with her, providing her with clothing and food, and this despite the fact that she already had enough servants to do the housework. When I was at Lyons, Pope Innocent gave a letter to me providing for her entry into the Order of St. Clare; and when Guido, my brother, was sent to the Pope by the people of Parma, he gave another to him. My mother lies buried in the convent of the Ladies of the Order of St. Clare. May her soul rest in peace through the mercy of God! Amen. My maternal grandmother was named Maria, a beautiful, well-formed lady. She was the sister of Lord Aicardo Hugo of the Americi family, members of which were judges in Parma, rich and powerful men. And their residence was near the Church of St. George.

But I must return to the two brothers that I spoke of above — Bernard Oliver and Roland Oliver de Adam. Their mother was the Lady Vitella, whom I saw when she was a hundred years old. They had two sisters, who were very wise and beautiful ladies, as I myself can witness. One was named Jacopa, and she married Guido de Pecorari, but, unfortunately, she had no children. The other was named Karacosa, who married Lord Naimerio de Panizari, and she gave birth to a son, Gerard, who himself carried on the line with many sons and daughters. The first of these was Brother James, called Ultramarine, because he had stayed overseas many years. The son of my cousin, he was a worthy and very learned man, a preacher and priest in the Minorite Order. He knew Arabic, that is, the language of the Saracens, and he was also very well-versed in French. As an ecclesiastical administrator, he was a most worthy man, honorable, good, and holy. He died at Modena and is buried in the convent of the Friars Minor. One of his brothers was named Bernard, and I care not for all the others. The oldest sister of these two was Avanza, an extremely beautiful lady. She had a daughter, Karacosa, an honorable lady devoted to God and a member of the holy Order of St. Clare in the convent at Parma. Their second sister was named Cisa, who married twice and had many sons and daughters. The third sister was called Maria, a beautiful, wise, and honorable lady, who died in the holy Order of St. Clare at Imola.

Another member of my family was Lord Villano, a priest and a holy and dignified man, who was a member of the Benedictine monastery located between the Po and the Larione, in the bishopric of Mantua, where the Countess Matilda is buried. Another member of the family was Lord Conrad, who was in the monastery of Biescello. He was the son of Lord Bernard, the son of Lord Leonard, the son of Lord Bernard the Judge, with whom we first began — the one who died in the war. The wife of this Bernard was the exceptionally beautiful Lady Karacosa, a prudent and exceedingly wise woman, who ruled her household well after the death of her husband. She was of the house of the Zapironi.

I, Brother Salimbene, and my brother, Guido de Adam, destroyed our house in both the male and the female line by entering the Religious Order, so that we might build it up again in heaven. May He deign to grant this to us, Who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever! Amen.

And so I have given an account of the genealogy of my family as I set out to do, although I have not spoken of many men and women, both ancient and modern, for the sake of brevity. And it seemed fitting to me to end where I began. Moreover, I have given this entire genealogy for five reasons.

First of all, I did so at the request of Sister Agnes, my niece, a member of the Order of St. Clare in the convent at Parma, where she became a recluse for the love of Christ when she was very small. For Sister Agnes had asked me to give an account of the relatives on her father's side of the family (about whom she knew almost nothing), so that she might be able to learn as much about her father's lineage as she already knew about her mother's. And so now she has the account of the paternal genealogy — of those who are called *de Adam* and, anciently, *Grenone*. On her mother's side, however, Sister Agnes is of the Baratti family, which is divided into two branches. For some of the Baratti are called Negri — the ones who allied themselves with the Emperor — and some are called Rubei — who remained loyal to the Church. Sister Agnes is of this latter branch, as I have shown above. All of these Baratti, both the Negri and the Rubei, take their origin from one branch and one root, that is, from two ladies, one of whom was named Barattina and the other Ghibertina, of whom I have spoken sufficiently above.⁸⁴

The second reason the genealogy was given was so that Sister Agnes might know for whom she ought to pray to God, for the Apostle says in the first Epistle to Timothy, chapter 5 [.8]: "But, if any man have not care of his own and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." And the Apostle James says, 5[.16]: "and pray one for another, that you may be saved. For the continual prayer of a just man availeth much."

The third reason was on account of the example set by the ancients, who kept records of their genealogies. Thus some "were cast out of the priesthood" because they could not find the record of their genealogy, as is reported in Nehemiah 7 [.64].

The fact that I was able to say many good and useful things as I would not otherwise have been able to do constitutes the fourth reason for this genealogy.

The fifth and last reason was to demonstrate the truth of the words of the Apostle James, for he says in the fourth chapter [.15]: "For what is your life? It is a vapour which appeareth for a little while and afterwards shall vanish away." The truth of this can be seen in our own days in the large numbers that death has snatched away from our midst. In the sixty years of my own life, for example, I have seen all of those that I recorded in this genealogy, save for a few. I did not, in fact, see any of the following: neither my paternal great grandfather, Adam de Grenone; nor his two sons, Oliver and John de Adam, my grandfather; nor John de Adam's son Adamino, my father's own brother; neither Emblavato nor Roland Oliver; nor Villano, the Benedictine monk. But I have seen all of the others, and all of them have since departed from this world. Moreover, we daily see fulfilled the words of the wise woman who spoke with David, seeking to bring peace between father and son. She is a figure of that other wise woman, namely the Holy Virgin, who brought Him forth through whom "we were reconciled to God by the death of his Son," as the Apostle says in Romans 5 [.10]. For the woman who spoke to David said, II Kings 14 [.14]: "We all die, and like waters that return no more we fall down into the earth. Neither will God have a soul to perish." Thus the teaching of Ecclesiasticus 14 [.17-19] ought to be followed: "Before thy death work justice: for in hell there is no finding food. All flesh shall fade as grass, and as the leaf that springeth out on a green tree. Some grow, and some fall off: so is the generation of flesh and blood: one cometh to an end, and another is born." In like manner Ecclesiastes 1 [.4]: "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh: but the earth standeth for ever." See also Job 14 [.5]: "The days of man are short, and the number of his months is with thee: thou hast appointed his bounds which cannot be passed." Or Job 16 [.23]: "For, behold, short years pass away: and I am walking in a path by which I shall not return." And further in Job 14 [.1-2]: "Man, born of a woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries. Who cometh forth like a flower, and is destroyed, and fleeth as a shadow, and never continueth in the same state." Moreover, in the last chapter of I Paralipomenon [29.15], David spoke in the presence of the Lord: "Our days upon earth are as a shadow: and there is no stay." Therefore, the teaching of the Scripture ought to be followed. For the Apostle says in Galatians 6 [.10]: "Therefore, whilst we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are of the household of the faith." Thus it is written in I Machabees 12 [.1] that when "Jonathan saw that the time served him," he did what he had to do, and rightly so, for as it is written in Apocalypse 10 [.5-6]: "The angel, whom" John saw standing "upon the sea and upon the earth, lifted up his hand to heaven; And he swore by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven and the things which are therein, and the earth and the things which are in it, and the sea and the things which are therein: That time shall be no longer." Therefore, the teaching of the Wise Man in Ecclesiastes 9 [.10] ought to be heeded: "Whatsoever thy hand is able to do, do it earnestly: for neither work, nor reason, nor wisdom, nor knowledge, shall be in hell, whither thou art hastening."

But indeed they act like great fools, saying that they wish to keep the time of youth for themselves for their own vain pleasures, but they are quite willing to give their old age to God, as Scripture relates in Job 32 [.22]: "For I know not how long I shall continue, and whether after a while my Maker may take me away." For Ecclesiastes 9 [.4] says: "There is no man that liveth always, or that hopeth for this." Also Ecclesiastes 12 [.1] gives good counsel, saying: "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the time of affliction come, and the years draw nigh of which thou shalt say: They please me not." Why in the days of your youth? Because "It is good for a man, when he hath borne the yoke from his youth," as Jeremiah says in Lamentations 3 [.27]. Also because "The things that thou hast not gathered in thy youth, how shalt thou find them in thy old age?" Ecclesiasticus 25 [.5]. Moreover, Ecclesiastes 11 [.6] teaches: "In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening let not thy hand cease: for thou knowest not which may rather spring up, this or that: and if both together, it shall be the better." Likewise, there are those who spend their whole life, both youth and old age, in vanities, and this is great foolishness, as Zachariah points out in Luke 1 [.74-75]: "we may serve him without fear, In holiness and justice before him all our days." Whence it is that the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 12 [.11]: "He that tilleth his land shall be satisfied with bread: but he that pursueth idleness is very foolish." Also Proverbs 20 [.4]: "Because of the cold the sluggard would not plough: he shall beg therefore in the summer, and it shall not be given him." By *cold* the Wise Man intends the present life; by *summer*, eternal joy.

With regard to such matters, it should be noted that because of sin sometimes a whole household has been cut off from its family roots and destroyed, as was manifested in the valley of Achor, where Achan, of the tribe of Juda, was stoned to death for the sin of theft, along with his entire household, as it is recorded in Joshua 7. See also what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 14 [.34]: "sin maketh nations miserable." The Apostle says the same in Ephesians 4 [.28]: "He that stole, let him now steal no more; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have something to give to him that suffereth need."

Furthermore, sometimes an entire family has been totally obliterated, as is true of Cain, slayer of his own brother Abel, for which crime his entire generation perished in the flood.⁸⁵ So Jude 1 [.11] says: "Woe unto them! For they have gone in the way of Cain." This is also made clear in the three kings of Israel who were warned by the Lord that he would destroy their entire house on account of the sin of idolatry, even "him that pisseth against the wall," [III Kings 14.10]. The first of those kings was Jeroboam, son of Nabath, who caused Israel to sin, as is recorded in III Kings 14 and 15, and in Ecclesiasticus 47 [.29]. The second king was Baasa, who did similar things and suffered a similar fate, III Kings, chapter 16. The third was Ahab, whose wife was Jezebel, of whom the Scripture speaks in III Kings 21. In this king was fulfilled what is written in Ecclesiasticus 19 [.3]: "he shall be lifted up for a greater example, and his soul shall be taken

away out of the number." For the Lord said to Baasa only, "I will make thy house as the house of Jeroboam the son of Nabat," III Kings 16 [.3], while He said to Ahab, "I will make thy house like the house of Jeroboam the son of Nabat, and like the house of Baasa the son of Ahias," III Kings 21 [.22]. The sin of these three kings was the sin of idolatry. So it is that St. John says in I John, the last chapter [5.21]: "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." Jeremiah also says in the last chapter of his Epistle [Baruch 6.64]: "Knowing therefore that they are not gods, fear them not." See also Jeremiah 10 [.11]: "Thus then shall you say to them: The gods that have not made heaven and earth, let them perish from the earth and from among those places that are under heaven," and also Jeremiah in the last chapter of his Epistle [Baruch 6.72]: "Better therefore is the just man that hath no idols: for he shall be far from reproach." This is also made clear in Daniel's three companions, of whom Daniel 3 [.95-96] speaks: "Then Nabuchodonosor breaking forth said: Blessed be the God of them, to wit, of Sidrach, Misach and Abdenago, who hath sent his angel and delivered his servants that believed in him: and they changed the king's word and delivered up their bodies that they might not serve nor adore any god, except their own God. By me therefore this decree is made, that every people, tribe and tongue, which shall speak blasphemy against the God of Sidrach, Misach and Abdenago, shall be destroyed, and their houses laid waste: for there is no other God that can save in this manner." Thus may be seen the truth of St. Basil's saying: "The testimonials of one's enemies are the most convincing."⁸⁶

Sometimes, indeed, the whole family is not destroyed, but one is left so that the sorrow might be the greater, as is manifested in Eli, whom the Lord warned in I Kings 2 [.33] that "a great part" of his "house shall die when they come to man's estate." That Scripture was fulfilled when Saul had the priests of the Lord killed by Doeg the Edomite at Nob, even though they were wearing the linen ephod, as is recorded in I Kings 22 [.18]. The Lord spoke truly when He said of Eli, I Kings 3 [.12], "I will begin, and I will make an end." For He began when two sons of Eli were killed in battle on the same day, as recorded in I Kings 4 [.11]. And he ended when Solomon removed Abiathar from the priesthood and replaced him with Sadoch, as we read in III Kings 2 [.27]. These things befell Eli the great priest "because he knew that his sons did wickedly, and did not chastise them," as the Scripture says in I Kings 3 [.13]. Thus it may be seen that God loves justice and discipline, for "the Lord is just, and hath loved justice" [Psalms 10.8]. And so it was that when the princes of Israel did not correct the people entrusted to their care, "the Lord being angry, Said to Moses: Take all the princes of the people, and hang them up on gibbets against the sun: that my fury may be turned away from Israel," Numbers 25 [.3-4].

Moreover, the best part of a household is sometimes destroyed on account of an offense against God, as is made clear in Jechonias, of whom the Lord said in Jeremiah 22 [.24]: "As I live, saith the Lord, if Jechonias the son of Joakim, the king of Juda, were a ring on my right hand, I would pluck him thence." And

later in the last chapter [29.30]: "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord: Write this man barren, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for there shall not be a man of his seed that shall sit upon the throne of David and have power any more in Juda." Thus it is that Eli says in I Kings 2 [.25]: "If one man shall sin against another, God may be appeased in his behalf: but if a man shall sin against the Lord, who shall pray for him?"

Let us make clear why we have written these things. In my own days I have seen many families destroyed in many parts of the world. An example is near at hand: in the city of Parma the Cassio family, from which my own mother came, was totally destroyed in the male line. Likewise, I have firsthand knowledge of the total destruction of two wealthy and influential families: the Pagani and the Stephani. Such examples bring three reflections to mind. First of all, the fulfillment of the Scripture in Job 34 [.24]: "He shall break in pieces many and innumerable, and shall make others to stand in their stead," as well as Baruch 3 [.19], "They are cut off, and are gone down to hell, and others are risen up in their place," and also Job 12 [.23], "He multiplieth nations, and destroyeth them, and restoreth them again after they were overthrown." And so it happened to the blessed Job, who lost seven sons and three daughters through the workings of the devil by God's consent, as we read in Job 1 [.19], because God eventually gave him seven more sons and three more daughters, as recorded in Job 42 [.13]. "And he had seven sons, and three daughters." Our second reflection is that we shall go to the dead, but they shall not come to us, as David said, II Kings 12 [.23], when he spoke of his dead son: "I shall go to him rather: but he shall not return to me." So also Job 7 [.9-10]: "As a cloud is consumed, and passeth away: so he that shall go down to hell shall not come up. Nor shall he return any more into his house: neither shall his place know him any more." And, further, Jeremiah says in chapter 22 [.10]: "lament him that goeth away, for he shall return no more nor see his native country." Likewise, Job 14 [.12] says: "So man when he is fallen asleep shall not rise again; till the heavens be broken, he shall not awake, nor rise up out of his sleep." Our third reflection is that we ought to be concerned about our salvation while we have the time, that it might not be said of us what is written in Jeremiah 8 [.20]: "The harvest is past, the summer is ended, and we are not saved."

But we have written enough about these matters. Now let us return to the course of our history and pick up where we left off.

We have already related how in the month of August 1229 the Bolognese besieged the castle of San Cesario and captured it before the very eyes of the armies of Modena, Parma, and Cremona. But that same night a great battle ensued between these armies, and the war machines of the Bolognese were captured by force. In fact, as a small boy, I saw a great number of these machines in Vetere Square in Parma close to the baptistery, the episcopal palace, and the cathedral. In that war there was bitter fighting, and a great many men died on both sides, infantry and cavalry alike. And "the battle grew hot against" [Judges 20.34] the

Bolognese. Finally, the Bolognese were so wearied by battle that they turned tail and fled, leaving behind their carroccio and all their baggage train. The Modenese, therefore, wanted to take the carroccio of Bologna into their city, but the Parmese would not agree, saying that one should not do such evil to his enemies and that, in fact, this would be an ineradicable affront likely to cause great harm in the future. The Modenese heeded the advice of their friends and allies and left the carroccio in the Bolognese castle of Piumazzo, all returning then to their respective cities. It is an important fact to remember that in this conflict with Modena, Parma, and Cremona, the Bolognese were allied with Milan, Piacenza, Brescia, and the whole region of Romagna. It was in this war that Lord Pagano, the son of Albert Giles de Pagani of Parma, podestà of the city of Modena, knighted his son Henry, saying to him, "Go, attack the enemy and fight like a man!" The young man did as he was told and, in the first onslaught, was pierced by a lance, so that the blood gushed out of his body like new wine from a corkless jug, and he died shortly thereafter. Yet when the father heard the news, he said, "Since my son had become a soldier and died fighting like a man, I care not." All this I heard from an eye-witness.

In the particular battle that I discussed above, that is to say, Santa Maria in Strada, Lord Zangaro de San Vitale of Parma, a renowned knight and warrior, met his death. Also, Lord Guarino, his kinsman and, like Zangaro, a fine soldier skilled in warfare, was killed in the battle of San Cesario. Guarino was a kinsman of Pope Innocent IV, since his wife was the Pope's sister. She bore him six sons and a daughter, all of whom were healthy, handsome, and well-formed children, and I myself was acquainted with them all. The first son was Lord Hugo de San Vitale. The second son was Lord Albert, canon of the cathedral for a long period of time, and later he was called the Elect of Parma for many years. Yet by his own choice he never even became a priest; in fact, he died a simple deacon, without ever having been consecrated to the bishopric. And he lies buried in the wing of the cathedral where the carroccio used to be stored, behind the choir in the place reserved for the Friars Minor. Even Lord Obizzo de Lavania, bishop of Parma and uncle of Innocent IV, is buried in a less exalted place. This Lord Albert, bishop-elect of Parma, was a handsome and honorable man, but not particularly learned. I was very well acquainted with Lord Albert, and he informed me that my father had hoped to get me out of the Order of the Friars Minor through the intervention of Pope Innocent IV, but that the plan had been thwarted by my father's death. Pope Innocent was a man blessed with a good memory and since he had been a canon in the church at Parma, near where my father, of course, had lived, he remembered him very well. Furthermore, my father's daughter Maria had married Lord Azzone, who was a relative of Lord Guarino, the Pope's brother-in-law. And, therefore, because of these connections, my father hoped that the Pope would restore me to him, especially since he had no other son. I think the Pope would not have done this, though he might have elevated me to a bishopric or some other high office, in order to mollify my father. For Pope Innocent was

a very generous man, as may be seen in his interpretations of the Rule of the Friars Minor, as well as in many other ways. Innocent always kept a large company of Friars Minor about him, and, moreover, he had a fine convent and a beautiful church built for the friars at Lavagna, his native land, in which he wanted to keep twenty-five Friars Minor at all times, providing them with books and other necessities. But the Minorites would not accept the gift, and so the Pope gave it to other religious orders. It was this Pope who in 1247 confirmed me in the office of preaching at Lyons in his private chambers, absolved me from all my sins, and bestowed many other favors on me. Now, this Pope Innocent IV was inclined to be overly indulgent toward his relatives. He took the bishopric of Parma, for example, from Brother Bernard de Vizio of the Scoti family, and gave it to his nephew Albert. It was Bernard de Vizio who founded the Order of the Brothers of Martorano,⁸⁷ and he had originally been given this bishopric by Gregory of Monte Longo, Papal Legate to Lombardy. Also, Pope Innocent richly endowed with ecclesiastical offices his many nephews born to his three sisters who lived in Parma. Thus he fulfilled the prophetic saying "he has built up Sion with blood" [Micah 3.10].⁸⁸

The third son of Lord Guarino was Anselm, a handsome man but one inept at warfare, because, having been reared in the Papal court among the cardinals, he had imbibed all the indolence and bad habits of the priestly order. The fourth son was William, who died, I believe, at the early age of twenty; he was a very devout young man, who always sought to confess at least once a week. The fifth was Lord Obizzo, bishop of Tripoli for many years, and presently bishop of Parma. He was very military-minded. And he can be described in the same way that we characterized Lord Nicholas, bishop of Reggio, above. For he was a scholar among scholars, a priest among priests, a layman among laymen, a soldier among soldiers, a lord among lords; he was a great cheater and a loose spendthrift, but also generous, liberal, and courteous. When he first became bishop, he made many shady deals with crooks involving church lands and possessions. For this reason, Ghiberto de Gente made an accusation to Pope Urban against him as a cheater, a waster, and a seller of Church properties. But later he recovered all the lands he had disposed of and did many good works in the bishopric. He was a learned man, especially in canon law, and was highly experienced in ecclesiastical administration. He was an expert chess player, and he kept the secular clerks strictly in line. To those who ingratiated themselves with him, he gave parishes and churches. He loved all religious orders, but especially the Friars Minor. He did, however, do one great wrong: while he was still bishop of Tripoli, he put aside that office, and, with the help of Cardinal Ottobono (who was later to be Pope Adrian),⁸⁹ he took the bishopric of Parma away from Master John de Domina-Rifidha. Master John had been arch-priest of the cathedral, and he was learned in both civil and ecclesiastical law, both of which he had taught for many years. He was an honorable and a good man; he was both a good singer and a good preacher. But, moreover, he had been the teacher of this Obizzo in canonical

law. And he had been properly and canonically elected by the other canons as bishop of Parma, after the death of Lord Albert, his own brother. And if "a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump" [Galatians 5.9], how much more a large portion? For as Ecclesiasticus 6 [.9] says: "there is a friend that turneth to enmity; and there is a friend that will disclose hatred and strife and reproaches." Moreover, Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33] speaks of the kind of man he is: "For he lieth in wait and turneth good into evil, and on the elect he will lay a blot." Also in Proverbs 18 [.1] the Wise Man says: "He that hath a mind to depart from a friend seeketh occasions: he shall ever be subject to reproach." Furthermore, in II Kings 16 [.17] Absolon said to Chusai the Arachite, the friend of David, "Is this thy kindness to thy friend?" Whence Ecclesiasticus 29 [.8-9] says: "he shall get him for an enemy without cause: And he will pay him with reproaches and curses, and instead of honour and good turn will repay him injuries."

Finally, the sixth and last son of Guarino, Pope Innocent IV's brother-in-law, was Lord Tedisio, a strong, stocky man.

Of Lady Cecilia, abbess of the monastery of Chiavari of the Order of St. Clare who came to a bad end, struck down by God.

The sister of these brothers was Lady Cecilia. She had remained secluded for many years in the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Parma, but later became abbess of the convent at Chiavari, a convent which Cardinal William, a relative of Pope Innocent, had had built at his own expense near Lavagna, his native country. Chiavari was a very rich establishment, occupied by both the Ladies of St. Clare and the Friars Minor. This Lady Cecilia, the abbess, came to a bad end, struck down by God because of her own avariciousness and folly, as I will now relate. The Visitor for the convents of the Order of St. Clare in the province of Lombardy, Brother Boniface of the Friars Minor, was assigned the duty of moving certain of the Ladies from Torino, a city of his district, to various other convents—a problem created by the frequent wars in this area. After having settled all of them except two in various convents, Brother Boniface placed one of these remaining Sisters in the convent at Genoa, with the full consent of the abbess and her community. The other one he placed in the convent of Chiavari, with the abbess alone dissenting. And even while the Visitor was still at the convent, though in that section set aside for the friars, where he was taking his dinner, suddenly the abbess rose up angrily against the new guest, treating her harshly and exhorting the other Sisters to cast her out of the convent, maintaining that she would under no circumstance allow her to stay there. Then the Sisters began to pour out tearful prayers in commiseration for her, but the abbess answered, "Ha, you wretched women! Do you think that I don't know what I am doing? I do this for your own good and the good of our convent." And so seizing the young woman, she cast her out ignominiously, thus fulfilling the words of the poet:

For a guest to be cast out is far more shameful.

Than not to be admitted at all.⁹⁰

Then the young woman went directly to the Visitor in the Brothers' section and tearfully related to him everything that the abbess had said and done to her. Upon hearing these things, the Visitor was greatly disturbed; he rose up from the table immediately, and, making his way to the abbess, he excommunicated her on the spot on account of her unseemly harshness in closing the bowels of mercy to a sister in need. Brother Boniface made every effort to console the troubled Sister, and taking her back to Genoa with him, he requested the abbess and the Sisters of the convent there to receive her for the love of God and of himself, fully revealing to them the malice, cruelty, avarice, and folly of the abbess of Chiavari. When they had heard such things, the Sisters of Genoa were greatly moved by compassion for the young woman and received her gladly.

Of the aged Sister of the convent of Genoa of the Order of St. Clare, to whom God spoke and revealed future things, that is to say, the death of the abbess of Chiavari.

Now there was in the convent at Genoa a devout aged Sister, a woman of great merit in the eyes of God, and she was incensed that the abbess of Chiavari had cast out the Sister in need who had been placed in her care. That same evening, therefore, after the other Sisters had gone to bed, she prostrated herself before the altar and gave herself up wholly in tears and prayers to God, and, as if God himself were present, she began to talk and dispute with Him: "Thou indeed, O Lord, art just, if I plead with thee, but yet I will speak what is just to thee: Why doth the way of the wicked prosper: why is it well with all them that transgress, and do wickedly?" Jeremiah 12 [.1]. 'Why lookest thou upon them that do unjust things and holdest thy peace when the wicked devoureth the man that is more just than himself?' Habacuc 1 [.13]. Did you yourself not, Lord, recommend hospitality, saying in Matthew 25 [.35]: 'I was a stranger, and you took me in'? Also your Apostle teaches and recommends hospitality in Romans 12 [.13]: 'Pursuing hospitality.' And he says further in Hebrews 13 [.1-2]: 'Let the charity of the brotherhood abide in you. And hospitality do not forget; for by this some, being not aware of it, have entertained angels.' Moreover, the Apostle Peter says in I Peter 4 [.9]: 'Using hospitality one towards another, without murmuring.' And did you not say to your disciples in Matthew 10 [.40]: 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me: and he that receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me?' Did not your Apostle say in Romans 15 [.7]: 'Wherefore, receive one another, as Christ also hath received you, unto the honour of God.' And you also said in John 6 [.37]: 'Him that cometh to me, I will not cast out.' Why, therefore, did the abbess of Chiavari cast out her sister? Does the Apostle not say in Colossians 3 [.12]: 'Put ye on therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, the bowels of mercy.' Where, therefore, is the courtesy, where the love, where the pity, where the bowels of mercy? For John says in the first Epistle 3 [.17-18]: 'He that hath the substance of this world and shall see his brother in need and shall shut up his bowels

from him; how doth the charity of God abide in him? My little children, let us not love in word nor in tongue, but in deed and in truth.' Also the blessed James says, 2 [.15-16]: 'And if a brother or sister be naked and want daily food; And one of you say to them: Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled; yet give them not those things that are necessary for the body, what shall it profit?' Surely, if the abbess of Chiavari had considered these things, she would have shown mercy to her sister. For it is written of you, my Lord and God, in Ecclesiastus 35 [.16-19]:

The Lord will not accept any person against a poor man: and he will hear the prayer of him that is wronged. He will not despise the prayers of the fatherless: nor the widow, when she poureth out her complaint. Do not the widow's tears run down the cheek, and her cry against him that causeth them to fall? For from the cheek they go up even to heaven: and the Lord that heareth will not be delighted with them.

This was written of you, Lord, because you said in Romans 12 [.19]: 'Revenge is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord,' and in Deuteronomy 32 [.35]: 'Revenge is mine, and I will repay,' and again in Ecclesiasticus 28 [.1]: 'He that seeketh to revenge himself shall find vengeance from the Lord,' and further in Isaiah 64 [.12]: 'Wilt thou refrain thyself, O Lord, upon these things, wilt thou hold thy peace, and afflict us vehemently?' And, finally, Habacuc 1 [.2] says: 'How long, O Lord, shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? Shall I cry out to thee suffering violence, and thou wilt not save?'"

After this Sister had thus besought God and had poured out her prayers to Him, she fell into a light sleep and slept for a short period of time. And because the Lord could no longer refrain from answering the prayers of his servant who sought after justice, He began to speak with her, saying, as in Isaiah 47 [.3]: "'I will take vengeance, and no man shall resist me.'" The Sister then came out of her sleep and, fully awake, she clearly heard Christ say: "'I have heard thy prayer, and I have seen thy tears' [IV Kings 20.5] and I have obeyed you. And with respect to that abbess who closed the bowels of mercy to her sister, you shall see that her 'sorrow shall be turned on' her 'own head: and' her 'iniquity shall come down upon' her 'crown.' For, behold, I have stricken her with a cruel and 'incurable plague' [II Machabees 9.5], and she shall no longer be abbess, but she shall understand what the Scripture says in James 2 [.13]: 'For judgment without mercy to him that hath not done mercy,' and in Job 20 [.18]: 'He shall be punished for all that he did, and yet shall not be consumed,' and also in Job 24 [.12]: 'God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenged.' You will soon discover," the Lord continued, "what has happened to that cruel and merciless abbess." After this Sister had heard these words, she reported them all to the Visitor, her own abbess, and the Sisters of the convent. Then the Visitor sent a swift messenger to Chiavari to inquire about the abbess, and he learned that she had died unshriven, accursed, and excommunicate.

At the very time that the messenger was being sent, however, Lady Cecilia,

the abbess, fell gravely ill with a wasting sickness. And suffering from grievous pains, she "laid" herself "down upon" her "bed" [I Machabees 6.8], and, as the end drew near, she cried out: "Oh, I am dying, I am dying! Come, my Sisters, come, and bring me help!" Pitying their abbess, as was fitting, the Sisters hastened to her bedside. Yet not a word was said about the salvation of her soul nor about confession, so that one might know that the Scripture in Ecclesiastes 7 [.14] was fulfilled: "Consider the works of God, that no man can correct whom he hath despised." Her throat closed up so that she could scarcely breathe. And when she understood she was dying, she said to the Sisters gathered about: "Go and take in that Sister! Go and take in that Sister! Go and take in that Sister! God has struck me because of her! God has struck me because of her! God has struck me because of her!" And saying such things, she gave up the ghost; but it did not return to God who gave it, as is written in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes [12.7]: "The dust return into its earth, from whence it was, and the spirit return to God, who gave it." Why? so that the Scripture in Ecclesiastes 11 [.3] might be fulfilled: "If the tree fall to the south, or to the north, in what place soever it shall fall, there shall it be." That is to say, Wherever I find you, there shall I judge you. Thus it may be seen that one should not live save in a condition that he would be willing to die in. And this is what Psalms [49.22] says: "Understand these things, you that forget God: lest he snatch you away, and there be none to deliver you." It would have been much better for this abbess if she had lived as a private person in the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Parma than to have had riches and authority. For Ecclesiastes 5 [.12-13] says about riches: "riches kept to the hurt of the owner. For they are lost with very great afflictions." For it was her great riches which caused her to be discourteous and avaricious. And with respect to authority, Ecclesiastes 8 [.9] says: "Sometimes one man ruleth over another to his own hurt." This Scripture can be understood in two ways, that is to say, of those who rule but also of those who are ruled. Of the first, Ecclesiasticus 20 [.8] says: "He that taketh authority to himself unjustly shall be hated." And this was made clear in Abimelech, the son of Gideon, as related in Judges 9; and in Absalom, who took over the kingdom and cast his father out, but afterward perished hanging from the tree, pierced by spears, as reported in II Kings 15; and in Adonias, of whom it is said in III Kings 1 [.5] that he "exalted himself, saying: I will be king," but was later killed by Solomon's order. Isaiah 3 [.15] speaks of the second, where the Lord complains: "Why do you consume my people, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord the God of hosts." Also Ezechiel 34 [.4] says: "You ruled over them with rigour, and with a high hand."

That there are five kinds of people whose rule is cruel and base.

It should be noted that there are five kinds of people whose rule is extremely cruel and evil. The first are women, of whom Ecclesiasticus 25 [.30] speaks: "A woman, if she have superiority, is contrary to her husband," and again: "From the woman came the beginning of sin, and by her we all die" [Ecclesiasticus 25.33].

And thus it is that she is condemned in Genesis 3 [.16]: "Thou shalt be under thy husband's power, and he shall have dominion over thee." Yet whenever she can, woman gladly takes control herself. This is made clear in Semiramis, who invented pants for men, and who, in order to reign herself, married her own son by her husband Ninus, after his death.⁹¹ This is manifested also in Athalia, who killed all the seed of the royal family so that she might be queen, and who, after a reign of seven years, was killed by the sword, as is written in IV Kings 11 and in II Paralipomenon 23. In the *Histories* it is also said that "The people of the earth rejoiced, because the Lord had taken away the shame, lest a woman should rule over them."⁹² The Lord also says concerning the rule of women in Isaiah 3 [.12]: "As for my people, their oppressors have stripped them, and women have ruled over them."

The second kind is that of servants, as Proverbs 19 [.10] says: "Delicacies are not seemly for a fool: nor for a servant to have rule over princes," and also Proverbs 30 [.21–22]: "By three things the earth is disturbed, and the fourth it cannot bear: By a slave when he reigneth, etc." Moreover, Ecclesiastes 10 [.7] relates: "I have seen servants upon horses: and princes walking on the ground as servants." See also Jeremiah's prayer at the end of the book of Lamentations [5.8]: "Servants have ruled over us: there was none to redeem us out of their hand." Thus a certain poet writes:

Nothing is crueler than a humble man who has risen:
He strikes all because he fears all; he rages violently against all,
So that he may be esteemed powerful; no beast is more savage
Than the rage of a servant let loose on free backs.⁹³

The third kind is the rule of fools, which Ecclesiastes 10 [.5–6] speaks of: "There is an evil that I have seen under the sun, as it were by an error proceeding from the face of the prince: A fool set in high dignity, and the rich sitting beneath." Also Proverbs 26 [.1]: "As snow in summer, and rain in harvest, so glory is not seemly for a fool," and later in the same chapter [.8]: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury: so is he that giveth honour to a fool." Also Ecclesiasticus 47 [.26–28]: "And Solomon had an end with his fathers. And he left behind him of his seed, the folly of the nation, Even Roboam that had little wisdom, who turned away the people through his counsel." Solomon feared lest he have a foolish son who would reign after him, and so he said in Ecclesiastes 2 [.18–19]: "I hated all my application wherewith I had earnestly laboured under the sun, being like to have an heir after me, Whom I know not whether he will be a wise man or a fool, and he shall have rule over all my labours with which I have laboured and been solicitous." Thus it is that Solomon can say what Job 3 [.25] said: "For the fear which I feared hath come upon me: and that which I was afraid of hath befallen me." And when Solomon said in Proverbs 30 [.21–22] that "the earth is disturbed . . . by a slave when he reigneth," he spoke the truth, because his own servant reigned after him, and the earth was moved and disturbed when Jero-

boam and Abias clashed together with their armies, as in II Paralipomenon 13. But what Isaiah 32 [.5] promises is a consolation to those who have been afflicted by the rule of fools: "The fool shall no more be called prince: neither shall the deceitful be called great."

Children make up the fourth kind, of whose rule the Lord says through Isaiah 3 [.4]: "I will give children to be their princes, and the effeminate shall rule over them." So Ecclesiastes 10 [.16] says: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and when the princes eat in the morning."

The fifth and final kind is that of one's enemies, about whose rule Psalm [105.41] speaks: "They that hated them had dominion over them." Thus it is that the Lord says in Isaiah 52 [.5]: "They that rule over them," that is, the people of God, "treat them unjustly, saith the Lord, and my name is continually blasphemed all the day long." Blessed be God, who has freed me from this subject.

How the convent of Bordeaux of the Order of St. Clare chose the abovementioned lady as abbess, and how the Pope freely approved the choice.

While I was at Lyons when Pope Innocent IV was there, I remember that the Friars Minor of Bordeaux came to the Pope to inform him that the Sisters of the Order of St. Clare in Bordeaux had chosen Lady Cecilia, his niece, as their abbess. And the Pope gave them letters of confirmation and sent the friars to Parma for her. But when the bishop of Parma, nephew of the Pope and brother of that lady, learned of the appointment while he was in Lyons, he went immediately to the Pope and induced him to rescind his decision. And, perhaps, if she had indeed gone to Bordeaux, rather than to Chiavari, she would have conducted herself better among strangers than she did among neighbors and friends. Now let us return to the course of our history and take up where we left off.

How Lord Nazario and his wife helped the Friars Minor of Lucca in their time of difficulty. About the Abbess of Gattaiola who put a "blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33] by provoking the whole city of Lucca against the Friars Minor.

In that same year of 1229 Lord Nazario Ghirardine of Lucca was podestà of Reggio, and it was he who was responsible for the building of the bridge and gate of Porta Bernone. Construction of the walls around the city of Reggio was, in fact, first undertaken in this year, for Lord Nazario had a wall built to the length of a hundred cubits, from this gate of Porta Bernone to the gate of Porta Santo Stephano. Thereafter, each year every succeeding podestà extended the wall two hundred cubits until the entire city was walled. There were, however, innumerable interruptions in this work caused by the frequent wars. Over the Porta Bernone there stands to this day an equestrian statue of Lord Nazario, commemorating his initiative. A handsome and wealthy man, Lord Nazario was a close friend of mine, whom I became acquainted with while I was living in the convent of the Friars Minor at Lucca. Lord Nazario's wife was the Lady Fiodoliva, a shapely, beautiful woman, my spiritual daughter and close friend. Her

native city was Trent, where she had been the wife of a notary public, by whom she had two very beautiful daughters. But while he was podestà of Trent, Lord Nazario wooed her away from her husband, and upon his return to Lucca she willingly accompanied him. Yet Lord Nazario's first wife was still living, and he was, therefore, obliged to send her away to one of his many castles for the rest of her life. And since Lord Nazario was never blessed with any children, he gave great riches to Lady Fiordoliva. Yet, after his death, she was married once again, to Henry of Reggio, the son of Antonio de Musso, who married her merely for her money, as she confided to me. And she is still living in this year of the Lord 1283, as I write this on Tuesday, the festival of St. Lawrence.⁹⁴

These two, Lord Nazario and Lady Fiordoliva, were very helpful to the Friars Minor of Lucca at the time when the entire city was up in arms against them on account of the accusations of the abbess of Gattaiola, who put a "blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33]. The problem arose from Brother Jacopo de Yseo's attempt to remove her from her office because of her misconduct. This abbess, the lowly daughter of a baker woman of Genoa, was extremely cruel, shameful, and dishonorable in her governance. Moreover, she sought to retain her office at all costs, determined to be abbess forever. Thus in order to further her ambition, she lavished gifts on everybody in the town, especially those who had relatives in the convent. Furthermore, she slandered the Friars Minor to all these people in the following terms: "Ah, the Minorites, they want to oust me from office because I will not allow them to fornicate with your daughters and sisters." And so, as I have said, she put a "blot on the elect." Yet it was all a bare-faced lie. Nevertheless, she was finally removed from office, the Friars Minor regained their good reputation, and peace returned to the city. Thus one can see how scandalous the rule of women can be, though, in truth, men have done little better. For in point of fact, God did not give our first parents rule over men; rather he said to them, "Rule over the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and all living creatures that move upon the earth." [Genesis 1.28] Thus it is that St. Bernard says: "As often as I seek to place myself over men, just so often do I strive to place myself over God."⁹⁵ And with regard to such matters, it is written that he "came to Nazareth, and was subject to them" [Luke 2.51], that is, clearly, Joseph and Mary, who were said to be his parents.

The translation of the remains of St. Francis, and the miracles which accompanied it.

In the year of the Lord 1230 a general chapter of the Friars Minor was held at Assisi, at which time the translation of the remains of St. Francis took place, on the eighth Kalends of June. On this occasion, Brother Jacopo de Yseo, who had been grievously wounded in the groin and the genitals, was completely restored to health. And on that same day God did many other miracles through his servant and friend Francis,⁹⁶ which are certainly worthy of recording, but for which I refer you to the life and legend of St. Francis.

Concerning the death of the Blessed Anthony of Padua.

In the year of the Lord 1231, on Friday, the fourteenth of June, the most blessed Brother Anthony,⁹⁷ priest, a native of Spain, died in the city of Padua. The name of Almighty God was magnified by this man in the city of Padua. A member of the Friars Minor and a companion of St. Francis, Brother Anthony went the way of all flesh in a cell of the convent of the Minorites, entering happily into the mansions of the heavenly spirits. We shall treat more fully of this man in another place, "if life accompany" [IV Kings 4.16].

How Marquis Cavalcabo was conquered and put to flight by Bonaccorso de Palude at Mancasale.

In 1232, on Saturday the 16th of October, the Marquis Cavalcabo was conquered and put to flight at Mancasale by Bonaccorso de Palude and the armies of Sesso.

Concerning the bishops of the Cathedral of Parma who have lived during my lifetime.

In 1233 the episcopal palace of Parma, which faces the cathedral, was being built. At that time Gratia of Florence was bishop of Parma, and he had many palaces built in various places of his bishopric. And, therefore, he was considered a good bishop by the Parmese, because, far from being a spendthrift of Church property, he conserved and indeed increased it. He was a friend of my father, Guido de Adam, and used to talk to him from the palace when my father was at the window of his house. He also sent gifts to my father frequently, as I saw with my own eyes. This bishop loved my brother Guido, but after Guido entered the Order of the Friars Minor, he did not care for him any longer. Bishop Gratia was preceded by Obizzo de Lavagna of Genoa, a handsome and honorable man, by all accounts, and an uncle of Pope Innocent IV — I myself do not recall ever having seen this Obizzo. Gregory of Rome succeeded Bishop Gratia, but he lived only a short time, dying in Mantua, accursed and heretical. For when the body of the Lord was brought to him in his last sickness, he refused it, saying that he had no belief whatsoever in such a faith. Then, asked why he had accepted his episcopal office, he answered that it was because of the riches and honors. And so he died without having received the Eucharist. He was followed by Bishop Martin, who was born of low parentage at Colorno. Bernard de Vitio came after Bishop Martin, but I have spoken of him and of those who came after him above, as I recall. After Bernard came Bishop Albert de San Vitale, nephew of Pope Innocent IV. Afterward, the Archpriest of the Cathedral, John de Domina-Rifidha, was elected — canonically, unanimously, and rightly. But Lord Obizzo, Bishop of Tripoli (also the nephew of Innocent and brother of Albert), came to Parma, ousted him from office, and took the seat himself. And Lord Obizzo is still alive and still retains that office, "he who now holdeth, do hold, until he be taken out of the way" [II Thessalonians 2.7]. And the date as I write this is 1283, Tuesday, the feast of St. Lawrence. What will be the future of the bishops of Parma, God alone knows.

Concerning the parentage of Lord Ghiberto de Gente.

In that same year, that is, 1233, Lord Gigliolo of Lady Agnes of Parma was podestà of Reggio. And it was in this year that the minting of money was first instituted in Reggio. Lord Nicholas, Bishop of Reggio, was still living at that time. And since I was living at that time in Reggio, I knew this man Egidiolo (that is, Gigliolo) of Lady Agnes. Now Gigliolo had two last names, for he was called “of Lady Agnes,” either from his mother or his wife, who was a powerful lady, just as a certain bridge in Parma is called the Bridge of Lady Egidia de Palude, because Lady Egidia had had it built. This bridge is now in process of being improved by the Parmese, who are replacing the original wood with stone. Gigliolo was also called *de Gente*, because while he was abroad whenever the army of Parma came up in conversation, he would invariably say, “Our people [*gens nostra*] did it.” I heard this story from Lord Ghirardo Rangone of Modena, a Friar Minor. Gigliolo de Gente had two brothers, the eldest of whom was Lord Tedhaldo, and I saw him when I was a boy and he was extremely old, “ancient of days” [Daniel 7.9]. Gigliolo also had seven sons, one of whom, Lord Manfred, married my sister Karacosa. After the death of her husband, Karacosa ended her life laudably in the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Parma. Gigliolo’s second brother was Lord Beretta, a handsome knight and a strong and courageous warrior, who was so tall that people marveled at him. Now this Lord Gigliolo was the father of Lord Ghiberto de Gente, of whom we shall speak in due course. While Lord Gigliolo was podestà of Reggio in 1233, the Great Halleluia began.

Concerning the time of the Halleluia.

This was the time of the Halleluia, as it was later to be called, a time of happiness and joy, gladness and rejoicing, praise and jubilation, of quiet and peace, with all weapons laid aside. During this time, the people of the city and the country “young men and maidens . . . the old with the younger” [Psalms 148.12], even the knights and soldiers sang songs and divine hymns. And this spirit of devotion was abroad in all the cities of Italy. As I myself saw in my native city of Parma, for example, every parish devised a banner to be borne in holy processions, on which was depicted the martyrdom of its own particular saint, as, for instance, the flaying of St. Bartholomew on the banner of the parish where his church is situated — and likewise with all the others. Moreover, huge companies of men and women, boys and girls, came to the city from the villages round about with their own banners, so that they might be able to hear the preachers and give praise to God. And they sang, “voice of a god, and not of a man” [Acts 12.22], and they walked about as men saved, in fulfillment of the prophetic words: “All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord: And all the kindreds of the Gentiles shall adore in his sight.” [Psalms 21.28]. And all men carried about with them tree branches and lighted candles. Furthermore, there

was preaching at evening, morning, and noon, according to the prophecy: "Evening and morning, and at noon, I will speak and declare: and he shall hear my voice. He shall redeem my soul in peace from them that draw near to me: for among many they were with me." [Psalms 54.18-19]. And the crowds of people made stops in the churches and in the squares, lifting up their hands to God in praise and blessing forever and ever; truly, they could not cease from divine praise because they were so inebriated with divine love. And blessed was he who could do the most good works and could best praise God. There was no anger in them, no disturbance, no discord, no rancor. They did all things peacefully and benevolently, so that they might say with the prophet, Isaiah 65 [.16]: "Because the former distresses are forgotten, and because they are hid from" our "eyes." And it is no wonder, for they drank from the sweet wine of the spirit of God, which having once tasted "everything of the flesh becomes insipid,"⁹⁸ as preachers interpret Proverbs 31 [.6-7]: "Give strong drink to them that are sad: and wine to them that are grieved in mind: Let them drink, and forget their want, and remember their sorrow no more." Furthermore, Jeremiah's words in Lamentations 3 [.40-41] are appropriate to these events: "Let us search our ways, and seek and return to the Lord. Let us lift up our hearts with our hands to the Lord in the heavens." They truly did all these things, as I saw with my own eyes, fulfilling the teaching of the Apostle in I Timothy 2 [.8]: "I will therefore that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without anger and contention." Yet as the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 11 [.14]: "where there is no governor, the people shall fall." Thus lest you think this verse fulfilled in these people, let us speak of their leaders.

Concerning Brother Benedict, who began the spiritual movement in the time of the Halleluia.

At the very beginning of the Halleluia, Brother Benedict, called the Brother of the Horn, came to Parma. He was a simple and unlettered man, but a man of pure and honorable life. Brother Benedict was from the valley of Spoleto or, perhaps, from the vicinity of Rome, and I saw him and knew him well at Parma and, later, at Pisa. He was associated with no religious order, but lived by himself and strove to please God alone; he was, however, a very good friend of the Friars Minor. He seemed like a second John the Baptist, going before the Lord "to prepare unto the Lord a perfect people" [Luke 1.17]. On his head he wore an Armenian hat. He had a long black beard, and he carried a small horn of copper or brass which he blew loudly, sending forth a sound sometimes sweet, sometimes awesome. He was girded with a leather girdle, and his outer garment, which reached to his feet, was black as sack cloth. His toga was made like a cloak, on both sides of which was a huge, wide cross, long and red, reaching from his neck all the way to his feet, like a priestly chasuble. Dressed in this manner and carrying his horn with him, he would go into the churches and the squares, preaching and praising God, followed by great multitudes of children bearing branches of trees and lighted candles. Quite often I used to see him standing on the wall of the

episcopal palace, then under construction, preaching and praising God. And he would begin his praises in this way, speaking in the vernacular: "Praise and blessing and glory be to the Father!" And the children would repeat it after him with a loud voice. Then he would repeat himself, adding "to the Son!" And the children would answer again, singing the words. Then a third time he would cry out the words, adding, "to the Holy Spirit!"⁹⁹ And afterward, "Halleluia, Halleluia, Halleluia!" Then he would give a blast on his horn, before he began to preach, sounding forth praise to God. After preaching he would hail the Blessed Virgin in the following manner:

Ave Maria, merciful and pure,
Full of Grace, Serene Virgin!
The Lord with you, and you with me!
Blessed art thou among women,
You who brought forth the peace of mankind
and the glory of angels!
And blessed is the fruit of your womb,
Christ, who brought it about through grace
That we might be co-heirs with him,¹
etc.

Concerning the notable preachers who were famous at the time of the Halleluia, and first of all about those who were Dominicans. Concerning Brother John of Vicenza, and the canonization of St. Dominic.

Let us speak now about the notable preachers who were famous at the time of this spiritual movement, and first of all we shall speak of two men of the Dominican Order. The first of these is Brother John of Bologna, a native of Vicenza; the second, Brother Jacopino of Reggio, who was born at Parma. The Blessed Dominic was not yet canonized, but lay hidden under the earth, as is sung in the liturgical song:

The grain lies hidden,
The star is darkened,
But the Creator of all things
Commands the bones of Joseph to spring forth
And the star to shine forth
For the salvation of the people.²

And so it was that St. Dominic had been buried for some twelve years without the matter of his sainthood being raised, but on the initiative of the aforementioned Brother John, who was preaching in Bologna at the time of the spiritual awakening, his canonization was effected. The bishop of Modena, later Cardinal William, lent his assistance to John in this matter. This Bishop William was from the Piedmont, and I once saw him preaching and saying Mass during Easter in

the church of the Friars Minor at Lyons, when Pope Innocent and the Curia were there. And since he was a great friend of the Dominicans, he exhorted them about Dominic, saying, "The Friars Minor have their saint, and you ought to have one too, even if you have to make him out of straw." Brother John was a man with little learning but with a great ambition for working miracles. And at the time of the Halleluia, he engaged in a great preaching campaign between Castellone and Castelfranco.

About Brother Jacopino of Parma (also called Jacopino of Reggio) and his activities.

Brother Jacopino of Reggio, a native of Parma, was a learned man and a teacher of theology. As a preacher, he was eloquent, gracious, and impressive; as a man, he was lively, benevolent, charitable, friendly, courteous, magnanimous, and generous. During the time of the great war, we were once travelling companions for the whole journey from Parma to Modena, though each of us had his own assigned companion. During the time of this spiritual movement, Jacopino enjoyed special grace in his preaching, performing many good works. In this same year the Dominicans began construction on the Church of Jesus Christ in Reggio, and the first stone, consecrated by Bishop Nicholas, was laid on the feast of St. James. In order to build this great church, men and women from every level of society came to Reggio—knights and soldiers, as well as farmers and townspeople. They carried the stones, sand, and cement in great bags upon their backs; and he who could carry the most counted himself blessed. They laid the foundations for the cloisters and the church, built part of the walls, and, at the end of the third year, brought their enterprise to completion. This work was supervised by Brother Jacopino. This Brother Jacopino held a great preaching service between Calerno and Sant' Ilario in the bishopric of Parma, on the lower side of the highway. To this service flocked a great throng—men and women, boys and girls, from Parma, from Reggio, from the mountains and valleys, and from the fields and remote villages. It happened that a certain poor woman who was with child brought forth a son at this service, and in response to Brother Jacopino's exhortation, the people lavished gifts on her. One woman gave sandals, another a shirt, another a dress, and yet another swaddling clothes, so much so that her donkey was loaded with gifts; besides all this, she received a hundred imperial soldi from the men. I heard this a long time after from someone who had been present, as I was travelling with him through that area. And, besides, I have heard it from many other people.

How Brother Gerard of Modena appeared after his death to Brother Jacopino of Parma.

Once when Brother Jacopino was sick in the infirmary of the Dominicans' convent at Bologna, he was sitting wide awake about noon when suddenly the Friar Minor, Gerard of Modena, who had died that very day, appeared to him and spoke with him in a friendly manner: "I am in paradise, into which Christ shall soon be calling you, so that you may receive the full reward for your labors. And you shall dwell forever with him whom you have served devoutly." After these

words, Brother Gerard disappeared. But Jacopino told his brothers what he had seen, and they rejoiced. And just as Brother Gerard had said, so it happened to Jacopino, because a few days later he went to sleep in the Lord. His body lies buried in Mantua. But Brother John of Vicenza, whom we mentioned above, ended his days in Apulia.

Concerning Brother Bartholomew of Vicenza.

Now, among the Dominicans at Parma during the time of the spiritual movement called the Halleluia, there was a certain Brother Bartholomew of Vicenza. And he did many good works, as I saw with my own eyes. Bartholomew was a good, reliable, and honorable man. Many years later he became bishop of his native city, and he built there a beautiful convent for his Order, where, before that time, there had been none.

Concerning the preachers of the Order of the Friars Minor; first of all, Brother Leo, to whom the director of a certain orphanage appeared after his death.

Among the Friars Minor, Brother Leo of Milan was a famous and worthy preacher, and he was a successful and hardy opponent of heresy. After many years of service as Provincial Minister in the Order of the Friars Minor, he became archbishop of Milan. He was a man of quite extraordinary courage. Once, for example, he marched alone at the head of the army of Milan as it engaged in battle against the Emperor. Then he crossed the river and remained there holding up the battle standard, totally alone, for the Milanese had seen the imperial army ready for battle and were afraid to cross with him. Again, this Brother Leo once heard the confession of a director of an orphanage in Milan, a man of noble family, renowned for his great holiness. And as the director was breathing his last, Leo made him promise to return after his death and report to him about the state of his soul. He promised to do so gladly. And after the director had died about Vespers, Brother Leo requested two Brothers (who had been his special companions when he was Provincial Minister) to watch with him that evening from the gardener's cell in a corner of the garden. And while the three of them were watching, Brother Leo grew drowsy, and, wishing to sleep, he asked his companions to wake him if they heard anything. Then suddenly they heard someone coming, crying out from great pain, and they saw what appeared to be a ball of fire falling from heaven. And it fell upon the roof of the cell, like a falcon swooping down to seize a duck. Whereupon, Brother Leo woke up. And since the apparition continually cried out, "Alas, alas!" Brother Leo asked him how it was with his soul. He replied that he was damned, because once, out of pure indignation, he had allowed some illegitimate children entrusted to the orphanage to die unbaptized, because he wished to spare his institution labor and expense. When Brother Leo asked him why he had not confessed this sin, he replied that it was because he had either forgotten it or had not thought it necessary to confess. Then Brother Leo said to him, "You have nothing to do with us. Get away from us! Go your own way!" Thus wailing and crying out, he went away. Brother Leo also did many

good works in the time of the spiritual movement, later known as the Halleluia.

How a certain preacher of Padua accurately predicted the collapse of a tower. How another preacher foretold similar events, which subsequently came about.

Another Friar Minor of Padua, noted for his good works during the spiritual movement, was once preaching on a feast day in the city of Como, and, being disturbed by the din raised by the workmen busily engaged in constructing a tower for a local usurer, he declared to his congregation: "This tower, I predict, will fall in ruins within a very short time." Just as he predicted, it came to pass, and the event was held as a great miracle. Ecclesiasticus speaks of such matters in chapter 37 [.18]: "The soul of a holy man discovereth sometimes true things, more than seven watchmen that sit in a high place to watch." See also Proverbs 17 [.16]: "He that maketh his house high, seeketh a downfall." Consider also the example of the man who foresaw that a tower would fall, and likewise the tales of the grasshopper's young, of the three gourds, and of the mouse in the gourd.³ This friar, however, made his prediction by sheer chance, and yet he was thought to be divinely inspired.

Likewise, the Friar Minor, Gerard of Modena, did many wondrous deeds during the spiritual movement, as I saw with my own eyes. Before he became a friar, he was called Gerard Maletta, a scion of the powerful and wealthy Buccabadhati family. He was one of the early members of the Order of the Friars Minor, though not one of the original twelve. He was a close friend of St. Francis, and was once his assigned companion. This courteous and well-bred man, known for his generosity, his devotion, and his sense of honor, was temperate in word and deed. Though not particularly well-schooled, he was a fine orator and an excellent preacher. One of his dreams was to preach throughout the world. It was his appeal to the Minister General, Brother Elias, that accomplished my admission into the Order of the Friars Minor, which took place in 1238. Moreover, I was once Brother Gerard's assigned companion.

How in the time of the spiritual movement the Parmese made Gerard of Modena their podestà, granting him absolute power.

At this time Brother Gerard became podestà of Parma, exercising absolute power in order to bring peace between the warring factions, a task which he accomplished, since he was able to resolve many quarrels. Nevertheless, on one occasion Pope Innocent's brother-in-law, Lord Bernard, son of Roland Rossi, was incensed by Gerard's failure to recognize the claims of his friends. This situation arose because Gerard had strong leanings toward the imperial party, but, even so, "he walked" with God "in peace, and in equity, and turned many away from iniquity," as Malachi says in chapter 2 [.6].

About the three companions who chose to serve God in different ways.

Take note of the example of the three companions:⁴ one of these chose to abandon everything and lead the life of a hermit; the second, to serve the sick; the third, to bring peace to the contentious. With regard to the first, St. Jerome says: "The holy solitary life is indeed profitable to a particular person alone, and insofar as the merit of his life helps to strengthen the Church it is a good, but where it fails to resist those bent on the Church's destruction, it is an evil."⁵ Another example is St. Sidonius, who was told by an angel of the Lord to go preach against the heretics. It is also written of St. Francis that "led by the zeal of God, he did not wish to live alone for himself only, but for the benefit of others."⁶ Concerning those who serve the sick, the Lord says in Matthew 25 [.36]; I was "sick, and you visited me." Also Romans 14 [.1] says: "Now him that is weak in faith, take unto you," and later in the same book, chapter 15 [.1]: "Now we that are stronger, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves." Moreover, I Thessalonians 5 [.14] relates: "Support the weak, be patient towards all men," for the weak are very impatient and are quick to anger.

About the man who gained such merit in his care of the sick that the Blessed Virgin appeared to him.

The Blessed Virgin once appeared and spoke in a very friendly manner to a man who was caring for an invalid. And while she was talking with him, the sick man called out, and he left her precipitously and ran to his patient's side. Upon his return, he found the Holy Virgin patiently waiting, and she said to him: "Since you have shown such charity to the sick, I have waited for you. If, however, you had not run to your patient, I would have departed forthwith."

Concerning those who bring peace to the contentious, Ecclesiastes 7 [.8] says: "Oppression troubleth the wise, and shall destroy the strength of his heart." Yet those who seek to bring peace to the contentious suffer many oppressions, as is reported in Proverbs 26 [.17]: "As he that taketh a dog by the ears, so is he that passeth by in anger and meddleth with another man's quarrel." A man ought to pray to God as in the example set by the prophet: "Redeem me from the calumnies of men: that I may keep thy commandments" [Psalms 118.134].

Whenever I think of Brother Gerard of Modena, I always remember the words of Ecclesiasticus 19 [.21]: "Better is a man that hath less wisdom, and wanteth understanding, with the fear of God, than he that aboundeth in understanding, and transgresseth the law of the most High." At Ferrara, once, I was sick at the very time that Brother Gerard was suffering from "the illness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.4]. And returning to his city of Modena, Gerard died about the time of the new year, and he lies buried in a stone sepulchre in the church of the Friars Minor. Through him God has seen fit to work many miracles. Yet such matters are not pertinent to this work, and therefore we omit them for the sake of brevity.

How these worthy preachers met together and drew up plans for their sermons.

Particular note should be made of the fact that at the time of the spiritual movement these worthy preachers met together and drew up plans for their sermons, that is to say, with respect to the place, the day, the hour, and the theme. And each one said to the other, "Hold fast what we have made firm." And they did precisely what they had arranged among themselves. And thus it was that preaching from a specially constructed platform in the square of Parma, Brother Gerard would suddenly cover his head with his hood and sink deep in thought like a man in profound meditation upon God, and thereby keep the people waiting in suspense in the midst of his sermon. Then after a long delay with the people gazing in wonder, he would remove the hood and begin to speak once more. Then beginning with the solemn words of Apocalypse 1 [.10], he would declare, "I was in the spirit on the Lord's day," and I heard our beloved John of Vicenza preaching in Bologna on the shore of the River Reno. There was a great multitude before him, and his sermon began: 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord: the people whom he hath chosen for his inheritance' [Psalms 32.12]. Brother Gerard did this not only in Parma, but, in fact, in many other places. Sometimes he would use Brother Jacopino as his example, and all the other preachers would do the same with him. The people in the audience were amazed and, stirred by curiosity, sent messengers to find out the truth. Once these facts were verified, they marvelled beyond measure, and, as a result, many men renounced the world and entered the Order of the Minorites or the Dominicans. All manner of good works were accomplished at various places during the time of the spiritual movement, as I saw with my own eyes.

About the rascals and tricksters who were active during the time of the Halleluia.

There were also during the time of the Halleluia just as many rascals and tricksters who wilfully sought to "lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33].

About Master Boncompagno the Florentine.

Among their number was Boncompagno the Florentine, a noted grammarian in Bologna and the author of books on the art of letter writing.⁷ This man was a notorious trickster, in the fashion of the Florentines, and he wrote a poem deriding Brother John of Vicenza. I can't recall either the beginning or the end of the poem, since I read it so long ago and did not commit it to memory, because I really didn't care for it. Here, however, are some of the words that I recall:

Old John John enhances
As he leaps and as he dances.
All of you who seek the sky
Must dance, and dance, and fly!
This one leaps and that one dances,
Every boy and maiden prances,

The young men dance with all the girls,
Even the duke of Venice whirls.⁸

And since Brother John was known as a worker of miracles, Master Boncompagno sought to ape his behavior, and so he predicted to the Bolognese that, before their very eyes, he would fly high into the air. What can one say? News of his claim soon spread throughout Bologna. And so on the appointed day the entire populace congregated, "man and woman, young and old" [Joshua 6.21], at the foot of the mountain called Santa Maria in Monte. Boncompagno had constructed wings for himself, and he stood on top of the mountain looking down at them. And after they had been gazing at each other for a long period of time, he shouted down to them audaciously, "Go, with God's blessing, and let it suffice that you have looked upon the face of Boncompagno." Then they all departed, realizing full well that he had been mocking them the whole time. Now since this Boncompagno was an accomplished writer, he sought a position, on the advice of friends, at the Papal court, hoping to be rewarded for his great talent. Yet he never succeeded in this, and years later he returned to Florence so poor that he was constrained to end his days in an institution. The Wise Man in Ecclesiastes speaks of such matters in chapter 9 [.11]: "I saw that under the sun, the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to the learned, nor favour to the skilful: but time and chance in all." See also Ecclesiasticus 26 [.25-27]: "At two things my heart is grieved, and the third bringeth anger upon me: A man of war fainting through poverty: and a man of sense despised: And he that passeth over from justice to sin, God hath prepared such an one for the sword."

About the foolish behavior of John of Vicenza, who was of the Order of the Dominicans.

After a time, Brother John of Vicenza became so taken with himself on account of the honors bestowed on him for his eloquent preaching that he actually believed himself capable of working miracles without the help of God. And this, of course, was the worst kind of stupidity, as the Lord says in John 15 [.5]: "without me you can do nothing." The same kind of judgment may be found in Proverbs 26 [.8]: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury, so is he that giveth honour to a fool." And when his fellow Brothers criticized this foolishness, John retorted: "It was I who exalted your Dominic, who had lain hidden under the earth for twelve years, and if you don't quieten down, I will destroy your saint for you, and publish your own affairs to all the world." And since they were no match for him, they had to put up with him until his death. Once when John had just had his beard shaved in a convent of the Friars Minor, he felt it a great slight that the friars did not gather his hair to preserve as relics.

The pranks of Brother Detesalve of the Order of the Friars Minor.

Yet Brother Detesalve of Florence, a Friar Minor, could have stood up well to John of Vicenza, answering "a fool according to his folly" very well indeed "lest he imagine himself to be wise" [Proverbs 26.5]. For he was a great prankster, as Florentines naturally are. Once when visiting the convent of the Dominicans where John of Vicenza was, he accepted lunch only on the condition that they would give him a piece of Brother John's tunic as a relic. And they did indeed give him a large piece of the tunic. Then after his meal, Detesalve withdrew to relieve his bowels and, afterward, wiped himself with the tunic and threw it down the privy. And then taking a stick, he began to stir up the excrement, shouting, "Alas, Alas, help me, Brothers! I have lost the relic of a saint in the privy, and I am searching for it." And just as they bent their heads over the privy holes, he stirred all the harder so that they might receive the full brunt of the stench. Repulsed by this malodorous mess, they blushed in shame, realizing that they had been fooled by such a prankster.

Again, when Detesalve had once been ordered to go and install himself in the convent at Penne in Apulia, he went instead to the infirmary, and, undressing himself, he cut open the pillow and hid himself all day in bed among the feathers [*pennis*]. And when he was finally discovered, he insisted that he had already complied with the command. As a result of this trick, the command was revoked, and he was not required to go to Penne.

On another occasion when Detesalve was walking in Florence during the winter, he slipped on the ice and fell flat, upon which those great pranksters, the Florentines, gathered round him and began to laugh at his expense. And one of them derisively inquired whether he would not like something more underneath him, to which Detesalve retorted, "Yes, your wife." The gathering of Florentines, far from taking this reply amiss, as one might have expected, commended him, saying, "He should be blessed, for he is one of us." Some people say, however, that this incident happened to another Florentine, a Friar Minor named Paul Thousand-flies.

Eight reasons why speaking dishonorably ought to be avoided.

If we were asked whether this Brother spoke rightly or not, we would have to conclude, for a number of reasons, that he spoke dishonorably. First of all, he acted against the word of the Scripture in Proverbs 26 [.4]: "Answer not a fool according to his folly, lest thou be made like him."

Secondly, the answer was dishonorable because a man in religious orders should speak as befits one of his station. Thus James says in chapter 1 [.26]: "If any man think himself to be religious, not bridling his tongue, but deceiving his own heart, this man's religion is vain," and I Peter 4 [.11] also says: "If any man speak, let him speak, as the words of God." Moreover, St. Jerome says, "Blessed is the tongue which has never spoken a word save of God."⁹ See also Ephesians 4 [.29]: "Let

no evil speech proceed from your mouth; but that which is good, to the edification of faith, that it may administer grace to the hearers," and also Colossians 4 [.6]: "Let your speech be always in grace seasoned with salt; that you may know how you ought to answer every man."

The third reason is that he spoke an idle word, of which the Lord says in Matthew 12 [.36]: "But I say unto you that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall render an account for it in the day of judgment." This is especially true of an idle word which brings good neither to the speaker nor to the one who hears it. And this is what the Lord says in Matthew 12 [.37]: "For by thy words thou shalt be justified; and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." So also Ecclesiasticus 22 [.33]: "Who will set a guard before my mouth, and a sure seal upon my lips, that I fall not by them, and that my tongue destroy me not?"

The fourth reason is that the man who speaks dishonorably shows himself to have a vain heart, and, moreover, gives a sinful example to others. Whence the Apostle says in I Corinthians 15 [.33]: "Evil communications corrupt good manners." And take note also of the remedy or, rather, the vengeance promised by Isaiah 29 [.20-21]: "they are all cut off that watched for iniquity: That made men sin by word, and supplanted him that reproveth them in the gate, and declined in vain from the just." The dictum concerning the eye can be applied to the heart, for just as "a lascivious eye is the sign of an impure heart"¹⁰ so a vain word reveals a vain heart. This is exactly what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 4 [.23]: "With all watchfulness keep thy heart, because life issueth out from it," and also Proverbs 30 [.8]: "Remove far from me vanity, and lying words."

The fifth reason is that the Scripture commends and teaches silence, as does Jeremiah in Lamentations 3 [.28]: "He shall sit solitary, and hold his peace: because he hath taken it up upon himself." Likewise Isaiah 30 [.15]: "In silence and in hope shall your strength be." Compare also Exodus 14 [.14]: "The Lord will fight for you, and you shall hold your peace," and Psalms 106 [.30]: "And they rejoiced because they were still." We may read too how Abbot Agatho held a stone in his mouth for three years so that he might learn silence.¹¹

The sixth reason is that garrulity is prohibited in Proverbs 10 [.19]: "In the multitude of words there shall not want sin: but he that refraineth his lips is most wise," and also in Ecclesiasticus 19 [.5]: "He that hateth babbling, extinguisheth evil." See also Ecclesiasticus 20 [.8]: "He that useth many words shall hurt his own soul," and Ecclesiasticus 28 [.22]: "Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have perished by their own tongue," and Proverbs 21 [.3]: "He that keepeth his mouth and his tongue, keepeth his soul from distress," and Ecclesiasticus 25 [.11]: "Blessed is he . . . that hath not slipped with his tongue, and hath not served such as are unworthy of him," and Ecclesiasticus 28 [.23]: "Blessed is he that is defended from a wicked tongue, that hath not passed into the wrath thereof," etc, and James 3 [.2]: "For in many things we all offend. If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man. He is able also with a bridle to lead about the whole body." Remember the example set by Secundus

the philosopher, who, because his words were responsible for his mother's death, remained silent for the rest of his life in penitence.¹² Truly, that old saying might rightly be said of him, "If you had kept silent you would have been a philosopher."¹³ The Apostle also exhorts in Corinthians 14 [.34-35]: "Let women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted them to speak, but to be subject, as also the law saith. But, if they would learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home. For it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church." Nevertheless, women do talk a lot in church, and they say indeed that the Apostle did not prohibit useful and necessary speech to women (as when they praise God or confess their sins to a priest), but rather forbade them to preach, an office which properly belongs to men. It is clear, in any case, that the Apostle was speaking of the office of preaching. Augustine says, however, that a woman is forbidden to speak, because she spoke with the serpent a single time and confounded the whole world.¹⁴ Thus Ecclesiasticus 25 [.33] says: "From the woman came the beginning of sin, and by her we all die." And so the Apostle says in I Timothy 2 [.11-15]:

Let the woman learn in silence, with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed; then Eve. And Adam was not seduced; but the woman being seduced, was in the transgression. Yet she shall be saved through childbearing; if she continue in faith, and love, and sanctification, with sobriety.

The seventh reason is that

One not taught in youth to love honor and truth
Can never, in age, turn back the page.¹⁵

Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.6]: "It is a proverb: A young man according to his way, even when he is old he will not depart from it," and Ecclesiasticus 23 [.20]: "The man that is accustomed to opprobrious words, will never be corrected all the days of his life." And that same Ecclesiasticus 23 [.17] recommends the best remedy: "Let not thy mouth be accustomed to indiscreet speech: for therein is the word of sin."

The eighth and final reason is that a Friar Minor who speaks shameful, useless, vain, and dishonorable words ought to be accused and punished within the Order—for the deed, if he saw it; for the word, if he heard it. And this is proper, because "the words of the Lord are pure words" [Psalms 11.7], and the Rule of the Minorites commands, "Let their words be carefully chosen and chaste for the benefit and edification of the people,"¹⁶ etc. Thus also Isaiah 43 [.18-19]: "Remember not former things, and look not on things of old. Behold, I do new things: and now they shall spring forth. Verily, you shall know them." Further, the Apostle says in II Corinthians 5 [.17]: "If, then, any be in Christ a new creature, the old things are passed away. Behold, all things are made new." Thus it was

that the holy woman said in I Kings 2 [.3]: "let old matters depart from your mouth: for the Lord is a God of all knowledge, and to him are thoughts prepared." Whence Peter says in I Peter 4 [.11]: "If any man speak, let him speak as the words of God," and the Apostle in Ephesians 4 [.22-24]: "put on, according to former conversation, the old man, who is corrupted according to the desire of error, And be renewed in the spirit of your mind, And put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth." What Ecclesiasticus says in chapter 28 [.30] is also pertinent to the subject: "take heed lest thou slip with thy tongue, and fall in the sight of thy enemies who lie in wait for thee, and thy fall be incurable unto death." See also the advice in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31]: "Bring not every man into thy house: for many are the snares of the deceitful," and also Ecclesiasticus 8 [.21-22]: "Before a stranger do no matter of counsel: for thou knowest not what he will bring forth. Open not thy heart to every man: lest he repay thee with an evil turn, and speak reproachfully to thee." Many other holy writings, especially the Bible, speak of this matter, but this will suffice for now.

That the Brother who used the jesting words may be excused for three reasons, for "there is one that slippeth with the tongue, but not from his heart," as Ecclesiasticus 19 [.16] says.

Brother Detesalve can be excused, nevertheless, for more than one reason, although his words should not be taken as a model to be used again by anyone, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.11]: "As a dog that returneth to his vomit, so is the fool that repeateth his folly." Here, however, is the first reason why he might be excused, because he answered "a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise," as Proverbs 26 [.5] says. The second reason is that he did not mean what he said literally, since he was a humorous and witty man. Thus Ecclesiasticus 19 [.16-17] reports: "There is one, that slippeth with the tongue, but not from his heart. For who is there that hath not offended with his tongue?" and James 3 [.2]: "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man." John the Baptist was such a man, of whom it is sung:

In your tender years, you sought the
remoteness of the desert, fleeing
the turmoil of the cities,
lest you be tempted to stain
your life with vain appetites.¹⁷

The third reason is that he spoke with his own fellow citizens, who did not, therefore, receive a bad example, since they themselves are witty men and great pranksters. But in another place his words would have been dishonorable, because Ecclesiasticus 37 [.31] says: "For all things are not expedient for all, and every kind pleaseth not every soul." And so it is that the Apostle says in I Corinthians 6 [.12]: "All things are lawful to me; but all things are not expedient," and later in chapter 9 [.56]: "Have we not power to carry about a woman, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles and brethren of the Lord and Cephas? Or I only and

Barnabas, have not we power to do this?"

That the Hebrews did not consider it dishonorable for a preacher to be accompanied by women, but because the Greeks did think so, the Apostle did not take women with him.

The Apostle says this because the Hebrews did not believe it wrong for the apostles and disciples of Christ to bring devout women with them when they preached to minister to them according to their abilities. The Lord himself did the same, as Luke 8 [.2-3] and Matthew 27 [.55] say: "And there were there many women afar off, who had followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him." Among the Greeks, however, it was held to be wrong for the apostles and others who preached to bring women with them. And thus although they could have done so, they put their women aside and left them behind. So it is that Corinthians 10 [.23] says: "All things are lawful for me; but all things do not edify." It was for this reason that the Blessed Francis wrote: "It is good to put aside many things lest opinion is harmed,"¹⁸ that is, lest one's good reputation be harmed. But some people do not care at all about good reputation, and this is the greatest kind of foolishness, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.1]: "A good name is better than great riches: and good favour is above silver and gold." Compare also Ecclesiastes 7 [.2]: "A good name is better than precious ointments: and the day of death than the day of one's birth," and Ecclesiasticus 41 [.15]: "Take care of a good name; for this shall continue with thee, more than a thousand treasures precious and great." And the Apostle says further in I Corinthians 8 [.13]: "if meat scandalize my brother, I will never eat flesh, lest I should scandalize my brother."

About the three archbishops of Ravenna.

I know a great many other deeds of this Brother Detesalve (and of Count Guido as well), stories which were, in fact, quite wide-spread, but since these things are more trivial than edifying, I will not write about them here. Nevertheless, Brother Detesalve did go to the Holy Land with Theodoric, Archbishop of Ravenna, a holy and most honorable man. Lord Philip of Pistoia or, perhaps, of Lucca was the next archbishop after Theodoric. Succeeding to Philip was brother Boniface of Parma, a Dominican, but Boniface was made archbishop by Pope Gregory X, not because of any particular grace of his Order, but because he was related to him. Boniface is still archbishop, and he is a powerful advocate who rules his bishopric with a firm hand.

That the Florentines are very witty men.

One thing that should not be passed over is that one cannot set a bad example for the Florentines. If, for example, someone leaves the Order of the Friars Minor, the Florentines make excuses for him, saying, "We marvel that he stayed in the Order so long in any case, since the Friars Minor are hopeless cases who torment each other in all sorts of ways." Once, having heard that the Dominican whom we mentioned above, Brother John of Vicenza, wished to come to Florence, they

said, "For God's sake, don't let him come here. We've heard that he raises the dead, and we are already so numerous that our city can't hold all of us." Yet it must be admitted that such words in the Florentine dialect have a splendid ring to them. Blessed be the Lord, who has helped me through these matters!

About Primas of Orleans, the rascal, and about his poems and verses.

At this time lived Primas, a canon at Cologne,¹⁹ a great rascal and prankster, but a very fine and swift-witted poet. And if he had devoted himself to God, he would have been a splendid religious poet, who would have been extremely valuable to God's Church. I have seen his "Apocalypse"²⁰ and many more writings of his. Once when he went out with his archbishop, not "to meditate in the field" [Genesis 24.63], but merely to take a stroll, he noticed the archbishop's oxen—beautiful, strong, and fat—plowing in the field, at which point the archbishop said to him, "If, after the oxen have made their turn in the field, you can compose a poem about a gift of oxen before they reach us, I will give them to you." And Primas said, "Will you stand by your word?" The bishop replied, "Of course." And without a moment's hesitation, Primas recited the following verses:

Two oxen I need my land for to plow.
May that gift slowly indeed come down the field now.²¹

On another occasion at the Papal court when he wished to offer a gift to a certain cardinal, he had twelve loaves baked of fine white bread. But the girl who baked them stole one of them. Nonetheless, he gave the remaining eleven, enclosing this little note:

If one apostle you've missed, yet do not this gift resist,
For the bakeress, to tell you true, snatched Judas the Jew.²²

Again, when an archbishop sent him a present of fish without wine, he wrote:

He has doubtless sent this fish up, that goodly man, the archbishop,
But on fish I care not to dine— No! not without wine.²³

And on another occasion:

I shall spare this beef, hark, for, alive, it drew the holy ark,
And thus merited, dead, above all, to be consumed without alcohol.²⁴

At another time when he was given wine diluted with water, he wrote the following poem:

Is joined in this cup of mine Tethys' water to Bacchus' wine,
A minor goddess, less than divine, wed to the glorious god of the
vine!
In such an unequal intercourse, both are weakened in their force:
That they should be given a writ of divorce goes without saying, of
course

He also wrote the following poem about wine:

In English banquets is borne forth the *wine*;
Elsewhere, t'is *el vino, le vin, der wein*;
All unsexed in English, *der* masculine, neuter, *la* feminine;
Yet natural gender suits me just fine,
I care less for sex than for liquor divine.²⁶

Primas, who had been accused of lechery, excessive drinking, and gambling, excuses himself to the bishop of Cologne, asks for mercy, and promises amendment.

Before his archbishop, Primas was once accused of three sins: gambling, excessive drinking, and the work of Venus, that is, lechery. And he wrote the following poem excusing himself:

Within my breast rages a fiery burning,
For, made from low elements myself discerning,
I speak my mind with bitter yearning,
I am like leaves on the trees a-turning.

To build with firm foundations below
T'is wise, t'is sane to do so,
But I the fool am like the waters that flow,
Like the winds of heaven that ceaselessly blow.

Like a ship I am tossed on a towering sea,
Like a bird in the wind blown mercilessly;
Nothing can hold me from a rip-roaring spree,
Not with these dissolute companions all around me.

Heaviness of heart is clearly a grind,
To joy and love am I more inclined;
To the work of Venus myself I bind,
For she only dwells in true hearts refined.

The broad way of youth is full liberation;
I give myself over to pure sensation;
Soul being dead, to body I do libation,
Desiring pleasure, oh, far more than salvation.

On thy mercy, sweet bishop, there only do I rely,
Dying, dying, a delicious death I die;
The ladies wound me, beauty pierces me through the eye;
Ah, the ladies! with some for real, with some in dreams I lie.

To be merely platonic in the presence of a maid,
So hard a rule simply cannot be obeyed;
We young men have never, will never, be so staid;

Lust of the flesh cannot, will not, be delayed.

Who is it remains unburned when placed in the fire?
Who is it lives in Pavia and remains without desire?
In Pavia where Venus hunts in her scanty attire
And entraps young men in their lovely fate so dire.

If Hippolytus were moved to Pavia today,
Tomorrow, ah tomorrow, Hippolytus? No way;
All roads lead to the chambers of Venus, I say;
Not all towers, after all, are towers of Alethie.

In my breast too the sin of gambling I nurse;
But then having lost all my clothes as well as my purse,
Outwardly I freeze, but inwardly—none the worse,
For then, ah then, I write better verse.

Sins of the tavern? I confess, I did indeed learn 'em,
And I never did, never will, spurn 'em,
Not at least til holy angels come, singing *requiem aeternam*,
Not at least until I, finally, discern 'em.

In a liquorous goblet only does the soul shine;
Hearts gladdened by this fly up to the divine;
Than this nectar there is nothing more fine—
No, not the bishop's own particular wine.

Some finicky poets shun tavern and inn,
Seeking sacrosanct nooks away from the din,
And there they sweat and slave, free of idle sin,
But to read their pallid product! oh my, but then, but then!

Whole hosts of poets work, and labor, and slave;
Avoiding society and joy in their furor they rave,
So that for posterity they might indelibly engrave,
And then they descend quietly—work, poet, poetry—to the grave.

Nature bestows a single gift on every man;
Mine's writing poetry—drink in hand!
And drinking the finest that I possibly can,
Then the words come like a poetic caravan.

Nature's own gift lays me under dreadful restraint;
To write while fasting, no, no, I can't!
Famine renders me too low, effete, and faint;
Fasting! repining! Not me, I'm no saint.

My verses are as good as the wine I drink;

Without feasting and wine I can't even think;
 Poems I've written, fasting, are not worth a zine,
 But heady with wine, Ovid nods, while I jauntily wink.

The spirit of poetry sparkles in the wine;
 I poetize best only, well, when I dine,
 And when Bacchus rules in this brain of mine,
 Then, then, I lay my offerings at Phoebus' shrine.

As for me, in the tavern I plan to die,
 So that, even while dying, the wine may be nigh;
 Then, the dread hour come, I'll not even sigh;
 Then, may God take this old sinner straight to the sky.

So you see, sweet bishop, I acknowledge the sin,
 All the depravity your servants confess *me* in,
 But which of them has confessed to *his* peculiar yen?
 They're mere whited sepulchres, as black as I, within.

Let him cast the first stone, the man who can throw it;
 They're as guilty, and they know I know it;
 You draw the line and make them religiously toe it;
 Ah, hear my confession, show mercy, spare your poet.

Now, have I made confession, complete, full, and free;
 Now, have I spouted my evils forth relentlessly;
 Now, sweet bishop, be thou propitious to me;
 God knows my heart, your spies only the outward man see.

Henceforth, I hate vice and love virtue;
 With spirit reborn, I am made brand new;
 Milk alone for me now, no more brew!
 May my heart, ever, be thus pristine and true.

Ah, sweet bishop, spare me, I pray,
 Give your mercy generously to this one today;
 Then issue your command and I'll gladly obey.

And you, all of you princes of the earth,
 Be like the lion who recognizes worth,
 And spares his very victims from the bloody dearth,
 For, without sweet mercy, there can be no mirth.²⁷

About the capture and death of Henry, son of the Emperor, at whose funeral Brother Lucas of Apulia preached.

In May of the year of the Great Hallelulia, that is, in 1233 when Gregory IX was pope, Frederick II captured Henry, King of Germany, his own son, who had rebelled and joined with the Lombards against his father.²⁸ And Henry was

kept in chains for a long period of time. Later, when he was being taken from the castle called San Fele to another place of imprisonment, he was so filled with despair at his plight that he threw himself over a cliff to his death. Princes and barons, knights and judges all gathered for his funeral, but the Emperor himself did not attend. Among those present was Lucas of Apulia, a Friar Minor, who preached the memorial sermon, after the manner of the Apulians. He took his text from Genesis 22 [.10]: Abraham "took the sword, to sacrifice his son." And all the judges and learned men marveled, saying, "Tomorrow, the Emperor will have his head." But it did not turn out so, for he preached such a fine sermon on the subject of justice that when the Emperor heard of it, he wished a copy for himself.

About the extremely harsh weather of that year.

In 1234 the weather was so bitterly cold throughout January that the vines and fruit trees were destroyed, and wild animals were frozen to death. As a result, marauding wolves prowled the cities by night, large numbers of which were captured, killed, and hung up in public squares. And trees of the forest were split from top to bottom from the weight of the ice, some being completely killed off by the intense cold.

About the great battle in the bishopric of Cremona.

In this year a great battle took place in the bishopric of Cremona between the Cremonese, the Parmese, the Pavians, the Piacenzans, and the Modenese on one side and the Milanese and the Brescians supported by their allies on the other.

The destruction of the vineyards by the harsh winter of 1235.

In the year 1235, on Wednesday, the 18th of April, a bitterly cold wind blew up, bringing heavy snow in its wake. The following night a chilling frost came, wreaking havoc on the vineyards. And then on the 23rd of April another snow and hoar frost came, which virtually destroyed all the vineyards.

On the freezing of the Po.

And in the same year the Po froze so solidly that men were able to cross it on foot and even on horseback.

The magistrates of Mantua kill their bishop.

And in that same year Guidotto, Bishop of Mantua, late son of Frugerio de Corigia, was put to death by the magistrates of Mantua on Monday, the 14th of May. His sister was Lady Sophia, wife of Lord Rainero de Adelardi of Modena, and this lady was my spiritual daughter.

How Pope Gregory IX wept, with all his cardinals, on hearing of the Bishop of Mantua's death.

The canons and the clerics of Mantua sent a special, very eloquent messenger to the Papal court to announce the bishop's death to the high pontiff. And although young, this messenger made such a splendid speech before the Pope and the cardinals that they were all amazed. And with his closing words the speaker drew forth the bishop's dalmatic still bloody from his murder in St. Andrew's at Mantua. Then spreading the robe before the Pope, he said, "Look, Father, and consider well 'whether it be thy son's coat, or not.' "[Genesis 37.32]. When he saw it, the Pope wept inconsolably, with all the cardinals. For Pope Gregory IX was a most compassionate man with a merciful heart.

How God punishes an injury done his servants more severely than one committed against Himself.

These magistrates who had killed the bishop were expelled from the city and never again recalled. Indeed, even up to the present day they wander about as exiles and vagabonds, so that they might know what it is to war against God — these "perverse" ones who "are hard to be corrected," these "fools" whose "number is infinite" [Ecclesiastes 1.15], these "corrupt men" who "bring a city to ruin" [Proverbs 29.8]. They received this punishment also so that they might know that God punishes an injury done to his servants more severely than one committed against Himself. For from the very cross itself he spared those who transgressed against Him by praying for them, and His prayers were answered. Zachariah speaks of his servants in chapter 2 [.8]: "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye." This has been made clear in many cases, where God has given punishment in vengeance for his servants. Though there are many examples that might be given, I will relate only two, who were martyred for the sake of the Church.

How God took bitter and harsh vengeance for Zachariah, son of Joiada, and St. Thomas, Bishop of Canterbury. Also the example of the serpent.

The first of these was Zachariah, son of Joiada, high priest of the Jewish people, of whom we read in II Paralipomenon 24 [.20-21]:

The spirit of God then came upon Zacharias the son of Joiada the priest. And he stood in the sight of the people, and said to them: Thus saith the Lord God: Why transgress you the commandment of the Lord which will not be for your good, and have forsaken the Lord, to make him forsake you? And they gathered themselves together against him, and stoned him at the king's commandment in the court of the house of the Lord.

Thus they acted against the Scripture in Proverbs 24 [.25-26]: "They that rebuke him, shall be praised: and a blessing shall come upon them. He shall kiss the lips, who answereth right words." But they fulfilled another Scripture in Amos 5 [.10] which says: "They have hated him that rebuketh in the gate: and have abhorred him that speaketh perfectly," and another in Proverbs 15 [.12]: "A cor-

rupt man loveth not one that reproveth him: nor will he go to the wise," and another in Proverbs 29 [.8]: "Corrupt men bring a city to ruin," not to mention Isaiah 59 [.14-15]: "truth hath fallen down in the street and equity could not come in. And truth hath been forgotten: and he that departed from evil lay open to be a prey." Furthermore, II Paralipomenon [24.22] reports: "And king Joas did not remember the kindness that Joiada his father had done to him, but killed his son," because as it says in Ecclesiasticus 29 [.21]: "he that is of an unthankful mind will leave him that delivered him." Note too the example of the gardener who brought a serpent into his lord's house, which killed the lord's son and escaped.²⁹ So it is that Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31] says: "Bring not every man into thy house: for many are the snares of the deceitful." Likewise, Ecclesiasticus 12 [.10] says: "Never trust thy enemy." This reminds me too of the old Tuscan saying: *d'ohmo alevandhiço et de pioclo apicadhiço no po l'ohm gaudère*, which can be literally translated, "There is no pleasure to be had from a stranger nor from a clinging louse," that is to say, "You can take no more pleasure in a stranger you are harboring than in someone else's louse which is clinging to you."

About Joas, Aman the Agagite, Frederick II, and Obizzo, Marquis d'Este, all four of whom were ungrateful.

Ingratitude was manifested in Joas, King of Juda, of whom we have just spoken, as well as in Aman the Agagite, of whom we read in the last chapter of Esther [16.10]: And "now that you may more plainly understand what we say," and further up through verse 18: "God repaying him as he deserved." The same is true too of Frederick II, who lifted his heel against the Church and afflicted her grievously, although she had nourished him as a child. But it was to his own hurt that he kicked "against the goad" [Acts 9.5], for he was ignominiously deprived of the imperial title, and could find no consolation in his own wickedness. Ecclesiastes 8 [.13] provides a suitable commentary on him: "But let it not be well with the wicked, neither let his days be prolonged, but as a shadow let them pass away that fear not the face of the Lord," and also Isaiah 3 [.11]: "Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Such ingratitude is also manifest in the present Marquis d'Este, not to speak of innumerable others.

II Paralipomenon [24.22] reports that "when he died, he said: The Lord see, and require it," to whom the Lord responds in Luke 11 [.9, 50-51]: "And I say to you: Ask, and it shall be given you; the blood of all the prophets which was shed from the foundation of the world may be required of this generation, From the blood of Abel unto the blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the altar and the temple." For a further example see II Paralipomenon [24.23-25]:

And when a year was come about, the army of Syria came up against him. And they came to Juda and Jerusalem, and killed all the princes of the people; and they sent all the spoils to the king of Damascus. And whereas there came a very small number of the Syrians, the Lord delivered into their hands

an infinite multitude, because they had forsaken the Lord the God of their fathers. And on Joas they executed shameful judgments. And departing they left him in great diseases. And his servants rose up against him, for revenge of the blood of the son of Joiada the priest. And they slew him in his bed: and he died. And they buried him in the city of David, but not in the sepulchres of the kings.

Thus was the case of this king, who had a good beginning but a bad end, for he did many good works which his guilt rendered meaningless, because he scorned to persevere in goodness. And so it is that the Lord in Ezechiel 18 [.24] says: "if the just man turn himself away from his justice and do iniquity according to all the abominations which the wicked man useth to work, shall he live? All his justices which he hath done shall not be remembered: in the prevarication by which he hath prevaricated and in his sin which he hath committed, in them he shall die." Also the Apostle in II Timothy 2 [.5]: He "is not crowned, except he strive lawfully."

There are two ways that a man strives lawfully.

One of the ways to strive lawfully is to resist evil temptation, never consenting to the devil — something which only a few can do, for Proverbs 20 [.9] says: "Who can say: My heart is clean, I am pure from sin?" See also Ecclesiastes 7 [.21]: "For there is no just man upon earth, that doth good, and sinneth not," and Proverbs 24 [.16]: "For a just man shall fall seven times and shall rise again: but the wicked shall fall down into evil." Thus it is that the Apostle beseeches you in I Peter [2.11] "as strangers and pilgrims, to refrain yourselves from carnal desires which war against the soul." Those men that the Apostle spoke of in James 5 [.5] did not do so: "You have feasted upon earth: and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts." Another way to strive lawfully is to end one's life in good works — as many do. Thus it is that St. John says in his second book [1.8]: "Look to yourselves, that you lose not the things which you have wrought: but that you may receive a full reward." Yet the man whom Aggeus 1 [.6] speaks about failed in this respect: "He that hath earned wages, put them into a bag with holes." On the other hand, Ecclesiasticus says in the last chapter [51.35]: "Behold with your eyes how I have laboured a little, and have found much rest to myself." The repentant thief crucified on the cross, along with Christ, could fittingly use these words, as could also the blessed Boniface, who had a holy death. Thus it is written:

Whoever makes a good end
Is a good man.³⁰

The second man whom God avenged properly was St. Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, the account of which is given in his legend, as follows:

Divine vengeance raged upon the martyr's persecutors, for in a very short time they were brought before the judgment seat of God. Some were snatched

away suddenly without benefit of confession or viaticum; others bit off their own fingers or tongues; others suffered unheard of torments before death, their bodies racked with pain and streaming with blood; some paralyzed, some driven out of their minds, some dying insane—all these clearly manifest that they paid the penalty for an unjust persecution and a premeditated paricide. That excellent champion of God suffered his martyrdom in the year 1170 from the Incarnation of the Lord, on the fourth Kalends of January, Tuesday, almost at the eleventh hour, so that the Lord's birthday at the time of his pain should become his birth into eternal rest. May our Lord and God Jesus Christ deign to lead us to this end, He who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.³¹

The reward that Joiada and his son Zachariah gained for their goodness.

With respect to the story alluded to above, it will be fitting for us to point out the punishment received by Joas and his people, as well as the reward bestowed upon Joiada and his son Zachariah for virtues. Thus it is written of Joiada: "Joiada the priest is the only man, after the time of Moses, who is said to have attained the age of one hundred and thirty years" —not that Moses lived that long, for he lived ten years less than that—"and he lies buried in the city of David, since it was he who restored the kingdom to the tribe of David."³² The ancients indeed used to bury their dead in the open fields, but Joiada deserved a stately sepulchre for his great merit. And, further, his son Zachariah behaved as Ecclesiasticus 4 [.33] commands: "Strive for justice for thy soul, and even unto death fight for justice, and God will overthrow thy enemies for thee." Thus he was rewarded by the word of the Lord in the gospel [Matthew 23.35]: "From the blood of Abel the just, even unto the blood of Zacharias," as if from the *terminus a quo* to the *terminus ad quem*, that is, from the shepherd to the priest, which two are properly coupled, since a priest is indeed a shepherd. For Amos 3 [.3] says: "Shall two walk together except they be agreed?" where his very question implies a negative. Moreover, St. Jerome was very careful to run down all references to this Zachariah, so that he might fully present him to us.³³ It is noteworthy also that "all the sons of Zachariah were stoned along with their father, save for one who was born after his father's death, who was also called Zachariah."³⁴

The punishment earned by Joas and his people on account of their iniquity and the damnation which man incurs by his sin.

The benefits of a good society and the evils, with the remedies thereof, of a bad one. That some begin well and end badly, and some vice versa. For similar subjects, see below folio

...³⁵

Now, Joas, King of Juda, did not deserve to be buried in the sepulchre of the kings, on account of his unworthiness. For after the death of Joiada, Joas neglected his spiritual duties, whereby his ministers were corrupted, a circumstance touched upon in Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2]: "As the judge of the people is himself, so also are

his ministers: and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein," and also in Proverbs 29 [.12]: "A prince that gladly heareth lying words, hath all his servants wicked," and likewise [Proverbs 29.6]: "A snare shall entangle the wicked man when he sinneth." Such was Joas, who fell into the worst kind of laxity because he wished to assume divine honors for himself, as the Jews say,³⁶ and because he disdained to heed the reproaches of Zachariah. Proverbs 21 [.12] speaks thus of Zachariah: "The just considereth seriously the house of the wicked, that he may withdraw the wicked from evil." Yet as is written in Proverbs 17 [.10]: "A reproof availeth more with a wise man, than a hundred stripes with a fool," and also in Proverbs 29 [.1]: "The man that with a stiff neck despiseth him that reproveth him, shall suddenly be destroyed: and health shall not follow him." Such was Joas, who scorned the counsel of Zachariah, and indeed had him stoned to death in the sanctuary itself. And from that time forward, as Epiphanius says, the people no longer received, as previously, words of guidance, either from the oracle or from the priest. Yet Joas paid fully for his crime, for two of his servants beat him to death.³⁷ Thus it is clear why Joas did not deserve a royal burial. What Ecclesiastes 6 [.3-4] says applies to Joas: "and he be without burial: of this man I pronounce, that the untimely born is better than he. For he came in vain, and goeth to darkness, and his name shall be wholly forgotten." It is clear also that the people themselves suffered for the murder of the high priest, since they lost the divine response. Thus the truth of the words in the book of Wisdom 11 [.17] is made manifest: "by what things a man sinneth, by the same also he is tormented," and also in Proverbs 14 [.34]: "Sin maketh nations miserable." That this is true may be seen in the following account: It is said that the high priest of the Hebrews wore a breast plate, in the middle of which was a four-square stone the size of two fingers. According to the change of color in this stone, the Hebrews could determine whether the Lord was pleased or offended with them. Josephus says that the priest wore a sardonix on his right shoulder, which shone so brightly when the priest's sacrifice was pleasing to God that it was visible from a considerable distance. Whenever they were about to go to war, the stones on the breast plate shone with such brilliance, if the Lord were favorably inclined to them, that it was clear to the entire host that God was on their side and that they were God's people. Yet Josephus also pointed out that the divine brilliance of this stone and breast plate ceased to shine forth some two hundred years before he himself wrote, because God would no longer tolerate the transgression of the law.³⁸ Augustine also writes that the sacrificial fire, which had endured under water for the seventy years of Babylonian captivity was finally extinguished because the priesthood was sold to Jason by Antiochus.³⁹

Some cities of Lombardy which were loyal to the Emperor sought to divert the channel of the river Scotenna in order to flood Castelfranco.

In the year 1235 the men of Parma, Cremona, Piacenza, and Pontremoli, all in the service of the Modenese, sought to divert the channel of the river Scotenna above Bologna, for they wanted to flood Castelfranco and destroy it. No one was

excused from this labor: the noble as well as the common people labored together, digging and carrying loads.

The Emperor sends his elephant into Lombardy.

In that same year Frederick the Emperor brought an elephant into Lombardy, along with a large number of dromedaries, camels, leopards, gerfalcons, and hawks. And I saw them with my own eyes as they passed through Parma on their way to Cremona.

About the first entry of the Emperor into Lombardy. Would that he had never come!

In the year of the Lord 1236, in the month of September, Frederick the Emperor came into Lombardy, against the will of the people of Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Bologna, and Faenza. But the people of Cremona, Parma, and Reggio, accompanied by their armies and two hundred Modenese knights, went out to greet him. Having crossed the rivers Mincio and Oglio, the Emperor captured and laid waste Macaria in the district of Mantua. Then he immediately rebuilt it and placed Cremonese soldiers there as guards. And then with the force of the abovementioned armies behind him, he moved against Mantua, laying siege to it for a few days. The Emperor also captured the Brescian castle Mosio, and set Cremonese guards there. Furthermore, the people of Gonzaga surrendered to the Emperor, and in that same year on November 1, the Emperor captured and laid waste the city of Vicenza. Then he made a treaty with Salinguerra and the Ferrarese. Later, on Christmas Eve of that same year, the Mantuans secretly entered Macaria and recaptured it, taking captive the Cremonese who were there on guard. They imprisoned a large number of them in Mantua and put many others to death.

The havoc wrought by Frederick the Emperor and those who were responsible for his entry into Lombardy, as they went about laying waste to the countryside.

In September 1237 Lord Manfred de Cornazano of Parma, who was at that time podestà of Reggio, entered the service of the Emperor, bringing along with him the troops of Reggio, to join forces with the Parmese and Cremonese, who had brought along their carroccio. Skirting the castle of Mosio, then under Cremonese control, they captured Redondesco in Brescia and Guidizzolo in Mantua, as well as the castle of Goito. At this time, the Emperor made peace with the Mantuans, who then contributed foot soldiers and catapult crews to his siege of Montichiari. On their way to Montichiari, these forces burned down the castle of Guidizzolo. On October 5 the Reggians, fighting without assistance of the main army (which had remained at Carpenedolo), captured two other castles of Casalodi — one from the nobles, the other from the common people — and burned them down.

The siege of Montichiari in the bishopric of Brescia.

On the seventh of October the Emperor besieged Montichiari, and his army made camp between the cities of Montichiari and Calcinato, but across the river Chiesi on the shore nearest Calcinato. Then on Sunday, October 11, the men of Montichiari were engaged in battle, and the following day the Emperor's army laid siege to Montichiari on two sides and bombarded it with mangonels and catapults.

The capture of Montichiari by the Emperor, who made use in this battle not only of Saracen troops but also of an elephant which he brought with him. The book of Machabees and the history of Alexander contain a great deal of information about making use of elephants in battle. Also Brother Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a Friar Minor, treats elephants very fully in his book on the properties of things.

On Thursday, the 22nd of October, the men of Montichiari surrendered to the Emperor and were taken away and put in prison. And in this battle of Montichiari the Emperor employed a large number of Saracens in his army.⁴⁰ Later, on the 2nd of November, the Emperor captured the castles of Gambara, Goltengo, Pralboino, and Pavone del Mella — all of which were looted and burned to the ground. Then two days before the feast of St. Martin, the Emperor came with his army to Pontevico. At that time the Emperor had his elephant with him, which he had been keeping at Cremona, and there was a wooden tower on the elephant's back constructed after the fashion of the carroccio of the Lombards. This tower, which was square, was strapped on firmly, and in each of the four corners there was a banner, as well as a large standard in the middle. And within this tower was the "master of the beast" [Cf. I Machabees 6. 37], along with a large number of Saracens. About the use of elephants in battle, I Machabees, chapter 6, has spoken sufficiently in recounting Antiochus Eupator's battle against the Jews. For there were thirty-two well-trained elephants in his army, and

they shewed the elephants the blood of grapes, and mulberries to provoke them to fight. And they distributed the beasts by the legions: and there stood by every elephant a thousand men in coats of mail, and with helmets of brass on their heads: and five hundred horsemen set in order were chosen for every beast. These before the time wheresoever the beast was, they were there: and withersoever it went, they went, and they departed not from it. And upon the beast, there were strong wooden towers, which covered every one of them: and engines upon them: and upon every one thirty-two valiant men, who fought from above; and an Indian to rule the beast. And the rest of the horsemen he placed on this side and on that side at the two wings, with trumpets to stir up the army, and to hasten them forward that stood thick together in the legions thereof. And Eleazar the son of Saura saw one of the beasts harnessed with the king's harness: and it was higher than the other beasts: and it seemed to him that the king was on it: And he exposed

himself to deliver his people and to get himself an everlasting name. And he ran up to it boldly in the midst of the legion, killing on the right hand, and on the left, and they fell by him on this side and that side. And he went between the feet of the elephant, and put himself under it: and slew it, and it fell to the ground upon him, and he died there.

Also we read in the histories that King Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia, had a troop of one hundred elephants in his army which he used to transport his gold. These animals exist in abundance in Ethiopia. Moreover, Brother Bartholomaeus Anglicus, a Friar Minor, has described the nature and characteristics of these animals in detail in his book on the properties of things, which volume is divided into nineteen separate books.⁴¹ Bartholomaeus Anglicus was a learned scholar, who lectured competently on the whole of the Bible at Paris.

The Milanese come out against the Emperor with their armies. The Bolognese capture the Modenese fortress of Castelleone and raze it to the ground.

In that same year while the imperial forces were still at Pontevico, the Milanese came out against the Emperor in force, an engagement which lasted for a long period of time. Then on the 25th of November the Bolognese captured the Modenese fortress of Castelleone, which is on the highway near Castelfranco, razing it to the ground and carrying the timbers and stone into their own fortress of Castelfranco. They also put the men of Castelleone in prisons in Bologna. In Castelleone there was a splendid tower, which, in its fall, struck the waters of a pond with such force that a large pike leapt out of the water. This handsome white fish was immediately offered as a gift to the podestà of Bologna, who was present at the razing of the city. I got this story from an eyewitness of the event, much later when I was travelling through this area with him. Meanwhile, in Parma one of the city magistrates (that is, a *judex potestatis*) rode up and down the streets of the suburb San Cristina, accompanied by a courier, crying out in tears: "O people of Parma, go to the aid of Modena!" For he himself was from Modena. And when I saw him and heard his words, my heart went out to him because of his continuing loyalty to his city. And so that he might be heard the better, he repeated his words, adding: "O people of Parma, go to the aid of the Modenese, your friends and your brothers!" As I listened to his words, I was moved to tears of compassion, for I realized that Parma had been stripped of men, and that no one remained save boys and girls, "young men and maidens . . . the old with the" [Psalms 148.12] women. For they had marched out against the Milanese with the Emperor's many other armies.

The Milanese are defeated and killed; they lose their carroccio, and their podestà is captured and imprisoned.

And in that same year on the 27th of November, the Milanese were defeated and killed by the imperial forces, and they lost their carroccio at Cortenuova. Then Frederick the Emperor sent their carroccio to Rome, but the Romans burned

it in their contempt for him, although he had thought to please and win them over by sending the carroccio there. Huge losses were inflicted on the Milanese in this campaign, and, moreover, the imperial forces captured the Venetian leader's son (who at that time was podestà of Milan) and imprisoned him in Cremona. Indeed almost all of Lombardy, as well as the March of Treviso, fell into the hands of the Emperor.

Brescia is besieged by the Emperor.

In 1238 the imperial army laid siege to Brescia, with allies from Parma, Cremona, Bergamo, and Pavia; also among the forces were two hundred knights and a thousand foot soldiers from Reggio, as well as Saracens, Germans, Apulians, and numerous other bands. The siege lasted for a long time. Then the Emperor had wooden towers constructed for use in the conflict, placing on them the men he had captured at Montichiari. But the Brescians bombarded these towers so successfully that they destroyed them, although they did not harm these prisoners at all. Furthermore, the Brescians drew forth their own prisoners from the imperial army and strung them by the arms along the city walls. And thus because the Brescians defended themselves so well during this siege the imperial army failed in its attempt to capture the city. The Emperor then pulled back his forces with all his allies and went away in defeat.

The Beginning of the Book of the Prelate which I wrote about Brother Elias; this book contains much good and useful material, and it continues to the notation, "In the year of the Lord 1239, Indiction 12"⁴²

In the year 1238, Indiction XI, I Brother Salimbene de Adam of Parma entered the Order of the Friars Minor on the 4th of February, the feast of St. Gilbert; and I was received on the evening of the vigil of St. Agatha⁴³ in the city of Parma by Brother Elias, the Minister General. For Brother Elias happened to be travelling through Parma on his way to Cremona to see the Emperor at the request of Pope Gregory IX. Since he was a special friend of both of them, he was peculiarly suited as a mediator, for as St. Gregory witnesses: "An unsuitable mediator exacerbates the bad temper of the one he comes to soothe."⁴⁴ On the occasion when I was received into the Order, Brother Gerard of Modena was present, and in fact he was the one who requested that I be accepted—a request that was granted.

And at that time Gerard of Corigia, who was called *de Dentibus* because he had huge teeth, was podestà of Parma, and accompanied by a number of knights, he made a personal visit to the convent to see Brother Elias, the Minister General. At the time, Brother Elias was in the room set aside for the reception of secular guests, sitting on a bed of cushions in front of a roaring fire, and he was wearing an Armenian cap on his head. And when the podestà entered and greeted him, Brother Elias neither stood up nor moved from his place, as I saw with my own eyes, conduct which was thought most discourteous, since God himself says in Holy Scripture, Leviticus 19 [.32]: "Rise up before the hoary head, and honour the

person of the aged man," and also Ecclesiasticus 3 [.20]: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God." Furthermore, the Apostle says in Romans 13 [.7]: "Render therefore to all men their dues . . . honour, to whom honour." In like manner, Ecclesiasticus 41 [.20-1, 25] says: "For it is not good to keep all shamefacedness: and all things do not please all men in opinion. Be ashamed . . . of silence before them that salute thee." Indeed, Brother Elias also fulfilled the account in Proverbs 26 [.8]: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury: so is he that giveth honour to a fool." For Elias was of humble parentage—his father was from Castel de' Britti in the bishopric of Bologna⁴⁵ and his mother from Assisi—and before he entered the Order he used to earn his living by sewing cushions and teaching the children of Assisi to read their psalters. In the secular world he was called Bonusbaro, but on entering the Order he took the name *Elias*. He was elected Minister General twice, and he stood in the good graces of both the Emperor and the Pope.

Yet eventually God humbled Brother Elias, in keeping with the Scripture [Psalms 74.8]: "One he putteth down, and another he lifteth up." That verse can be understood in two ways. First of all, it may be taken in the sense of reversing the positions of two different groups of people. There are many instances of this in the Scripture, as for example [Luke 1.52]: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble," or the case of Saul and David. For God humbled Saul, turning his face away from him and taking away his kingdom, but he exalted David by giving him a kingdom. In Saul was fulfilled what the Lord said to Samuel, I Kings 15 [.11]: "It repenteth me that I have made Saul king: for he hath forsaken me, and hath not executed my commandments. And Samuel was grieved, and he cried unto the Lord all night," as also in chapter 16 [.1]: "And the Lord said to Samuel: How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, whom I have rejected from reigning over Israel?" and likewise I Kings 13 [.13-14]:

And Samuel said to Saul: Thou hast done foolishly, and hast not kept the commandments of the Lord thy God, which he commanded thee. And if thou hadst not done thus, the Lord would now have established thy kingdom over Israel for ever. But thy kingdom shall not continue. The Lord hath sought him a man according to his own heart: and him hath the Lord commanded to be prince over his people, because thou hast not observed that which the Lord commanded.

This is the finest example for the benefit of those who preach predestination, because provided that a man, although he has freedom of will, does what he ought to do to the limits of his power, God supports him appropriately; otherwise He does not. Thus it is that Samuel said to Saul in I Kings 15 [.23]: "Forasmuch therefore as thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord hath also rejected thee from being king," and similarly in the same chapter below [.28]: "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to thy neighbour who is better than thee." This man better than Saul is the one whom Paul speaks of in Acts 13 [.22]: "And, when he had removed him, he raised them

up David to be king; to whom giving testimony, he said: I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man according to my own heart, who shall do all my wills." Indeed, the Lord says about Saul to the Jewish people in Hosea 13 [.11]: "I will give thee a king in my wrath and will take him away in my indignation." And he also says about David in Psalms [88.21-25]:

I have found David my servant: with my holy oil I have anointed him. For my hand shall help him: and my arm shall strengthen him. The enemy shall have no advantage over him: nor the son of iniquity have power to hurt him. And I will cut down his enemies before his face; and them that hate him I will put to flight. And my truth and my mercy shall be with him: and in my name shall his horn be exalted.

Behold, how he humbled one and exalted another when [Psalms 77.70-72]: "he chose his servant David, and took him from the flocks of sheep: he brought him from following the ewes great with young, to feed Jacob his servant, and Israel his inheritance. And he fed them in the innocence of his heart: and conducted them by the skilfulness of his hands."

Secondly, the verse can be interpreted as referring to only one man, as is clear in the example of Nabuchodonosor, of whom the Scripture says in Daniel 4 and 5 that God humbled him because of his pride, deposing him from the throne. Yet after Nabuchodonosor had acknowledged the power of heaven and learned that "the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men. And he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him: and he will appoint the basest man over it," [Daniel 4.14] he was raised up and restored to his kingdom. Thus it is written in Daniel 4 [.33]: "And I was restored to my kingdom: and greater majesty was added to me." And this is what Job 8 [.5-7] says: "Yet if thou wilt arise early to God, and wilt beseech the Almighty: If thou wilt walk clean and upright: he will presently awake unto thee, and will make the dwelling of thy justice peaceable. Insomuch, that if thy former things were small, thy latter things would be multiplied exceedingly," and also Job 11 [.14-19]:

If thou wilt put away from thee the iniquity that is in thy hand, and let not injustice remain in thy tabernacle: Then mayst thou lift up thy face without spot; and thou shalt be steadfast and shalt not fear. Thou shalt also forget misery, and remember it only as waters that are passed away. And brightness, like that of the noonday, shall arise to thee at evening. And when thou shalt think thyself consumed, thou shalt rise as the day-star. And thou shalt have confidence, hope being set before thee: and being buried thou shalt sleep secure. Thou shalt rest, and there shall be none to make thee afraid: and many shall entreat thy face.

These two authoritative passages from Job demonstrate perfectly that man can be reconciled to God through penitence.

This was not, however, true of Brother Elias. On the contrary, because he did

not appreciate the favor bestowed upon him, he was deposed and never restored, a fact which he could never accept. And so it is that Ecclesiasticus 23 [.30-31] says: "and where he suspected not, he shall be taken. And he shall be in disgrace with all men, because he understood not the fear of the Lord." See also Isaiah 30 [.13-14]: "For the destruction thereof shall come on a sudden, when it is not looked for. And it shall be broken small, as the potter's vessel is broken all to pieces with mighty breaking: and there shall not a shard be found of the pieces thereof, wherein a little fire may be carried from the hearth, or a little water be drawn out of the pit." Hear what the Lord says in III Kings 16 [.2-3; 14.9] to understand why this was done: "Forasmuch as I have exalted thee out of the dust, and made thee prince over my people Israel," thou "hast cast me behind thy back: Behold, I will cut down" thy "posterity." The Lord adds further in Isaiah 22 [.19]: "And I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry." This was fulfilled in the following year, as we shall report, when Brother Elias was deposed in a general chapter under Pope Gregory IX.⁴⁶ And he well deserved to be deposed because of his many faults.

Let us speak first of the insult which Elias did to Lord Gerard de Corigia. Since this noble man of high position—for he was, after all, podestà of Parma—had come to visit him honorably with his knights, Elias should have honored him by rising in his presence. For honor becomes the one who extends it far more than the one who receives it. Yet Brother Elias did not understand this, and so he acted most uncivilly. In his *Book of Pests*, Patecchio writes about such people:

A servant risen all too high,
A pauper splendid in his own eye,
A butler on whom I cannot rely,

A peasant on a high horse prancing,
A jealous man with girls a-dancing,
A stubborn man never backward glancing,

A stingy man admired by the masses—
All of these are stupid asses.⁴⁷

This Lord Gerard de Corigia was very tall and well-formed, though somewhat thin. He was also a powerful knight, experienced in arms. I saw this podestà of Parma only twice: once, at that time when I entered the Order, and, later, when Parma rebelled against the deposed Frederick. Gerard was a special and intimate friend of my brother, Guido de Adam, a Friar Minor. He was also the father of Guido de Corigia and Matthew, both of whom held the position of podestà many times. This Guido was an experienced soldier, and he was married to Mabilia, daughter of Lord Ghiberto de Gente, who bore him many children. But Matthew, also a skilful knight, had no children, save an illegitimate one.

Another interesting event took place at the time I entered the Order. Lord Tancred de Pellavicini, the courteous and generous abbot of St. John's of Parma, who

was known for his sanctity, sent a gift of chickens to Brother Elias. Thus it was that a peasant came to the convent with a stick over his shoulder laden down on both ends with capons and pullets as dinner for Brother Elias and the friars. For it was Thursday. The podestà was there at the time, and so was I, still in secular dress, and I personally saw all these things. And it was that very evening after the evening meal that I was received into the Order. Although I had already eaten very well at home, the Brothers, nevertheless, took me to the infirmary and spread another lavish feast before me. But from that time forth I received only cabbage, which I had to eat the rest of my life. Yet while I was still in secular life, I had never eaten cabbage, and, in fact, I detested them so much that I would not even eat meat that had been cooked with them. Thus I was reminded later of the oft-quoted words:

What did the hawk to the chicken say
As he carried that poor creature away:
Why do you so cackle and caw?
Are you not carried by a royal claw?⁴⁸

I remembered too the words of Job 6 [.7]: "The things which before my soul would not touch, now, through anguish are my meats."

Now, Brother Elias had the habit of speaking in witty riddles. Thus it happened that in response to Lord Gerard's question about whom he was travelling to see and why, he answered that he was being both drawn and pushed—drawn by the Emperor and pushed by the Pope, implying that he was going from friend to friend. And this reply was applauded as supremely witty, an apt illustration of what is written in Ecclesiasticus 13 [.28-29]: "The rich man spoke, and all held their peace, and what he said they extol even to the clouds. The poor man spoke, and they say: Who is this? and if he stumble, they will overthrow him." Yet it is also written in Ecclesiasticus 37 [.23-24]: "He that speaketh sophistically, is hateful: he shall be destitute of every thing. Grace is not given him from the Lord: for he is deprived of all wisdom," and again in Proverbs 26 [.9]: "As if a thorn should grow in the hand of a drunkard: so is a parable in the mouth of fools." It is just so with those people who, when asked "How do you want your eggs?" reply that they want them just as they are, which is to say, in their feeble attempt at wit, that either they do not wish to eat at all or that they certainly do not want eggs. Yet they should speak more simply, as behooves men of religion, because as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 3 [.32]: "His," that is, God's, "communication is with the simple." Further citations from the Scripture on this point are Ecclesiasticus 20 [.6-7]: "There is one that holdeth his peace, because he knoweth not what to say: and there is another that holdeth his peace, knowing the proper time. A wise man will hold his peace till he see opportunity: but a babbler, and a fool will regard no time," and later in the same chapter [.22]: "A parable coming out of a fool's mouth shall be rejected: for he doth not speak it in due season," and Ecclesiastes 8 [.5-6]: "The heart of a wise man understandeth time and answer.

There is a time and opportunity for every business," and Ecclesiastes 3 [.1]: "All things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven," and Ecclesiasticus 27 [.13]: "In the midst of the unwise keep in the word till its time," and Ecclesiasticus 32 [.10-13]: "Young man, scarcely speak in thy own cause. If thou be asked twice, let thy answer be short."⁴⁹ In many things be as if thou wert ignorant, and hear in silence and withal seeking. In the company of great men take not upon thee: and when the ancients are present, speak not much," and finally Proverbs 17 [.28]: "A fool, if he will hold his peace shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips, a man of understanding."

A second fault of Brother Elias was that he accepted many useless men into the Order. I lived in the convent of Siena for two years, for example, and I saw twenty-five lay brothers there. Then I lived in Pisa for four years, and I saw thirty lay brothers living there. Nevertheless, it should be admitted that the Lord may have allowed this for a number of reasons.

The first reason is that in the construction of palaces, churches, or even houses, rough-hewn stones are laid first of all in the foundation, but as the building rises above the ground, carefully dressed stone is employed to enhance the beauty of the building. And so it is that the promises of the Lord to the Church militant and triumphant are suitable to the Order of the blessed Francis, Isaiah 54 [.11-14]: "O poor little one, tossed with tempest, without all comfort, behold I will lay thy stones in order, and will lay thy foundations with sapphires, and I will make thy bulwarks of jasper: and thy gates of graven stones, and all thy borders of desirable stones. All thy children shall be taught of the Lord: and great shall be the peace of thy children. And thou shalt be founded in justice."

The second reason is that St. Francis closely imitated and followed the Son of God, after what is written in Job 23 [.11-12]: "My foot hath followed his steps: I have kept his way, and have not declined from it. I have not departed from the commandments of his lips: and the words of his mouth I have hid in my bosom." Moreover, the Son of God, as the blessed James 2 [.5] says, has "chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him." Furthermore, the Lord taught that precept by word and demonstrated it by example. He taught it by word when he said in Luke 14 [.13-14]: "when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind. And thou shalt be blessed, because they have not wherewith to make thee recompense; for recompense shall be made thee at the resurrection of the just." And he says again in Isaiah 25 [.6]: "the Lord of hosts shall make unto all people, in this mountain, a feast of fat things: a feast of wine, of fat things full of marrow, of wine purified from the lees," and also in Isaiah 29 [.19]: "the poor men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel." The Lord demonstrated by example when he chose poor fishermen and not the princes of the synagogue. Thus he says in Luke 14 [.21]: "Go out quickly into the streets and lanes of the city; and bring in hither the poor and the feeble and the blind and the lame." And he also gives thanks to the Father for such as these in Matthew 11 [.25]:

"I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent and hast revealed them to little ones." These are the little ones of whom Zachariah prophesied in chapter 13 [.7-8]: "I will turn my hand to the little ones. And they shall be in all the earth, saith the Lord." The Lord chose the poor for his mission so that the credit for his work would be given not to the noble, the powerful, the wise, or the rich, but to Himself, without whom nothing can be done. And this is what the Apostle says in I Corinthians 1 [.26-29]:

For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble. But the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the strong. And the base things of the world and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen; and things that are not, that he might bring to nought things that are; That no flesh should glory in his sight.

The third reason is that the institution of lay brothers was revealed to St. Francis in a vision, as recorded in chapter three of his legend:

Once when he was in a solitary place, contemplating and weeping bitterly over his life, suddenly the joy of the Holy Spirit came over him, and he was assured of plenary remission of all his sins. Then raptured out of himself and totally absorbed in a wondrous light, his mind was opened up and he saw that the future was very bright for himself and his sons. Afterward, returning to the Brothers, he said, "Be ye comforted, dear ones, and rejoice in the Lord. Be neither sad because of the fewness of your numbers, nor frightened at my simplicity or yours, because, truly, God has shown me that He will cause our numbers to increase to a great multitude, and will shower his grace and blessings upon us."⁵⁰

The Lord thus chose to fulfill his promise in Isaiah 60 [.22]: "The least shall become a thousand, and a little one a most strong nation: I the Lord will suddenly do this thing in its time."

The fourth reason is that this very thing had already been revealed to the Abbot Joachim by the Lord, because he predicted about the two future Orders: "It has been shown to me that the minor order will bring together without distinction the fruit of the earth, because it will bring both lay people and clerks into the Church; the other order, however, will delight especially in clerks."⁵¹

If someone should ask what Elias' fault was, therefore, in bringing lay people into the Order, since, as I have pointed out, this was a result of God's will, I answer that

Whatever men do, what matters is the intention.⁵²

For Christ's Passion, for example, was a very great good, since thereby we are

saved and set free, but it was a very great evil for the Jews, who were the instruments of the Passion, but refused to believe in the Christ, whom they had crucified. In like manner, if it is indeed true that Brother Elias admitted large numbers of lay brothers in order to satisfy his desire for power and to increase his own wealth, then we may say with justification that he was rightly deposed from office. And this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.23]: "The wicked man taketh gifts out of the bosom, that he may pervert the paths of judgment." Let him look to it!

The third fault of Brother Elias was that he promoted unworthy men to offices in the Order. For he placed lay brothers in the positions of guardians, custodians, and ministers, an absurd practice, since there was an abundance of good clerks available in the Order. I myself, for instance, was under the authority of a lay custodian, and, in the course of my life, more than one lay guardian. I was never governed by a lay minister, it is true, but I have seen many of them in other provinces. And there is really no cause to wonder that Elias favored such men, for Ecclesiasticus 13 [.19-20] says that "Every beast loveth its like: so also every man him that is nearest to himself. All flesh shall consort with the like to itself, and every man shall associate himself to his like," and also Ecclesiasticus 27 [.10]: "Birds resort unto their like: so truth will return to them that practise her," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2]: "As the judge of the people is himself, so also are his ministers: and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein." But someone might object to my point by citing the words of the Rule: "But let the minsters, if they are priests, impose penance upon them with mercy, but if they are not priests, let them have it done by other priests of the Order, as it will seem best to them before God."⁵³ Yet my response to this objection is that these words were written to fulfill the need for a particular time, at that point when there were not enough priests and learned men in the Order. But this lack has been remedied, and had already been, in Brother Elias' time. Thus the cause ceasing, the effect ought to cease also.⁵⁴ For the Lord Jesus Christ himself said some things for one particular time, which later he revoked, as in Matthew 10 [.5-6]: "Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles and into the city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go ye rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Yet he revoked this prohibition when he said in the last chapter of Mark [.15]: "Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel to every creature." Also in Luke 10 [.4] he commanded: "Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes." Yet in the time of his Passion he revoked this in his words in Luke 22 [.35-36]: "When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, did you want anything? But they said: Nothing. Then said he unto them: But now he that hath a purse, let him take it, and likewise a scrip; and he that hath not, let him sell his coat, and buy a sword."

The fourth fault of Brother Elias was that during his entire term of office there were no constitutions instituted to govern the Order and thereby to attain the desirable goals of preserving the Rule and regulating the Order and making it uniform.⁵⁵ So what is written on three occasions in the book of Judges [17.6; see

also 18.1; 21.24] is appropriate to the Order during this period: "In those days there was no king," that is, there was no law, "in Israel, but every one did that which seemed right to himself." This lack of constitutions prevailed under three different Ministers General: St. Francis, John Parenti, and Elias, the twice installed and twice removed.⁵⁶ Moreover, under Elias' governance, there were many lay brothers, even tonsured lay brothers, who were totally illiterate, as I saw with my own eyes when I was living in Tuscany. Some lay brothers lived in the city near to, but completely set apart from, the convent of the friars, and, moreover, they conversed with women through their windows. Furthermore, these lay brothers were completely useless as confessors or spiritual advisors. I was an eye witness of these matters at Pistoia and elsewhere. Some of these lay brothers lived completely alone, without the companion required by our Rule. A certain lay brother named Martin the Spaniard, an aged man of small stature, used to tend the sick in hostelries, and every day, whenever he pleased, he would go about the city completely alone, that is without his assigned companion, as I myself saw when I was in Siena. There were also many others whom I saw going about the world alone, some of whom wore their beards long, after the manner of the Armenians or Greeks who carefully cultivate their beards. Some of these bretheren did not even wear the proper cord of the friars, but chose a fancy one with colored threads and intricate knots. And happy was he who thought he had the prettiest one. I could relate many other instances of the disregard for proper dress, but it would be a lengthy task. Some lay brothers were also empowered as full delegates to chapters, while others, who did not have that privilege, would come to chapter meetings in great numbers. I once attended a provincial chapter held in Siena, where more than three hundred Brothers were in attendance, the majority of whom were lay, and they did nothing but eat and sleep. Moreover, in the province of Tuscany, created by combining three provinces into one, the number of lay brothers, when I lived there, equaled the number of clerks, and, in fact, exceeded them by four. By God, Elias, "thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy," Isaiah 9 [.3]. It would take an age to recount all the abuses that I saw. I would have neither enough time nor paper, and I would end up boring my hearers, instead of edifying them. Yet the lay brothers would even condemn someone for speaking in Latin, crying out, "Do you wish to undermine holy simplicity through your learning, you wretch!"⁵⁷ In response, I would invariably answer, "The holy solitary life is indeed profitable to a particular person alone, and insofar as the merit of his life helps to strengthen the church it is a good, but where it fails to resist those bent on the Church's destruction, it is an evil."⁵⁸ Truly, an ass wishes all it sees to be asinine, as is written in Lamentations 1 [.21]: "Thou hast brought a day of consolation, and they shall be like unto me." Yet it is commanded in the law of Deuteronomy 22 [.10]: "Thou shalt not plough with an ox and an ass together." Now, although that verse may be interpreted in various ways, one explanation will be sufficient for the point here: the ass feels greatly abused because it imagines that the ox is eating, when, in

fact, it is merely chewing its cud.⁵⁹ In that time indeed lay brothers were honored more highly than priests. Thus once in a certain house where, save for one learned priest, all were lay brothers, the priest was required to take his turn in the kitchen. And so it happened that on one occasion the priest's day fell on a Sunday, and he spent his time in the kitchen, cooking the vegetables as well as he was able. While he was at the task, however, a company of Frenchmen came by requesting a Mass immediately, and there was, of course, no one to celebrate it. Therefore, the lay brothers hastened to the kitchen and knocked on the door, asking the priest to come out and celebrate Mass. But he answered, "You go and sing Mass; I am cooking, because you refused to do it." And they were greatly abashed, realizing their own wretchedness. And it was indeed a wretched act of stupidity not to have given honor to the priest by whom they were confessed. Finally, however, the lay brothers were properly reduced in importance, for their admission to the Order was almost totally prohibited, since they scarcely recognized, in any case, the signal honor bestowed upon them and since the Order of the Friars Minor really does not need such a large number of lay brothers. Thus it is that the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.8]: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury: so is he that giveth honour to a fool." And see also Exodus 1 [.10]: "Come, let us wisely oppress them, lest they multiply." The lay brothers were, in fact, always conspiring against us. Once, for example, I recall that at a chapter held in Pisa they wanted to introduce a motion whereby a lay brother would be admitted to the Order whenever a clerk was. But their proposal was scorned because it was so foolish.

When I first entered the Order of the Friars Minor, there were many men of extraordinary sanctity and learning. For Brother Elias did have this single good quality: he promoted the study of theology in the Order. On my entry, the Order had been in existence for thirty-one years, and I saw the first Brother admitted by St. Francis himself, as well as other original members of the Order. While I was at Parma I sat under Samson the Englishman, lecturer in theology, and during my novitiate at Fano—then divided into two separate districts under separate ministers—under Brother Humile of Milan. And it is now the year 1283, the feast of St. Gorgon the martyr,⁶⁰ and Martin IV is currently Pope.⁶¹

Therefore, my conclusion is this: that general laws for the Order are a blessing, since they promote unity in the religious life and produce many desirable results. The fact that under Elias' governance there were no such rules is a great defect. In this respect the Lord says in Hosea 8 [.12]: "I shall write to him," that is, to the Order of the Friars Minor, "my manifold laws, which have been accounted as foreign." This was fulfilled in the following year when Brother Elias was deposed, and a great many rules were drawn up.

The fifth fault of Brother Elias was that he would never personally visit the districts of the Order, but always lived either at Assisi or in another place which he had had built in the bishopric of Arezzo—the most pleasant, delightful, and beautiful place imaginable—which is still today called Cella di Cortona. On this

account, the Lord warns him in Isaiah 22 [.16-19]:

What dost thou here, or as if thou wert somebody here? for thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, thou hast hewed out a monument carefully in a high place, a dwelling for thyself in a rock. Behold the Lord will cause thee to be carried away, as a cock is carried away, and he will lift thee up as a garment. He will crown thee with a crown of tribulation, he will toss thee like a ball into a large and spacious country: there shalt thou die, and there shall the chariot of thy glory be, the shame of the house of thy Lord. And I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry.

And directly thereafter follows a passage about the calling of another man, whom the Lord commends highly. Yet how aptly this applies to Elias may be seen in Zachariah 11 [.16-17]: "behold, I will raise up a shepherd in the land, who shall not visit what is forsaken nor seek what is scattered nor heal what is broken nor nourish that which standeth: and he shall eat the flesh of the fat ones and break their hoofs. O shepherd and idol, that forsaketh the flock: the sword upon his arm and upon his right eye: his arm shall quite wither away: and his right eye shall be utterly darkened."

The sixth fault of Brother Elias was that he treated the Provincial Ministers harshly and abusively unless they paid him off with money and gifts, as is written in Proverbs 21 [.14]: "A secret present quencheth anger: and a gift in the bosom the greatest wrath." For that wretched Elias did accept gifts, acting against the teaching of Scripture in Deuteronomy 16 [.19]: "Thou shalt not accept person nor gifts: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and change the words of the just." Here is a pertinent story of Albert Balzolino, judge of Faenza, who, upon hearing that a farmer had made him a gift of a pig, changed his verdict. And the very next verse of Deuteronomy adds [16.20]: "Thou shalt follow justly after that which is just: that thou mayst live and possess the land, which the Lord thy God shall give thee." See also Ecclesiasticus 20 [.31]: "Presents and gifts blind the eyes of judges, and make them dumb in the mouth, so that they cannot correct," and Isaiah 33 [.15-16] "He that walketh in justices and speaketh truth, that casteth away avarice by oppression and shaketh his hands from all bribes, that stoppeth his ears lest he hear blood and shutteth his eyes that he may see no evil. He shall dwell on high: the fortification of rocks shall be his highness." Yet neither prohibitions nor promises would suffice for the scoundrel Elias, but he fulfilled the Scripture in Proverbs 17 [.23]: "The wicked man taketh gifts out of the bosom, that he may pervert the paths of judgment," and Isaiah 1 [.23]: "they all love bribes, they run after rewards. They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's cause cometh not in to them." But [Psalms 91.7]: "The senseless man shall not know: nor will the fool understand these things," save when the words of Isaiah 28 [.19] are fulfilled: "and vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear." And this will be when those of Job 15 [.34] are fulfilled: "fire shall devour their taber-

nacles, who love to take bribes." Furthermore, Brother Elias held such powerful sway over the Provincial Ministers that they trembled before him like a reed struck by the water or a lark terrified by the swooping of a hawk. And no wonder, for he himself was "a son of Belial, so that no man can speak to him" I Kings 25 [.17]. Truly, no one dared to tell him the truth in condemnation of his misdeeds, except Brother Augustine of Recanato and Brother Bonaventure de Iseo. For he did not hesitate to abuse those Ministers slandered by his spies, who were, in fact, spread throughout the provinces, a band of malicious and stiff-necked laymen. And so "fear and trembling fell upon" the ministers, "for they said: there is no truth, nor justice," I Machabees 7 [.18]. For he would depose them from the ministerial office without any just cause, denying them books and depriving them of their proper functions as preachers and confessors. Moreover, he made some of them put on the hood of probation⁶² and sent them from the east to the west, that is, from Sicily or Apulia into Spain or England, and vice versa. One of those he deposed from office was Brother Albert of Parma, the Minister of Bologna and a man of most holy life, at the same time ordering Brother Gerard of Modena to bring Brother Albert with the hood of probation before him in Assisi, for he had informed Gerard by letter that he was to replace Albert. Now, Brother Gerard, who was a most courteous man, said nothing of this matter to Albert, the Minister; rather, he simply requested Albert to join him in a pilgrimage to the home church of the blessed St. Francis. "And they two went on together" [IV Kings 2.6], until they arrived at Assisi. And when Brother Gerard, accompanied by Albert, was near Elias' private chambers, he drew forth two hoods of probation — putting on the one himself and giving the other to Albert — and he said, "Put this hood on, father, and wait until I return." And so entering the presence of Brother Elias, Gerard knelt at his feet and said, "I have done as you ordered and brought here with me the Minister of Bologna with the hood of probation. And, behold, he waits outside ready to do whatever you command." When he heard this, Elias' anger completely subsided and his harsh spirit was softened toward the Minister. Thus it is that the Wise Man says in Proverbs 16 [.14–15]: "The wrath of a king is as messengers of death: and the wise man will pacify it. In the cheerfulness of the king's countenance is life: and his clemency is like the latter rain." Therefore, when Brother Albert entered, he was restored to his former estate. In fact, thanks to Brother Gerard he obtained from Elias many privileges for his province.

Thus it was that on account of this matter and others like it for which that terrible Elias was responsible, a spirit of vengeance began to grow in the minds of his Ministers; but they bided their time until they could "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise," Proverbs 26 [.5]. For "The heart of a wise man understandeth time and answer. There is a time and opportunity for every business," Ecclesiastes 8 [.5–6]. And in this matter Ecclesiasticus 27 [.13] teaches: "In the midst of the unwise keep in the word till its time," and also Ecclesiasticus 4 [.23]: "Son, observe the time and fly from evil," not to mention Ecclesiasticus 1 [.29]: "A patient man shall bear for a time, and afterwards joy shall

be restored to him." For Brother Elias was the worst kind of man, to whom can be applied the words which Daniel used of Nabuchodonosor, Daniel 5 [.19]: "whom he would, he slew: and whom he would, he destroyed: and whom he would, he set up: and whom he would, he brought down." Also fitting for him are those verses which I have already cited previously:

Nothing is crueller than a humble man who has risen:
He strikes all because he fears all; he rages violently against all,
So that he may be esteemed powerful; no beast is more savage
Than the rage of a servant let loose on free backs.⁶³

For it was very difficult indeed to live under Elias' rule. Thus Ecclesiastes 3 [.16] records: "I saw under the sun in the place of judgment wickedness, and in the place of justice iniquity," and also Ecclesiastes 4 [.1]: "I saw the oppressions that are done under the sun, and the tears of the innocent, and they had no comforter; and they were not able to resist their violence, being destitute of help from any," and Ecclesiastes 5 [.7-8]: "If thou shalt see the oppressions of the poor, and violent judgments, and justice perverted in the province, wonder not at this matter: for he that is high hath another higher, and there are others still higher than these: Moreover there is the king that reigneth over all the land subject to him."

Under Elias' government his Provincial Ministers were victims of the three abuses I have just described: they were slandered, they were subjected to harsh judgment, and, in their provinces, justice was undermined. Deuteronomy 28 [.29] speaks about the first two, when Moses castigated the transgressors of the law: "mayst thou at all times suffer wrong, and be oppressed with violence: and mayst thou have no one to deliver thee." The third abuse I saw clearly with my own eyes: in one particular province, for example, Elias made use of a Visitor who would spend the whole year making a tour of the province as if he himself were Minister, and, accompanied by a companion, he would remain in some place for fifteen days or a month, or even longer if he wished.⁶⁴ Besides, the provinces were smaller than they are now. And whoever wished to denounce his Minister could do so, and always received a favorable hearing. Thus whatever the Minister ordained for his province the Visitor could completely disrupt, adding or diminishing as he liked. Wherefore "the hearts of the children of men are filled with evil, and with contempt while they live," Ecclesiastes 9 [.3]. Nevertheless, the good Ministers persevered in goodness, as it is written in Job 17 [.9]: "And the just man shall hold on his way: and he that hath clean hands shall be stronger and stronger." For they remembered the words of the poet:

Good men are always in the midst of battles and wars,
And the pious mind always has someone to fight.⁶⁵

Brother Elias chose extortioners, not concerned supervisors, for his Visitors, for they scoured the provinces in search of gifts and money. "And if a man give not something into their mouth, they prepare war against him," Micah 3 [.5].

Under such constraints, the Provincial Ministers bore the full expense of having a splendid great bell cast (and indeed five more like it) to be hung in the Church of St. Francis at Assisi. And I myself have heard them filling the whole valley with their delightfully sweet tones. I observed another instance of Elias' power over those in his charge when I was a novice in Fano: two Brothers passed through the city on their way to Assisi leading donkeys loaded down with a huge salted fish, a costly gift from the Minister of Hungary to Brother Elias. Thus what Samuel said to Saul, I Kings 9 [.20], is appropriate to Brother Elias: "And for whom shall be all the best things of Israel? Shall they not be for thee and for all thy father's house?" Similarly, at about the same time, the king of Hungary, at the urging of that same Minister, sent a great golden cup to Assisi, adorned with a striking portrait of St. Francis. During a layover at the convent in Siena, the cup was placed in the sacristy for safe keeping, but certain light-minded Brothers, burning with curiosity, brought it forth and drank fine wine from it, so that they would be able to boast in future days that they had drunk from the goblet of the king of Hungary. But when the Guardian of the convent, Johannetto—a man zealous in his love of justice and honesty, who was a native of Assisi—discovered what these Brothers had done, he commanded the refector (also named Johannetto, of Belfort) to place an unwashed, filthy cup (called a *pignatta*) before each of them at the next meal. And they were forced to drink from this vessel, willy nilly, so that if some day they wanted to boast of having sipped from a royal cup they could, at the same time, recall that filth had been the reward of their guilt. So it is that in his book on the work of the six days, named in Greek the *Hexameron*, St. Basil writes that before there was sin "the rose was without thorns, but, afterward, the flower's beauty was marred by thorns: sorrow was added to joy, that we might remember that the earth was condemned to bring forth thorns and thistles because of original sin."⁶⁶

Six kinds of men are said to have called out to God.

What the Lord says to the Order of the Friars Minor in the Psalm [49.15] is noteworthy: "call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me." And the Order responds to Him [Psalms 17.7]: "In my affliction I called upon the Lord; and I cried to my God: And he heard my voice from his holy temple: and my cry before him came into his ears." Take note also that six kinds of men are said to have called upon God and were heard by Him, as is written in Jeremiah 33 [.3]: "Cry to me and I will hear thee: and I will shew thee great things and sure things which thou knowest not." The children of Israel, who served Pharaoh in Egypt in great misery, were the first of these. And the Lord spoke the following words to Moses about them, Exodus 3 [.7-9]:

I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have heard their cry; because of the rigour of them that are over the works. And knowing their sorrow, I am come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyp-

tians: For the cry of the children of Israel is come unto me: and I have seen their affliction, wherewith they are oppressed by the Egyptians.

The Psalmist also spoke of them [Psalms 106.13]: "they cried to the Lord in their affliction: and he delivered them out of their distresses."

The second plea to God for help was also uttered by the children of Israel, for after the death of Solomon the children of Israel called out to Roboam, Solomon's son, to lighten the heavy burden his father had imposed upon them. But Roboam did not heed them, and he scorned the counsel of the elders, of whom Job writes in chapter 12 [.12]: "In the ancient is wisdom: and in length of days prudence." Instead, Roboam took counsel with the youthful and inexperienced, as we read in Ecclesiasticus 8 [.20]: "Advise not with fools, for they cannot love but such things as please them." And Roboam answered the people with the advice the young had given him, and in this way he [Ecclesiasticus 47.28] "turned away the people through his counsel," and divided the kingdom — all because he would not lighten the harsh rule of his father, III Kings 12 and Ecclesiasticus 47.

About the three acts of foolishness performed by Solomon's son.

Jerome speaks about the need for moderation in speech: "See the different results of gentleness versus harshness of speech. Laborer, you will be saved!"

The example of the man who called himself a word-doctor.⁶⁷

Consider the three-fold foolishness of Solomon's son. First, although he was foolish, he thought himself wise, as is the way of fools. Thus Ecclesiastes 10 [.3] says: "Yea, and the fool when he walketh in the way, whereas he himself is a fool, esteemeth all men fools," and Proverbs 26 [.16]: "The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that speak sentences."

Second, he commended himself by belittling his father, III Kings 12 [.10]: "My little finger is thicker than the back of my father." Furthermore, Isaiah says in chapter 32 [.6]: "For the fool will speak foolish things, and his heart will work iniquity," and also Ecclesiastes 10 [.12-14]: "the lips of a fool shall throw him down headlong. The beginning of his words is folly, and the end of his talk is a mischievous error. A fool multiplieth words." And this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.10]: "he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger," and also Proverbs 17 [.28]: "Even a fool, if he will hold his peace shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips, a man of understanding." See also Ecclesiasticus 3 [.12-13]: "Glory not in the dishonour of thy father: for his shame is no glory to thee. For the glory of a man is from the honour of his father, and a father without honour is the disgrace of the son."

Roboam's third foolishness, as we said before, was in rejecting the advice of the elders in favor of youthful counsel, having forgotten what he had learned from his father, Proverbs 27 [.2]: "Let another praise thee, and not thy own mouth: a stranger, and not thy own lips." And although he knew better, he disdained to fulfill the words in Proverbs 15 [.1]: "A mild answer breaketh wrath: but a

harsh word stirreth up fury," as well as those in Ecclesiasticus 6 [.5]: "A sweet word multiplieth friends, and appeaseth enemies," and Proverbs 17 [.27]: "He that setteth bounds to his words, is knowing and wise." The example of what Gideon deigned to do in Judges 8 [.2-3]. The Lord himself did this many times, as reported in John 6 [.62-63]: "Doth this scandalize you?" and further in John 10 [.34]: "Is it not written to your law, etc." So it is that Ecclesiasticus 36 [.25] says: "If she have a tongue that can cure, and likewise mitigate and shew mercy: her husband is not like other men."

About the hardness of the human heart and the divine will.

The Psalm speaks of this calling out to God [17.42]: "They cried, but there was none to save them, to the Lord: but he heard them not." Why? The reason is given in III Kings 12 [.15]: "And the king condescended not to the people: for the Lord was turned away from him, to make good his word, which he had spoken in the hand of Ahias the Silonite, to Jeroboam the son of Nabat." In like manner, it is written about the sons of Eli, whom their father attempted to correct, I Kings 2 [.25]: "And they hearkened not to the voice of their father, because the Lord would slay them." The same was true of Pharaoh, who scorned to heed Moses and Aaron, Exodus 7 [.3-4]: "I shall harden his heart, and shall multiply my signs and wonders in the land of Egypt. And he will not hear you," and Exodus 33 [.19]: "I will have mercy on whom I will: and I will be merciful to whom it shall please me." Therefore, the Apostle says in Romans 9 [.18]: "Therefore he hath mercy on whom he will; and whom he will he hardeneth." The same is true of Saul, about whom the Lord spoke to Samuel, I Kings 16 [.1]: "How long wilt thou mourn for Saul, whom I have rejected from reigning over Israel?" and of Nabal, who was "the son of Belial, so that no man can speak to him," as it says in I Kings 25 [.17]. Also, "Roboam was inexperienced, and of a fearful heart," as is written in II Paralipomenon 13 [.7], and both because of the hardness of his heart and because of his own foolishness, he failed to hear the prayers of the people and [II Paralipomenon 10.15] "condescended not to the people's requests: for it was the will of God, that his word might be fulfilled," etc. Thus the Lord says in Isaiah 46 [.10]: "My counsel shall stand, and all my will shall be done," and in Ecclesiastes 7 [.14]: "Consider the works of God, that no man can correct whom he hath despised." Thus it was with all those mentioned above but especially with Heliu Buzite, who was, as they say,⁶⁸ Balaam, the son of Beor the sooth-sayer, of whom we find accounts in Numbers 22 and 23 and 24. Although Balaam said [Numbers 23.10]: "Let my soul die the death of the just; and my last end be like to them," nevertheless the children of Israel killed him with the sword, as is written in Joshua 13 [.22], because not only did he disdain to imitate the life of those he had praised but also he taught "Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat, and to commit fornication," as is written in Apocalypse 2 [.14] and Numbers 25. Therefore, God hated him, as He says to Job in chapter 38 [.2]: "Who is this that wrappeth up sentences in unskilful

words?" Thus it is that the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.10]: "he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger." Furthermore, the words of Ecclesiasticus 3 [.27] can be applied to all those mentioned above: "A hard heart shall fear evil at the last." In the company of all these may be included our terrible Elias, on whose account we have listed the above examples. Yet Job did not have a hard heart, for he says in chapter 23 [.16]: "God hath softened my heart: and the Almighty hath troubled me."

About our Savior and Lord

The third group of those who called upon God were the holy fathers crying out from limbo. The words of Nehemiah 9 [.27] can be applied to these cries: "in the time of their tribulation they cried to thee; and thou heardest from heaven. And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies thou gavest them saviours, to save them from the hands of their enemies." The foremost among these saviors was the Son of God, of whom it is written in John 4 [.42]: "We know that this is indeed the Saviour of the world." This echoes precisely what is said in IV Kings 13 [.5]: "the Lord gave Israel a saviour: and they were delivered out of the hand of the king of Syria." This was the Savior who saved "his people from their sins," Matthew 1 [.21]. This was the Savior who "brought" the holy fathers "out of the pit of misery and the mire of dregs" [Psalms 39.3], as is made clear in Zachariah 9 [.11]: "Thou also, by the blood of thy testament, hast sent forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water."

The fourth group were those who were converted in the early days of the Church, of whom Acts 6 [.1] speaks: "there arose a murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews, for that their widows were neglected in the daily ministration." Yet twelve apostles found the proper remedy by choosing seven deacons empowered to perform the task, whose neglect had caused this murmur. The words of Jeremiah in Lamentations 2 [.18] are appropriate to this particular outcry: "Their heart cried to the Lord upon the walls of the daughter of Sion."

The fifth group were also in the early Church, because the dogma had been promulgated that, in addition to baptism, the members were required to adhere to both the law and the gospel, and also to practice circumcision. One may read about this in the fifteenth chapter of Acts. Yet a remedy was promptly found, for Peter said [Acts 15.10-11]: "why tempt you God to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear? But, by the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, we believe to be saved, in like manner as they also." And therupon the problem was resolved in this way: "For it hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things: That you abstain from things sacrificed to idols and from blood and from things strangled and from fornication; from which things keeping yourselves, you shall do well. Fare ye well" [Acts 15.28-29]. This was the resolution written by the Apostles and the Elders of Jerusalem. And the words of the Psalm [33.18] are appropriate to this outcry in the early church: "The just

cried, and the Lord heard them: and delivered them out of all their troubles."

*Pope Gregory IX deposes Brother Elias, and Brother Albert of Pisa is elected Minister General.
The proper rules for a general Chapter.*

The sixth and last group was the Order of the Friars Minor, which cried out to Pope Gregory IX under the heavy burden of that worst Minister General, Elias. And the Pope listened to the Order of the Blessed Francis and deposed that wicked Elias. The words of the Psalm [33.7] are appropriate to this outcry: "This poor man," that is to say, the Order of the Friars Minor, "cried and the Lord heard him: and saved him out of all his troubles," and also [Psalms 56.3-4]: "I will cry to God the most High; to God who hath done good to me. He hath sent from heaven and delivered me: he hath made them a reproach that trod upon me," and [Psalms 139.13]: "I know that the Lord will do justice to the needy: and will revenge the poor," and finally [Psalms 71.4, 12]: "He shall judge the poor of the people; and he shall save the children of the poor: and he shall humble the oppressor. For he shall deliver the poor from the mighty: and the needy that had no helper." The one spoken of in this passage is, understood literally, the Savior, of whom Job 26 [.12] says that "his wisdom has struck the proud one." The "proud one" spoken of here can be understood as the devil or any proud man whom God has brought down. Thus it is written in Isaiah 51 [.9, 13]: "Hast not thou struck the proud one, and wounded the dragon? Where is now the fury of the oppressor?" And so it is that the Psalmist rejoices [9A.5, 10-11]: "thou hast maintained my judgement and my cause: thou hast sat on the throne, who judgest justice. And the Lord is become a refuge for the poor: a helper in due time in tribulation. And let them trust in thee who know thy name: for thou hast not forsaken them that seek thee, O Lord," and also [9.13, 19]: "he hath not forgotten the cry of the poor. For the poor man shall not be forgotten to the end: the patience of the poor shall not perish for ever." [Psalms 10.14, 17]: "To thee is the poor man left: thou wilt be a helper to the orphan.... The Lord hath heard the desire of the poor," that is to say, when he caused Elias to be deposed by Pope Gregory IX; "thy ear hath heard the preparation of their heart," that is to say, when the Ministers and the Custodians of the Order, inspired from heaven, chose that good man Brother Albert of Pisa as Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor. And the Pope himself heard the voices of the Brothers crying out for a speedy election.⁶⁹ And the Brothers came to a swift agreement, as it is written in Hosea 1 [.11]: "the children of Juda and the children of Israel shall be gathered together: and they shall appoint themselves one head." Note that this Scripture makes a point of "the children of Juda, and the children of Israel," for not only the Brothers in Italy but also those from other countries had to assemble in a general Chapter to choose a Minister General. Thus they did not proceed through a spirit of conspiracy and divisiveness, for Hosea 10 [.2] speaks of such a spirit: "Their heart is divided: now they shall perish." But the Brothers were united by divine inspiration and harmony of spirit in their selection of a good pastor for their next Minister

General, in keeping with the words of Acts 1 [.24]: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew which of these two thou hast chosen." And if they proceeded in this spirit, God, on his part, would work as He saw fit, according to the text [Psalms 144.19]: "He will do the will of them that fear him: and he will hear their prayer, and save them." For the blessed Augustine says that "it is impossible that the prayers of a multitude will not be heard."⁷⁰ Thus Ecclesiasticus 10 [.4] says: "The power of the earth is in the hand of God, and in his time he will raise up a profitable ruler over it." For Daniel 4 [.14] says: "the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; and he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him, and he will appoint the basest man over it." But if, on the other hand, they had chosen out of selfishness, wiliness, or evil conspiracy, and not in accordance with God's will or for the benefit of the Order as a whole, then "he whom no man would think on" would not "wear the crown," Ecclesiasticus 11 [.5], but one of their own creation, elected dishonestly from their own evil and selfish motives. And then he would say like the man of whom it is written, Proverbs 8 [.15-16]: "By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things, By me princes rule, and the mighty decree justice." Hosea 8 [.4]: "They have reigned, but not by me: they have been princes, and I knew not." For sometimes "He maketh a man that is a hypocrite to reign for the sins of the people?" as it says in Job 34 [.30]. And sometimes "For the sins of the land many are the princes thereof," Proverbs 28 [.2]. It has also happened that a king has been removed from his throne on account of his own sins: this is what happened to Saul, from whom God turned away his face, as is narrated in I Kings 16 and II Kings 7 and Acts 13. Thus the Lord himself says in Hosea 13 [.11]: "I will give thee a king in my wrath, and will take him away in my indignation." And this is what happened to that terrible Elias, whom Pope Gregory IX deposed from the post of Minister General. For Elias was a destructive force not only in his governance of the Order but also in his hostility toward the Provincial Ministers and Custodians, to whom the election properly belongs, as is specified in the Rule.⁷¹ Yet Elias sought always to have his own way through violence and dishonesty. But as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 12 [.3]: "Men shall not be strengthened by wickedness," for as Habacuc 2 [.5] says: "as wine deceiveth him that drinketh it, so shall the proud man be: and he shall not be honoured," and also Proverbs 16 [.18]: "Pride goeth before destruction: and the spirit is lifted up before a fall," and Proverbs 18 [.12]: "Before destruction, the heart of a man is exalted: and before he be glorified, it is humbled."

There are three reasons why the preservation of a religious order requires the frequent change of leaders.

Scripture requires this so that leaders may not abuse their subordinates nor do them harm.

It should be borne in mind that the preservation of a religious order requires a frequent change of leaders, and there are three reasons for this. First, leaders who are in power for a long time become insolent, as is apparent in the abbots

of the Benedictine Order, who remain in office as long as they live. As a result they treat their subordinates badly and hold them to be of no more worth than the fifth wheel of a wagon, which is nothing. And their abbots eat meat with secular men, while the monks in the refectory eat vegetables, and they behave toward their subordinates in a niggardly and unseemly manner; whereas they themselves choose to live lavishly and in almost complete freedom. Yet let Holy Scripture, nature, and human kindness, taking their example from the Blessed Trinity, teach them that subordinates are not to be abused and badly treated.

With respect to the king of the Jewish people, Holy Scripture in Deuteronomy 17 [.20] teaches that "his heart be not lifted up with pride over his brethren, nor decline to the right or to the left." Moreover, Ecclesiasticus 10 [.24] speaks thus of the religious leader: "In the midst of brethren their chief is honourable." Note that the passage reads "in the midst," not in a corner nor on the sides, as they do "who separate themselves, sensual men, having not the Spirit," as is written in Jude 1 [.19]. This is why St. Bernard says with reference to the passage in John 20 [.26], "Jesus stood in the midst" of his disciples that "You are in error, Thomas, you are in error if you expect to see God, while separated from the company of the Apostles. For truth does not love corners, and places set apart are not pleasing to her. She stands in the midst and delights in communal life, in communal discipline, in communal studies."⁷² See also Ecclesiasticus 32 [.1]: "have they made thee ruler? be not lifted up: be among them as one of them." Take note of the point "they have made thee," because a religious leader ought to be chosen by his subordinates. For "he that taketh authority to himself unjustly shall be hated," Ecclesiasticus 20 [.8]. This is made clear in Abimelech, son of Gideon, of whom Judges 9 speaks, and also in Absalon and Adonias. Take note also of the point "be not lifted up." Adonias, son of Aggyth, did not keep that commandment well because he "exalted himself, saying: I will be king," III King 1 [.5]. But as is recorded in Jeremiah 22 [.15]: "Shalt thou reign, because thou comparest thyself to the cedar?" Certainly, Adonias did not rule, because his brother Solomon became king and had Adonias killed, in accordance with God's will and David's. Thus it is written in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.4]: "be not exalted in the day of thy honour." Yet Herod did not keep that commandment well, because Acts 12 [.21-23] records that "upon a day appointed, Herod being arrayed in kingly apparel, sat in the judgment seat and made an oration to them and the people made acclamation, saying: It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And forthwith an angel of the Lord struck him, because he had not given the honour to God: and being eaten up by worms, he gave up the ghost." Thus Ecclesiasticus 11 [.4] says: "Glory not in apparel at any time, and be not exalted in the day of thy honour," and also Ecclesiasticus 10 [.29]: "Extol not thyself in doing thy work," And Abdias 1 [.3] speaks of the evil leader: "The pride of thy heart hath lifted thee up."

Solitary life should be avoided and communal life cherished.

Nature teaches that one should love one's neighbor, because by nature "Every beast loveth its like: so also every man him that is nearest to himself. All flesh shall consort with the like to itself, and every man shall associate himself to his like" Ecclesiasticus 13 [.19-20]. See also Ecclesiasticus 17 [.12]: "he gave to every one of them commandment concerning his neighbour." Thus I John 4 [.21] says: "And this commandment we have from God, that he, who loveth God, love also his brother."

It is also clear that one's neighbor ought to be loved out of pure human courtesy. For love and courtesy are sisters. Love "seeketh not her own," I Corinthians 13 [.5], and it is customary to be courteous to others. Thus the Wise Man of Proverbs 12 [.26] says: "He that neglecteth a loss for the sake of a friend, is just."

The courtesy of a certain king of England.

An example of courtesy may be seen in a certain king of England.⁷³ For once when this king was taking dinner in a forest near a fountain with his soldiers, a vessel of wine (which the Tuscans call *flasco*; the Lombards, *botacium*) was brought to him. And when he had ascertained that that was all the wine there was, he said, "We have enough for all." And he poured the entire contents into the fountain saying: "Let us all drink together." This was acclaimed an act of great courtesy on his part. The avaricious man in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.19] certainly did not act in this way: "I have found me rest, and now I will eat of my goods alone." And those prelates do not do so who, at table with their subordinates, take the whitest bread and the finest wine for themselves and give nothing at all to their subordinates—an act which is held as the height of discourtesy. And they do the same with other food. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 4 [.17]: "They eat the bread of wickedness, and drink the wine of iniquity." The subordinates have the worst bread, as we read in Ecclesiasticus 31 [.29]: "Against him that is niggardly of his bread, the city will murmur, and the testimony of his niggardliness is true." Thus some prelates drink the finest wine in their subordinates' presence without sharing it with those who would drink as gladly as they, since all of them are sisters of gluttony. People who act in this way are certainly not English, for the English invariably say, "Ge bi a vo," that is, "May you drink as much as I do." And although Ecclesiasticus 31 [.30] says: "Challenge not them that love wine: for wine hath destroyed very many," and Esther 1 [.8]: "Neither was there any one to compel them to drink that were not willing," the English believe it to be the height of courtesy to drink freely and to give drink as freely to others. Yet the prelates of our time, who are Lombards,⁷⁴ gladly satisfy their own gluttonous appetites and never think of sharing with others. This is considered the height of discourtesy. Thus Ecclesiasticus 31 [.18] says: "Judge of the disposition of thy neighbour by thyself," and Luke 6 [.31]: "as you would that men should do to you, do you also to them in like manner," and Leviticus 25 [.36]: "Fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee," and Nehemiah 8 [.10]: "send portions to

them that have not prepared for themselves," and also Acts 2 [.44-45]: "all they that believed were together and had all things common. Their possessions and goods they sold and divided them to all, according as every one had need." Yet such things are not done nowadays. Rather, as Luke 19 [.26] says: "to every one that hath shall be given, and he shall abound." When a certain novice in the Cistercian Order, for example, said in the presence of his abbot, "This is mine," he was reprimanded in these terms:

Nothing is your own, far from it! We are all equals here.

And the novice replied:

That's what everyone says, but some are more equal than others.

Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus 5 [.14] says: "If thou have understanding, answer thy neighbour." Truly, our days have seen the fulfillment of that curse called down by Moses on the transgressors of the law, for Deuteronomy 28 [.31] says: "May thy ox be slain before thee, and thou not eat thereof." Moreover, Holy Scripture gives a warning to the gluttonous wretch who eats not only his own portion but those of others, Job 20 [.14-15]: "His bread in his belly shall be turned into the gall of asps within him. The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly."

That prelates should not afflict nor despise their subordinates is seen from the example of God the Father himself, for God, whose power is acknowledged, "doth not cast away the mighty, whereas he himself also is mighty," Job 36 [.5]. For God "made the little and the great, and he hath equally care of all," Wisdom 6 [.8]. Thus does Malachi 2 [.10] say: "Have we not all one father? Hath not one God created us? Why then doth everyone of us despise his brother, violating the covenant of our fathers?" And Ecclesiasticus 4 [.35] speaks thus of the prelate: "Be not as a lion in thy house, terrifying them of thy household, and oppressing them that are under thee." And because the prelates hold themselves aloof, the Lord complains of them in Ezechiel 34 [.4]: "you ruled over them with rigour and with a high hand." In that same book, in fact, God speaks repeatedly of the wrongs done to subordinates by their superiors.

Prelates may also learn from the Son of God himself that they should cherish their subordinates, for Christ says in John 10 [.11]: "I am the good shepherd. The good shepherd giveth his life for his sheep." In such a way should the prelate behave toward the subordinates committed to his care, for the Lord says in John 13 [.15]: "For I have given you an example, that as I have done to you, so you do also." This is what the Apostle did, because he writes in II Corinthians 12 [.15]: "But I most gladly will spend and be spent myself for your souls; although loving you more, I be loved less." St. Paulinus, bishop of the city of Nola, showed the spirit of love by offering himself to be sold in Africa in place of a widow's son, as St. Gregory relates at the beginning of the third book of the *Dialogues*.⁷⁵ The priest Sanctulus exhibited the same humility, as St. Gregory records in the

fourth book of that same work, by surrendering himself up to death in place of a deacon whom the Lombards wished to kill. Yet when the Lombards had gathered around to witness the event and at the very moment when the executioner had raised his sword to decapitate him, Sanctulus cried out, "Saint John, take it!" And immediately the hand holding the sword grew stiff and the arm withered, and, unable to perform the task, he stood thunderstruck and stupefied. When the Lombards witnessed this, they were astonished beyond belief. Then they requested Sanctulus to pray to his God and John the Baptist to heal their executioner, but he answered that he would do so only on one condition: if he would solemnly swear that that hand would never slay another Christian. And upon performing the oath, he was restored to health. Having seen this miracle, however, the Lombards became devotees ever after of Sanctulus and John the Baptist. For even before that they had held Sanctulus in high honor, because he had multiplied the oil in their oil presses. In this way did Sanctulus perform what John urges in I John 3 [.16]: "In this we have known the charity of God, because he hath laid down his life for us: and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." But St. Gregory says: "Whoever does not give his material goods, how" — or "when" — "will he give his life?"⁷⁶ Thus it is written also in John 3 [.17-18]: "He that hath the substance of this world, and shall see his brother in need, and shall shut up his bowels from him: how doth the charity of God abide in him? My little children, let us not love in word, nor in tongue, but in deed, and in truth." Sanctulus also did what the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 24 [.11-12]: "Deliver them that are led to death: and those that are drawn to death forbear not to deliver. If thou say: I have not strength enough: he that seeth into the heart, he understandeth, and nothing deceiveth the keeper of thy soul, and he shall render to a man according to his works." St. Nicholas performed a similar act of mercy when he rescued three innocent soldiers who were being led to an unjust death. He also rescued three princes from the hand of the Emperor Constantinus' prefect, who was ready to put them to death.⁷⁷ Thus St. Nicholas could repeat with Job 29 [.17]: "I broke the jaws of the wicked man: and out of his teeth I took away the prey."

Moreover, the Son of God speaks of himself in Luke 19 [.10]: "For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." But, for the most part, the prelate of our days "cometh not, but for to steal and to kill and to destroy," as it says in John 10 [.10]. And "He that is best among them is as a brier: and he that is righteous, as the thorn of the hedge," as Micah 7 [.4] says. And whoever would set out in these days like Gregory to write an account of prelates would be more likely to find filth and dregs than holiness, for "The holy man is perished out of the earth and there is none upright among men," as Micah 7 [.2] says. Furthermore, the Son of God says that he "is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister and to give his life a redemption for many," Matthew 20 [.28], and Luke 22 [.27]: "But I am in the midst of you, as he that serveth." These things were prefigured in II Kings 6 [.19], in the account of David's dancing in jubilation when the ark of the covenant was borne into the city, for although he was

king he went not among the people to be ministered unto but to minister: "And he distributed to all the multitude of Israel, both men and women, to everyone, a cake of bread, and a piece of roasted beef, and fine flour fried with oil. And all the people departed every one to his house." Yet because he humbled himself, his wife Michol, the daughter of Saul, despised him. In like manner did the Jewish synagogue despise Christ, because he "emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross," Philipians 2 [.7-8]. It is for this reason that the following song is sung in praise of David:

This is David the patriarch,
Nude, dancing before the ark,
demeaning himself.⁷⁸

[II Kings 6.21-22]: "And David said to Michol: Before the Lord, who chose me rather than thy father, and than all his house, and commanded me to be ruler over the people of the Lord in Israel, I will both play and make myself meaner than I have done. And I will be little in my own eyes." St. Gregory writes about this passage: "Who would not praise the man who broke the jaws of lions and triumphed over bears; who was chosen over his elder brothers and was anointed to supercede a wicked king; who brought Goliath down with a single stone and bore off the foreskins of a foreign tribe in victory; who received a kingdom on God's promise and ruled the people of Israel without creating any dissension?"⁷⁹ And yet despite all these accomplishments he made little of himself and admitted that he considered himself lowly in his own eyes. In like manner should you keep your spirit humble, following the example of David and Christ, for you know that "however much you humble yourself, you will never be as humble as Christ," as St. Augustine says.⁸⁰ Thus Ecclesiasticus 3 [.20] notes: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God and glory also." For as we find in Job 22 [.29]: "he that hath been humbled, shall be in glory: and he that shall bow down his eyes, he shall be saved."

Therefore, by Christ's own example, prelates ought to minister to their subordinates. The practice in the Order of Peter the Sinner is a good one, because the priors serve the subordinates at the collation on fast days, in memory of the Lord, so that they might demonstrate the truth of the Lord's words [Luke 22.27]: He "is greater . . . that sitteth at table" than "he that serveth." The original church of the Order of Peter the Sinner is Santa Maria in Porto in Ravenna; others include Santa Felicula in the bishopric of Parma near Montecchio, as well as many other houses throughout the world. In the same humble spirit, the Rule of St. Francis prescribes that "the ministers should be the servants of all the Brothers."⁸¹ Note what is written of Michol, the daughter of Saul, whom I mentioned at the end of the chapter just above: she "had no child to the day of her death," II Kings 6 [.23]. This is a prefiguration, for since the synagogue of the Jews despised the humbled Christ, a spiritual child shall not be born until Judaism totally dies out.

And so shall it happen to those prelates, I say, who refuse to humble themselves after the example of the Son of God himself. Matthew 23 [.3-4] speaks of such prelates: "For they say, and do not. For they bind heavy and insupportable burdens and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of their own they will not move them." Chrysostom comments on this verse: "Do you truly want to be saintly, not only in appearance, but in reality? Then be austere in your own life; gentle, toward others. You should be seen performing heavy duties, not delegating them to others."⁸² Julius Caesar, for example, never said to his soldiers, "Go and do that," but rather, "Come, let us do this."⁸³ And Ambrose says, "A subordinate gladly undertakes what he sees his superior doing."⁸⁴ The exhortation in Judges 9 [.48] is also appropriate to the case: "What you see me do, do you out of hand." Also it is written in John 2 [.5] of the Mother of Jesus that she commanded the stewards: "Whatsoever he shall say to you, do ye." But the wicked prelates nowadays choose to imitate the Pharisees, rather than God. Yet it is written in Ephesians 5 [.1-2]: "Be ye therefore followers of God, as most dear children; And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God for an odour of sweetness." And the Lord says of the Pharisees in Matthew 23 [.6] that "they love the first places at feasts," etc. And this is precisely what the prelates of our day do whenever they can, despite the fact that the Lord says in Luke 14 [.10]: "Go, sit down in the lowest place." St. Bernard fully comments upon this verse in his book on the Song of Songs.⁸⁵

Moreover, the Son of God compares himself to a hen with chicks, whose very nature is to suffer for the love of her children. And this is what prelates ought to do for love of their subordinates, who are their children. Hence the Apostle says in II Corinthians 11 [.29]: "Who is weak, and I am not weak?" But Job 39 [.16] speaks of the bad prelate: "She is hardened against her young ones, as though they were not hers." Yet Ecclesiasticus 3 [.27] says: "A hard heart shall fear evil at the last." For "severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule," Wisdom 6 [.6].

A hen energetically defends her young, and this is what God does, and what a prelate ought to do. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.22-23]: "Do no violence to the poor, because he is poor: and do not oppress the needy in the gate: Because the Lord will judge his cause, and will afflict them that have afflicted his soul," and also Proverbs 23 [.10-11]: "Touch not the bounds of little ones: and enter not into the field of the fatherless: For their near kinsman is strong: and he will judge their cause against thee." For the Son of God is a kinsman of little ones, as the Apostle says in Hebrews 2 [.14-15]: "Therefore, because the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself in like manner hath been partaker of the same; that, through death, he might destroy him who had the empire of death, that is to say, the devil; And might deliver them who through the fear of death were all their lifetime subject to servitude." The devil, however, is a hawk, against which a hen constantly must fight to defend her chicks. It is noteworthy too that when the chicks are small and in their mother's care, they are attacked and harassed by the hawk, but when they are full-grown they are

hunted by the fox, a crafty, stinking creature. The fox signifies the devil or any tyrant. It was for this reason that the Lord called Herod a fox, Luke 13 [.32]: "Go and tell that fox," etc.

Furthermore, a hen gathers all her chicks under her wings when they come to her, and rejects none, as God himself does, and as a prelate ought to do. So it is that the Prophet prays: "Protect me under the shadow of thy wings" [Psalms 16.8]. And God does so gladly, but wicked sinners refuse to come to him, although the Prophet says [Psalms 33.6]: "Come ye to him and be enlightened: and your faces shall not be confounded," and although God calls out to them [Psalms 33.12]: "Come children, hearken to me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord." And He beseeches: "Come to me, all," Matthew 11 [.28], and John 6 [.37]: "him that cometh to me, I will not cast out." But the Lord complains of them in Matthew 23 [.37]: "how often would I have gathered together thy children, as the hen doth gather her chickens under her wings, and thou wouldest not?" Yet wicked sinners will recognize their foolishness on the Day of Judgment, when it will be too late to change their ways. "Then," as Micah 3 [.4] says, "shall they cry to the Lord and he will not hear them: and he will hide his face from them at that time, as they have behaved wickedly in their devices," and also Deuteronomy 32 [.20]: "I will hide my face from them, and will consider what their last end shall be," and Jeremiah 18 [.17]: "I will shew them the back and not the face, in the day of their destruction," and Proverbs 1 [.24-30]:

Because I called, and you refused: I stretched out my hand, and there was none that regarded. You have despised all my counsel, and have neglected my reprehensions. I also will laugh in your destruction, and will mock when that shall come to you which you feared. When sudden calamity shall fall on you, and destruction, as a tempest, shall be at hand: when tribulation and distress shall come upon you: Then shall they call upon me, and I will not hear: they shall rise in the morning and shall not find me: Because they have hated instruction, and received not the fear of the Lord, Nor consented to my counsel, but despised all my reproof.

Moreover, the Apostle says about prelates and their subordinates in Romans 15 [.1]: "Now, we that are stronger ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves," and again in the same chapter [Romans 15.7]: "Wherefore receive one another, as Christ also hath received you unto the honour of God."

A fourth quality of a mother hen is that when she has found a grain, she does not hide it, but loudly cackles and cries out for her chicks. And when they gather around her, she throws the grain into their midst, and makes no distinction between white, black, or red, but treats all alike. And this is what God does, giving his goods equally to the virtuous and the sinful, so that both may be moved to love Him more fervently. Thus Matthew 5 [.45] says that the Father "maketh his sun to rise upon the good, and bad, and raineth upon the just and the unjust," and also Wisdom 6 [.8]: "he made the little and the great, and he hath equally

care of all." Furthermore, St. Peter marvels in Acts 10 [.34-35], saying, "In very deed I perceive that God is not a respecter of persons. But, in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh justice is acceptable to him." Josaphath, king of Juda, said the same thing in II Paralipomenon 19 [.7]: "For there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor desire of gifts." Yet the prelates of our time do not love their subordinates equally, but show favoritism, treating some like sons, but others like mere step-sons or foster children. And day after day they shower favors on these "sons" of theirs. But those who are not so favored must eat in the refectory, though their services are required for singing at sumptuous banquets. And so they are always grumbling and complaining, in some such manner,

Though the boar is protected by its tusks, the hart by its antlers
We are like weak women, helpless victims.⁸⁶

The meaning of these verses is the same as the old proverb, "Flies attack the thin horse,"⁸⁷ and the proper interpretation of this saying may be found in Proverbs 19 [.4, 6-7]: "Riches make many friends: but from the poor man, even they whom he had, depart. Many honour the person of him that is mighty, and are friends of him that giveth gifts. The brethren of the poor man hate him: moreover also his friends have departed far from him." Take note also that the words of the Lord himself make clear that the prelate who lavishes his attention on certain favorites among his subordinates is not doing his proper duty. For the Lord says to him in Luke 14 [.12-14]:

When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy neighbours who are rich; lest perhaps they also invite thee again, and a recompense be made to thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind; And thou shalt be blessed, because they have not wherewith to make thee recompense: for recompense shall be made thee at the resurrection of the just.

St. Lawrence once gathered together all the poor, the lame, and the blind whom he had taken care of, and presented them to Decius in the Sallustian palace with the words, "Behold! these are everlasting treasures, who never diminish but constantly increase, for they are to be found everywhere: they have laid up their treasure in heaven."⁸⁸ Yet neither from the words of the Lord nor from the example of St. Lawrence have the prelates of our time learned to take care of the poor. For they have prized the glory of men more than the glory of God, and thus they have come to grief. [Psalms 52.6]: "For God hath scattered the bones of them that please men: they have been confounded, because God hath despised them." Such men say, "I will treat you to a good dinner today, if you will give me a good supper tomorrow." But the Lord says about these men in Matthew 6 [.2]: "Amen I say to you, they have received their reward."

We have shown how, by the example of the Son of God, prelates ought to love their subordinates; let us now do the same by the example of the Holy Spirit. For the Holy Spirit is Love itself, and, as the Apostle says in Romans 8 [.16-17], "himself giveth testimony to our spirit that we are the sons of God. And, if sons, heirs also; heirs indeed of God and joint heirs with Christ; yet so, if we suffer with him, that we may be also glorified with him." It follows that the sons of God ought to be treated with great reverence by prelates and by all who love God, because this is what God himself did, as Wisdom 12 [.18] says: "But thou being master of power, judgest with tranquillity; and with great favour disposest of us: for thy power is at hand when thou wilt," and later in chapter 15 [.2]: "For if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy greatness: and if we sin not, we know that we are counted with thee." Noteworthy also are the words of Hosea 1 [.10] about those who love God: "It shall be said to them: Ye are the sons of the living God." The Lord promises the same thing in Matthew 5 [.9]: "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God." And that was fulfilled in the words of John's first Epistle, chapter 3 [.1-2]: "Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called, and should be the sons of God. Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know, that, when he shall appear, we shall be like to him: because we shall see him as he is." This is why the Prophet says [Psalms 88.7]: "For who in the clouds can be compared to the Lord? Or who among the sons of God shall be like to God?"

We have shown that the servants of God were honored by the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, as is written in the Psalm [138.17]: "thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable: their principality is exceedingly strengthened." And they shall be honored even more when the words of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon in III Kings 10 [.8] are fulfilled in the kingdom of heaven: "Blessed are thy men, and blessed are thy servants, who stand before thee always, and hear thy wisdom." The servants, friends, and elect of God were honored by the Father, because they were given to the Son by the Father, as the Son himself declares in Isaiah 8 [.18]: "Behold I and my children, whom the Lord hath given me," etc., and in John 17 [.24]: "Father, I will that where I am, they also whom thou hast given me may be with me; that they may see my glory which thou hast given me," etc. They were honored by the Son, who commanded that they should not be despised in Matthew 18 [.10]: "See that you despise not one of these little ones." They were honored by the Holy Spirit, who "giveth testimony to our spirit, that we are the sons of God." Romans 8 [.16]. The servants of God were also honored by the angels, for "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation?" Hebrews 1 [.14]. And the Son of God himself says in Matthew 18 [.10]: "for I say to you, that their angels in heaven always see the face of my Father who is in heaven," and again [Matthew 18.14]: "it is not the will of your Father who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish." Therefore, since the servants of God are so honored

by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, as well as by the angels who watch over them, the wicked prelate ought to blush with shame for harassing them and treating them so ignominiously. Thus the good subordinate may throw the words of Job 18 [.3] in the face of the wicked prelate who mistreats him: "why are we reputed as beasts, and counted vile before you?" God even promises that "he will quickly revenge" his "elect who cry to him day and night" and will "avenge" them on their "adversary" [Luke 18.8, 7, 3]. For He himself said to his servants in Zachariah 2 [.8]: "for he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of my eye." What is written in I Kings 22 [.23] He promises also to every one of his servants: "Abide thou with me. Fear not; for he that seeketh my life, seeketh thy life also; and with me thou shalt be saved."

We can also adduce here three reasons why a wicked prelate ought not to treat his subordinates badly, but should rather hold them in the highest honor. The first reason may be based on what is written about the Lord in Luke 5 [.3]: "Going into one of the ships that was Simon's," Jesus "desired him to draw back a little from the land." The gloss says about this passage that "In this word *desired* the pride of prelates is confounded, for they are wont to give commands but hardly ever to make requests."⁸⁹ See Ezechiel 34 [.4]: "you ruled over them with rigour, and with a high hand." Behold, the emperor of heaven and earth, who "commandeth the sun and it riseth not" [Job 9.7], "commandeth both the winds and the sea, and they obey him" [Luke 8.25], this emperor *asks*—he does not *command*. And yet a worthless pinch of dust, forgetful of what he is, imposes his authority upon his co-equals, for he is puffed up with the sense of his own power. See Genesis 9 [.2]: "let the fear and dread of you be upon all the beasts of the earth." And Gregory comments upon this Scripture: "Man is placed by nature over the wild animals, not over other men, and for that reason it was written about him that he was to be feared not by men, but by animals, for it is a prideful thing and against nature for a man to wish to be feared by his equal."⁹⁰ The second reason is to be found in the passage written about Peter and Cornelius in Acts 10 [.25–26]: "And it came to pass, that when Peter was come in, Cornelius came to meet him, and falling at his feet adored" him. "But Peter lifted him up, saying: Arise, I myself also am a man." The third reason is demonstrated in what is said about John and the angel in the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.8–9]:

And I, John, am he who have heard and seen these things. And after I had heard and seen, I fell down to adore before the feet of the angel who shewed me these things. And he said to me: See thou do it not; for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets and of them that keep the words of the prophecy of this book. Adore God.

Behold, God, the Apostle Peter, and the angel show honor to the servants of God; yet wretched prelates are lifted up over them by their pride. For as Amos 6 [.5–6] says: "they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David: That drink wine in bowls and anoint themselves with the best ointments; and they are

not concerned for the affliction of Joseph." Therefore, in the same passage the Lord shows that he holds this an evil [Amos 6.8]: "I detest the pride of Jacob and I hate his houses."

Take note that in a certain religious order there will sometimes be men who were noble, rich, and powerful in their secular life, who, entering the order late in life, have become contemplatives devoted to God and beloved of their brothers. Moreover, they are endowed with wisdom, eloquence, and learning, not only in letters, but also in common sense; furthermore, they are men of high moral standards. And yet placed over men such as these we find a prelate not only lacking in nobility but also in all those qualities we have just recounted. A prelate like this becomes absorbed in his own pride and stupidity, so that "his heart" is "lifted up with pride over his brethren," [Deuteronomy 17.20] honoring no one. He will even, for example, address everyone with the familiar "tu." Yet one is not permitted to use such a familiar form of address, save for one of the following five reasons. The first and the finest reason is our customary usage with God: "Thou art God, who dost wondrous things, and thou art alone the most high over all the earth." The second is by reason of idiom, just as, for example, in the speech of Apulia, Sicily, and Rome people use "tu" to address even the Emperor and the Pope, while acknowledging their authority by adding "messor." The third is by reason of youth: it is quite proper to say "tu" to a boy, since he is young. The Lombards, on the other hand, use "vos" indiscriminately, applying it to a boy, a hen, a cat, and even a log. The fourth is by reason of hatred of some sin, as a priest says to an old man: "Ha, thou wretch, wilt thou never correct thy life and mend thy ways, but forever be leaving everywhere traces of thy foolishness?" This is the way Daniel addressed the old Babylonian in Daniel 13 [.52]: "O thou that art grown old in evil days, now are thy sins come out," etc. The fifth and last is by reason of familiarity and friendship, as it is written of God and Moses in Exodus 33 [.11]: "And the Lord spoke to Moses face to face, as a man is wont to speak to his friend." This is also what the Lord says about Moses in Numbers 12 [.8]: "For I speak to him mouth to mouth, and plainly: and not by riddles and figures doth he see the Lord." This is the form also that a friend uses with a close and intimate friend, whom he loves and has full confidence in: "Thou art 'him whom my soul loveth' [Canticles 3.1]; thou art 'my refuge in the day of my 'tribulation'" [Jeremiah 16.19]. And thus it is that the Wise Man says in Proverbs 25 [.9]: "Treat thy cause with thy friend, and discover not the secret to a stranger."

The competence of a good prelate.

But someone will say to me, "Look, you have talked a lot about prelates and their subordinates. Now, may I ask you to discuss the proper qualities of good prelates, so that one may be able to gather what, in your opinion, constitutes a suitable and competent prelate." Thus I say that, in my judgment, a suitable prelate ought, on the one hand, to possess three qualities, and, on the other, to lack three. For he ought to have wisdom, a holy life, and good morals; and once

these have been established, all the good qualities have been pointed up, and all the evil ones excluded. But on the negative side, he should lack three qualities which make any prelate completely unsuitable for office and render him subject to deposition. Now, let us look at these qualities one by one.

I say that a prelate ought, first of all, to have wisdom, so that he may rule the subordinates submitted to his care wisely. This is what Solomon sought from God, as is written in III Kings 3 [.9]: "Give therefore to thy servant an understanding heart, to judge thy people, and discern between good and evil." Thus it is that James writes in chapter 1 [.5]: "if any of you want wisdom, let him ask of God who giveth to all men abundantly and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Here is what the Lord said to Solomon: "Behold, I have done for thee according to thy words, and have given thee a wise and understanding heart; insomuch that there hath been no one like thee before thee, nor shall arise after thee" [III Kings 3.12]. The Lord could easily give what had been asked of him, because he is "rich unto all that call upon him," as the Apostle says in Romans 10 [.12]. For in him "are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge," as is written in Colossians 2 [.3]. Truly, in the beginning Solomon made good use of his wisdom, for "whereas Ecclesiastes was very wise, he taught the people, and declared the things that he had done: and seeking out, he set forth many parables. He sought profitable words, and wrote words most right, and full of truth," as is reported in the last chapter of Ecclesiastes [12.9-10]. In the end, however, he abused his wisdom, so that it left him. And when he said in Ecclesiastes 2 [.9]: "my wisdom also remained with me," he spoke falsely. For if his wisdom had remained with him, he would neither have sacrificed to idols nor built temples for them; he would not have loved foreign women, and he would not have increased the number of his horses; he would not have had "immense sums of silver and gold," nor would "his heart" have been "lifted up with pride over his brethren," imposing a grievous yoke on them—all of which had been expressly prohibited to him by the law in Deuteronomy 17 [.17, 20]. Solomon spoke more truly, therefore, when he said in Proverbs 30 [.2]: "I am the most foolish of men." For what is more foolish than to do well by others and to neglect one's self? This is what a candle does, for it consumes itself by serving those to whom it gives light. Thus Solomon taught other people to do many things, although he himself did not choose to do them. For he taught that "He that keepeth the commandment, shall find no evil," Ecclesiastes 8 [.5], while he himself scorned to keep the commandment, as we have shown above in our commentary on Deuteronomy 17. He also taught: "If thy enemy be hungry, give him to eat," etc., Proverbs 25 [.21]. Solomon did not keep this commandment, but Elisha did, of whom it is written in IV Kings 6. [.19, 22, 23] that when his enemies came to capture him, he led them into Samaria and had them fed very well. Solomon, however, persecuted his servant Jeroboam, fearing that he might take over the kingdom, despite the fact that he had taught in Proverbs 20 [.22]: "Say not: I will return evil: wait for the Lord and he will deliver thee," and also Proverbs 24 [.29]: "Say not: I will do to him as he hath

done to me: I will render to every one according to his work." Also, he taught that one ought to abstain from women, as is expressed in many passages of Proverbs and in Ecclesiastes 7 [.27]: "I have found a woman more bitter than death, who is the hunter's snare, and her heart is a net," etc. And yet it is written about him that "when he was now old, his heart was turned away by women," III Kings 11 [.4]. This is the way doctors do with the sick: they impose many a regimen on them, which, when they themselves are sick, they do not wish to follow. Thus many a prelate knows how to impose a law upon his subordinates which he himself does not wish to follow. And so the Lord says in Matthew 23 [.3]: "for they say, and do not." And St. Gregory says: "To speak well and to live badly is nothing other than to condemn oneself out of one's own mouth."⁹¹ For it is not sufficient for a prelate to have wisdom for his subordinates alone; he must have it for himself also, for he should heed:

You, like bees, make honey for others, not for yourselves,
 You, like oxen, pull plows for others, not for yourselves,
 You, like sheep, bear wool, but not for yourselves.⁹²

A prelate without knowledge is like a crowned ass,⁹³ for, in such a case, dignity and stupidity are joined in one. Therefore, a prelate ought to have wisdom for himself, as well as for others. He should have wisdom for himself so that he may act first and teach afterward, according to the words of Acts 1 [.1]: "Jesus began to do and to teach," and also Matthew 5 [.19]: "But he that shall do and teach, he shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven." For the hand of a prelate is respected far more than his tongue. Thus Ecclesiasticus 18 [.19]: "Learn before thou speak," and also Ecclesiasticus 32 [.15-16]: "Run home to thy house, and there withdraw thyself, and there take thy pastime. And do what thou hast a mind, but not in sin or proud speech," and Exodus 35 [.10]: "Whosoever of you is wise, let him come, and make that which the Lord hath commanded," and Exodus 35 [.1]: "These are the things which the Lord hath commanded to be done," that is, that both God and one's neighbor should be loved. Thus John says in the first Epistle, chapter 4 [.21]: "this commandment we have from God: that he who loveth God love also his brother." And the Lord said in Matthew 22 [.40]: "On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets." Wherefore, although God loves those who love him in return, as he himself says in Proverbs 8 [.17] and although it is written in Wisdom 7 [.28] that "God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom," it is nevertheless necessary for a prelate to have wisdom both for himself and for the subordinates committed to his care, lest "if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit," Matthew 15 [.14]. For prelates are commanded to have wisdom. Thus Peter says in his first Epistle, chapter 3 [.15]: "sanctify the Lord Christ in your hearts, being ready always to satisfy every one that asketh you a reason of that [faith and] hope which is in you." Jerome also wrote in the first Prologue to the Bible: "The prophet Malachi—nay, rather, the Lord through Malachi—questioned the priests about the law. In so great a

way then was the priesthood asked to respond about the law. And in Deuteronomy we read [32.7]: 'Ask thy father, and he will declare to thee: thy elders and they will tell thee.'⁹⁴ Gregory also writes about the illiterate prelate: "It is shameful and disgraceful for you to seek to learn at a time when you ought to know already."⁹⁵ Thus the Lord speaks to the illiterate prelate who wished to feed himself from another's spoon and, although he has not properly studied nor learned while he could, still wishes to be a prelate, Hosea 4 [.6]: "Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee, that thou shalt not do the office of priesthood to me."

When, therefore, someone knows his own incompetence with regard to his knowledge of the Scriptures and yet finds himself chosen as a prelate, he ought to resist the choice as far as he is able, and work and speak against the choice so that he might not be elected to the office, according to the advice in Isaiah 3 [.6-7]: "For a man shall take hold of his brother, one of the house of his father," and he shall say "Thou hast a garment, be thou our ruler." And "In that day he shall answer, saying: I am no healer, and in my house there is no bread, nor clothing: make me not ruler of the people." For it is a very grave matter to have to deal with a foolish and stupid prelate, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.16]: "A prince void of prudence shall oppress many by calumny." And this is what Ecclesiasticus 22 [.18] says: "Sand and salt, and a mass of iron is easier to bear, than a man without sense that is both foolish and wicked." To deal with a reasonable and sensible prelate, however, is a pleasant and enjoyable consolation to the subordinate. Thus it is written that Paul said to King Agrippa, Acts 26 [.2-3]: "I think myself happy, O king Agrippa, that I am to answer for myself this day before thee, touching all the things whereof I am accused by the Jews. Especially as thou knowest all, both customs and questions, that are among the Jews. Wherefore I beseech thee to hear me patiently." And so those men sin gravely who place an incompetent prelate over the servants of God. Yet it is no wonder that they do so, not only because of their own selfishness but also because one idiot loves another, as it is written in Ecclesiasticus 13 [.19]: "Every beast loveth its like: so also every man him that is nearest to himself," and also Ecclesiasticus 27 [.10]: "Birds resort unto their like." What I said before about a man chosen to be a prelate recognizing his own incompetence, if he is incompetent, however, seldom ever happens, for whoever enjoys power and authority believes himself immediately and completely competent in wisdom, eloquence, and whatever else pertains to a prelate. Thus it is that the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.11]: "The rich man seemeth to himself wise: but the poor man that is prudent shall search him out," and also in Proverbs 26 [.16]: "The sluggard is wiser in his own conceit, than seven men that speak sentences."

Truly, whatever may be the case with respect to an incompetent prelate or those who elected him, it is a most certain fact that God loves wisdom, especially in those who exercise power over others, governing and administering justice, all of which are impossible to perform without wisdom. Thus God commands the

Jewish people in Deuteronomy 16 [.18-19]: "Thou shalt appoint judges and magistrates in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God shall give thee, in all thy tribes: that they may judge the people with just judgment, And not go aside to either part. Thou shalt not accept person nor gifts: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and change the words of the just." Josaphath, king of Juda, fulfilled this, as is reported in II Paralipomenon 19 [.5-7]:

he set judges of the land in all the fenced cities of Juda, in every place. And charging the judges, he said: Take heed what you do: for you exercise not the judgment of man, but of the Lord: and whatsoever you judge, it shall redound to you. Let the fear of the Lord be with you, and do all things with diligence: for there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor desire of gifts.

And also in Jeremiah 23 [.5] the Lord promises: "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, and I will raise up to David a just branch. And a king shall reign, and shall be wise, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth." Furthermore, it is written in Wisdom 6 [.26] that: "the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the whole world: and a wise king is the upholding of the people." See also Wisdom 7 [.28]: "For God loveth none but him that dwelleth with wisdom," and also in Wisdom 9 [.19] it is written: "For by wisdom they were healed, whosoever have pleased thee, O Lord, from the beginning."

Wisdom is extremely necessary for men in religious orders, because they have many assailants, detractors, enemies, and persecutors, who gladly put a "blot on the elect," as recorded in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33]. Thus the Apostle teaches them in Colossians 4 [.5-6]: "Walk with wisdom towards them that are without, redeeming the time. Let your speech be always in grace seasoned with salt: that you may know how you ought to answer every man."

Second, a prelate ought to have a holy life, without which he is not worth a straw, however learned and wise he may be. Thus it is that Jeremiah says in the last chapter of his work [Baruch 6.72]: "Better therefore is the just man that hath no idols: for he shall be far from reproach." A priest (or, in fact, anybody else) is said to have idols when he has knowledge about the holy life only from books and does not put that knowledge into practice. And so it is that Ecclesiasticus 19 [.1] says: "Better is a man that hath less wisdom, and wanteth understanding, with the fear of God, than he that aboundeth in understanding, and transgresseth the law of the most High." For the Apostle says in Hebrews 7 [.26] about the holiness of the high prelate and of the good pastor: "For it was fitting that we should have such a high priest, holy, innocent, undefiled, separated from sinners, and made higher than the heavens." The Apostle wishes and requires such qualities of others as much as is humanly possible, as is written in Amos 3 [.3]: "Shall two walk together except they be agreed?" And this is what the Lord says in Exodus 22 [.31]: "You shall be holy men to me," and also in Deuteronomy 18 [.13]: "Thou shalt be perfect: and without spot before the Lord thy God," and

also in Exodus 19 [.22]: "The priests also that come to the Lord, let them be sanctified lest he strike them," and in Leviticus 19 [.2]: "Be ye holy, because I the Lord your God am holy," and Leviticus 20 [.26]: "You shall be holy unto me, because I the Lord am holy: and I have separated you from other people, that you should be mine," and Deuteronomy 7 [.6]: "thou art a holy people to the Lord thy God. The Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be his peculiar people of all peoples that are upon the earth," and Isaiah 52 [.11]: "be ye clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord." These words can be said to priests especially, of whom it is written in I Machabees 4 [.42-43] that "he chose priests without blemish, whose will was set upon the law of God. And they cleansed the holy places." But they can be generally applied to all men, for the bodies of Christians are called the vessels and members of Christ and the temple of the Holy Spirit.

The Apostle says about the first in I Thessalonians 4 [.4-5]: "every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, Not in the passion of lust, like the Gentiles that know not God." Of these latter James says in the last chapter [5.5]: "You have feasted upon earth: and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts," and also the Apostle in II Timothy 2 [.20-21] says that: "in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth; and some indeed unto honour, but some unto dishonour. If any man therefore shall cleanse himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and profitable to the Lord, prepared unto every good work." This cleansing means to withdraw from the evil and perverse and to protect oneself in holiness of life. Zachariah says about the first in chapter 2 [.7]: "O Sion, flee, thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon," and also Isaiah 48 [.20]: "Come forth out of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans." Thus Seneca says, "The highest portion of holiness is to abandon the preachers of madness."⁹⁶ Compare also the example of Arsenius, to whom the Lord said, "Arsenius, flee away from men, keep silent, and you shall be saved."⁹⁷ See Deuteronomy 4 [.9] for the second: "Keep thyself therefore, and thy soul carefully," and also Proverbs 4 [.23]: "With all watchfulness keep thy heart, because life issueth out from it," and Ecclesiasticus 30 [.15]: "Health of the soul in holiness of justice." The Wise Man also teaches in Proverbs 25 [.4-5] how a beautiful vessel is made: "Take away the rust from silver, and there shall come forth a most pure vessel: Take away wickedness from the face of the king, and his throne shall be established with justice." For the poet says,

Power does not belong to a man
Who cannot with virtue command.⁹⁸

Yet if the rust is removed (that is, the stain of sin is removed from the soul), "the vessels of the young men" will be "holy," as it says in I Kings 21 [.5], that is to say, the bodies will be pure and clean and holy, which are "the members of Christ" and "the temple of the Holy Ghost," as the Apostle says in I Corinthians 6 [.15, 19]. This is enough for now.

Holiness is commanded of all the faithful, but especially of those in religious orders, of priests, and of prelates. Thus it is that the Lord said to Moses in Numbers 11 [.18]: "And thou shalt say to the people: Be ye sanctified: to morrow you shall eat flesh." He does not intend, however, the flesh that is spoken of [Psalms 77.27]: "And he rained upon them flesh as dust," nor that of which it is written [Psalms 77.30-31]: "As yet their meat was in their mouth: and the wrath of God came upon them." Instead, he speaks of the flesh of the immaculate lamb [John 1.29]: "who taketh away the sin of the world." And this lamb himself says, John 6 [.56]: "For my flesh is meat indeed." And for the preparation, administration, and partaking of this flesh, holiness is required and commanded, and is, in fact, absolutely necessary. Thus the Lord commanded Moses in Exodus 19 [.22]: "The priests also that come to the Lord, let them be sanctified, lest he strike them." For the Lord struck Oza, because he had touched the ark of the Lord, as is recorded in II Kings 6 [.6-7]. The Hebrews relate that Oza had slept that night with his wife, that is, that he had known her.⁹⁹ And because "the wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be wiser," as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 19 [.25], so in I Paralipomenon 15 [.14] it is written: "So the priests and the Levites were sanctified, to carry the ark of the Lord the God of Israel."

Therefore, the prelate must have a holy life, because the one whose place he takes is the holy of holies, and so the priest ought to fulfill what is written [II Kings 22.26]: "With the holy one thou wilt be holy." That he may be holy, therefore, let him do what Ecclesiasticus 21 [.2] teaches: "Flee from sins as from the face of a serpent." For as Tobias 12 [.10] says: "they that commit sin and iniquity are enemies to their own soul." Thus I John, chapter 3 [.4-5], says: "Whosoever committeth sin committeth also iniquity; and sin is iniquity. And you know that he appeared to take away our sins, and in him there is no sin." And Achior in Judith 5 [.21]: "For their God," that is, the God of the Jews and the Christians, "hateth iniquity." Do you likewise, you rulers in the world. Thus the Psalmist says [Psalms 118.163]: "I have hated and abhorred iniquity; but I have loved thy law." And since the Father commanded perfection in the Old Testament in Deuteronomy 18 [.13], "Thou shalt be perfect, and without spot before the Lord thy God," so, like father like son, the Son commanded perfection in the New Testament in Matthew 5 [.48], "Be you therefore perfect, as also your heavenly Father is perfect." He also desires the "justice" of the perfect to "abound more than that of the scribes and Pharisees," as is recorded in Matthew 5 [.20]. Thus justice and holiness ought to be more abundant in the lives of prelates, priests, and men in religious orders than in men of secular life. Thus St. Bernard writes: "Brothers, yours is the highest profession. It pierces the heavens, it makes you equal to the angels, it has angelic purity. For you have not only dedicated yourself to complete holiness, but also to the perfection of complete holiness and to the goal of full consummation. It is not our part to be lax toward communal commands. Others' portion it is to serve God, ours to adhere to him. Others' to believe, to know, to love, and to honor God, ours to taste, to recognize, to understand, and to enjoy him."¹

Third, a prelate ought to have good morals, as the Apostle says in Hebrews 13 [.5]: "Let your manners be without covetousness, contented with such things as you have." Ecclesiasticus 19 [.26-27] teaches that good morals can be seen in a man: "A man is known by his look, and a wise man, when thou meetest him, is known by his countenance. The attire of the body, and the laughter of the teeth, and the gait of the man, shew what he is." Notice that the passage says, "A man is known by his look," for this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.12]: "Hast thou seen a man wise in his own conceit? there shall be more hope of a fool than of him," and also Proverbs 29 [.20]: "Hast thou seen a man hasty to speak? folly is rather to be looked for, than his amendment," and Proverbs 27 [.19]: "As the faces of them that look therein, shine in the water, so the hearts of men are laid open to the wise." Note also that the passage makes the point that "a wise man . . . is known by his countenance," for this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.24]: "Wisdom shineth in the face of the wise." Moreover, note that it emphasizes "the attire of the body," for it was by this sign that the Samaritan woman recognized that Christ was a Jew.² For she saw that he had the fringes on his clothing required by Jewish law. For he desired "in all things to be made like unto his brethren," as the Apostle says in Hebrews 2 [.17], lest they should say: "You are different from our fathers, and therefore we refuse to believe in you." See Deuteronomy 22 [.12]: "Thou shalt make strings in the hem at the four corners of thy cloak, wherewith thou shalt be covered." For laymen, minstrels, priests, and men in religious orders are required to wear distinctive clothing. The passage also adds, "the laughter of the teeth," a notion which is also expressed in Ecclesiasticus 21 [.23]: "A fool lifteth up his voice in laughter: but a wise man will scarce laugh low to himself." The passage also points out that "and the gait of the man, shew what he is," a statement which is true both physically and spiritually. The bodily gait is spoken of in III Kings 14 [.6]: "Come in, thou wife of Jeroboam. Why dost thou feign thyself to be another?" And the Apostle mentions the spiritual gait in Philippians 3 [.18-19]: "For many walk, of whom I have told you often (and now tell you weeping) that they are enemies of the cross of Christ; Whose end is destruction; whose God is their belly; and whose glory is in their shame; who mind earthly things." Indeed, with respect to our point we can say that some men walk so dishonorably that they are more like trotting asses, so to speak, than like men of honor.

It is difficult to penetrate the secrets of a man's heart, for as Ecclesiasticus says, 11 [.2-3]: "Praise not a man for his beauty, neither despise a man for his look. The bee is small among flying things, but her fruit hath the chiefest sweetness." Note that the passage says, "praise not a man for his beauty," for this is what deceived Samuel, who, on seeing Eliab, David's elder brother, said, I Kings 16 [.6-7]: "Is the Lord's anointed before him? And the Lord said to Samuel: Look not on his countenance, nor on the height of his stature: because I have rejected him. Nor do I judge according to the look of man: for man seeth those things

that appear; but the Lord beholdeth the heart." And the Lord said the same about all the other brothers, except David, despite the fact that he was small. The passage in Ecclesiasticus adds "neither despise a man for his look," for this is what deceived those who scorned Saul, saying in I Kings 10 [.27]: "Shall this fellow be able to save us? And they despised him, and brought him no presents. But he dissembled as though he heard not." Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.3]: "The prudent man saw the evil, and hid himself," and also Proverbs 12 [.16]: "A fool immediately sheweth his anger: but he that dissembleth injuries is wise."

Note that those who scorned Saul are called in I Kings 10 [.27] "children of Belial," that is, "without yoke" or "without a lord" [see Judges 19.22]. For evil men want to have neither yoke nor lord. And therefore it is clear that prelates, even good ones, have their persecutors, denigrators, and critics. And they had scorn for Saul for three reasons. They were familiar with the circumstances of his birth and upbringing, and familiarity breeds contempt.³ Thus Joseph, for example, was scorned by his brothers and sold into slavery, though in Egypt he was honored, as we read in chapters 37 and 41 of Genesis. The second reason is that when the kingdom was given to him, Saul was out seeking asses, not a kingdom, as recorded in I Kings 9 [.5]. And the third reason is that even after he had received the kingdom he preserved his former humility, since as is recorded in I Kings 11 [.5] he "came, following oxen." And because of this he deserved even greater honor, in keeping with the words of Ecclesiasticus 3 [.20]: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God."

But Saul did not deserve this scorn for three reasons. First, because he had been given to God, as is written in I Kings 9 [.16], where God says to Samuel: "To-morrow about this same hour I will send thee a man of the land of Benjamin. And thou shalt anoint him to be ruler over my people Israel; and he shall save my people out of the hand of the Philistines: for I have looked down upon my people, because their cry is come to me," and later in the same book, chapter 10 [.24]: "Surely you see him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people." Second, because he was anointed and offered to God by a holy priest, as reported in I Kings 10 [.1]: "And Samuel took a little vial of oil; and poured it upon his head; and kissed him; and said: Behold, the Lord hath anointed thee to be prince over his inheritance: and thou shalt deliver his people out of the hands of their enemies, that are round about them." The holiness of Samuel is verified in I Kings 3 [.20]: "all Israel from Dan to Bersabee knew that Samuel was a faithful prophet of the Lord." Chapters 10 and 16 of I Kings record the anointing of both David and Saul, and Ecclesiasticus 46 [.16] says: "Samuel the prophet of the Lord, the beloved of the Lord his God, established a new government, and anointed princes over his people." Third, because Saul had both the physical appearance and the mettle of a king. I Kings 10 [.23-24] speaks of his physical appearance: "he stood in the midst of the people, and he was higher than any of the people from the shoulders and upward. And Samuel

said to all the people: Surely you see him whom the Lord hath chosen, that there is none like him among all the people." His mettle, both physical and spiritual, is also described, but we shall discuss the physical first, as the Apostle says in I Corinthians 15 [.46]: "Not first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; afterwards that which is spiritual."

The physical mettle of Saul was exhibited in the greatness of his heart. For in seeking to liberate his people he attacked the enemy with the same vigor in the first battle as in the last. For in the first battle that he fought in, I Kings 11 [.7, 9, 11]:

And taking both the oxen, he cut them in pieces, and sent them into all the coasts of Israel by messengers, saying: Whosoever shall not come forth, and follow Saul and Samuel, so shall it be done to his oxen. And the fear of the Lord fell upon the people, and they went out as one man. And they said to the messengers that came: Thus shall you say to the men of Jabes Galaad: To morrow, when the sun shall be hot, you shall have relief, and he [Saul] came into the midst of the camp in the morning watch, and he slew the Ammonites until the day grew hot, and the rest were scattered, so that two of them were not left together.

And so mindful of this great benefit, the men of Jabes honored Saul at his death, as we read in the last chapter of I Kings. In this way they fulfilled what the Apostle says in Colossians 3 [.15]: "And be ye thankful." For "he that is of an unthankful mind will leave him that delivered him," as is written in Ecclesiasticus 29 [.21]. The Wise Man speaks of this matter in Ecclesiastes 9 [.14-15]: "A little city, and few men in it: there came against it a great king, and invested it, and built bulwarks round about it, and the siege was perfect. Now there was found in it a man poor and wise, and he delivered the city by his wisdom, and no man afterward remembered that poor man." It was in the last battle, however, that the greatness of Saul's heart was revealed: for he knew that he had to die, and yet he went into battle and sacrificed himself for his people. Thus in a number of passages Josephus praises Saul highly: "Saul, the wise and prudent, rushed to his death, fighting heroically. Truly, the noble in spirit alone are scornful of those things which terrify lesser men. This nobility is especially fitting for kings, who, for the good of the kingdom, are not only not permitted to be evil, but not even good in an average degree toward their subjects."⁴ David commends Saul also in II Kings 1 [.22-23]: "the arrow of Jonathan never turned back; and the sword of Saul did not return empty. Saul and Jonathan, lovely, and comely in their life, even in death they were not divided: they were swifter than eagles, stronger than lions."

Moreover, the spiritual mettle which Saul had and which God especially requires of man is pointed up in I Kings 15 [.17]: "When thou wast a little one in thy own eyes, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel? And the Lord anointed thee to be king over Israel." For the great humility of Saul is shown in the fact that he went looking for his father's asses, and was given a kingdom,

and, after having been given a kingdom, he preserved the humility of his earlier life. For he followed the oxen on the morning when he was returning from the fields, as is reported in I Kings 11 [.5]. And so "the eye of God hath looked upon him for good, and hath lifted him up from his low estate, and hath exalted his head: and many have wondered at him, and have glorified God." Ecclesiasticus 11 [.13]. Chapter 10 [.11] of I Kings describes the wonder of the multitudes at his elevation: "And all that had known him yesterday and the day before, seeing that he was with the prophets, and prophesied, said to each other: What is this that hath happened to the son of Cis? Is Saul also among the prophets?"

The humility of certain men.

Take note that the humility of some people is given as an example to the proud, so that they may learn not to be overweening, but "Be you humbled therefore under the mighty hand of God," I Peter 5 [.6]. For "It is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud," Proverbs 16 [.19]. Abraham was the first of these, who, although promised by Christ that his seed would multiply and be blessed (as reported in chapters 17 and 22 of Genesis), did not become perverse and allow his heart to be lifted up in pride. Rather, he said in Genesis 18 [.27]: "I will speak to my Lord, whereas I am dust and ashes." The second was Gideon, to whom the Lord said in Judges 6 [.14-16]:

Go in this thy strength: and thou shalt deliver Israel out of the hand of Madian. Know that I have sent thee. He answered and said: I beseech thee, my lord, wherewith shall I deliver Israel? Behold, my family is the meanest in Manasses, and I am the least in my father's house. And the Lord said to him: I will be with thee: and thou shalt cut off Madian as one man.

And the third was Saul, who humbled himself completely, although Samuel promised him great things, I Kings 9 [.20-21]. For Samuel said to Saul: "for whom shall be all the best things of Israel? Shall they not be for thee and for all thy father's house? And Saul answering, said: Am not I a son of Jemini of the least tribe of Israel, and my kindred the last among all the families of the tribe of Benjamin? Why then hast thou spoken this word to me?" The fourth was David, who remained very humble, although Saul wanted to make him his son-in-law by marrying him to his elder daughter Merob. "And David said to Saul: Who am I, or what is my life, or my father's family in Israel, that I should be son-in-law of the king?" I Kings 18 [.18]. On another occasion David humbled himself before the Lord when God promised to establish the kingdom in his line by giving him a son to reign after him and build up his house, as reported in II Kings 7 [.18-20]. Sitting in the presence of the Lord, David said: "Who am I, O Lord God, and what is my house, that thou hast brought me thus far? But yet this hath seemed little in thy sight, O Lord God, unless thou didst also speak of the house of thy servant for a long time to come: for this is the law of Adam, O Lord God. And what can David say more unto thee?" The Blessed Virgin Mary also humbled

herself in the presence of the Lord when the angel Gabriel announced to her that God wished his Son to be born of her. For she said in Luke 1 [.38]: "Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it done to me according to thy word."

The foolishness of some prelates, who were prefigured by Saul.

When the prelates of our day are given power over subordinates, however, they immediately think themselves competent, and their "hearts" are "lifted up with pride over" their "brethren," which is prohibited by the Lord in Deuteronomy 17 [.20]. And they rule "over them with rigour, and with a high hand," with which the Lord was displeased, as reported in Ezechiel 34 [.4], and they think "themselves to have instruments of music like David; that drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments: and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph," Amos 6 [.5-6], and they do not want to do what the Scripture teaches them to do in Ecclesiasticus 32 [.1]: "Have they made thee ruler? be not lifted up: be among them as one of them." Saul is a figure of these prelates, for he was humble in the beginning of his reign, but later became filled with pride, disobeyed God, killed the Lord's priests, held the kingdom violently against God's will, and all the days of his life persecuted the innocent David maliciously. Moreover, he violated the peace and broke the oath sworn by Joshua to the Gabaonites, and in fact killed them, although not without punishment, as recounted in chapter 9 of Joshua and chapter 21 of II Kings. Saul also consulted Phytonissa, although prohibited by the law, Leviticus 19 [.31]: "Go not aside after wizards: neither ask any thing of soothsayers, to be defiled by them." Therefore, because of these evils the events recorded in I Paralipomenon 10 [.13-14] took place: "So Saul died for his iniquities: because he transgressed the commandment of the Lord, which he had commanded, and kept it not, and moreover consulted also a witch, And trusted not in the Lord. Therefore he slew him, and transferred his kingdom to David the son of Isai." The vessel of oil with which Samuel anointed Saul (as recorded in I Kings 10 [.1]) prefigures very well the fact that Saul's kingdom would not endure long but would soon fall. For this is an earthen vessel which is easily broken. Thus it is that Samuel said to Saul in I Kings 15 [.28]: "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to thy neighbour who is better than thee."

But David was anointed from a horn filled with oil in signification that his kingdom would last forever, I Kings 16 [.1]. Thus the Lord says in Psalms [88.25]: "And my truth and my mercy shall be with him: and in my name shall his horn be exalted." And also in II Kings 7 [.16] the Lord promises David: "And thy house shall be faithful, and thy kingdom for ever before thy face: and thy throne shall be firm for ever." And no wonder. For the kingdom of David prefigured the kingdom of that one of whom Luke 1 [.32-33] says: "the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever. And of his kingdom there shall be no end." See also Isaiah 9 [.7-8]: "He shall sit upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom: to establish it and

strengthen it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth and for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this. The Lord sent a word into Jacob: and it hath lighted upon Israel,” and Isaiah 16 [.5]: “And a throne shall be prepared in mercy: and one shall sit upon it in truth in the tabernacle of David, judging and seeking judgment, and quickly rendering that which is just.” And so it is recorded in Job 36 [.7]: “he placeth kings on the throne for ever: and they are exalted,” and Daniel 4 [.14]: “till the living know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; and he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him, and he will appoint the basest man over it.”

Take note that a horn sometimes stands for pride, sometimes for a kingdom, as in the passage [Psalms 74.11]: “I will break all the horns of sinners: but the horns of the just shall be exalted.” Of the first it is written in Amos 6 [.14]: “Have we not taken unto us horns by our own strength?” and of the second in Luke 1 [.69–70]: “hath raised up an horn of salvation to us, in the house of David his servant. As he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets, who are from the beginning,” and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.8]: “A kingdom is translated from one people to another, because of injustices, and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits,” as happened to the Babylonians, whose kingdom was given to the Medes and the Persians, as recorded in Daniel 5 [.30–31]: “The same night, Baltasar the Chaldean king was slain. And Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom, being threescore and two years old.” The same happened to the kingdom of the Persians which was given to the Macedonians led by Alexander, an event which had been predicted in Daniel 8 [.21].

Furthermore, the governance of the kingdom, as well as of the priesthood, was taken from one family and given to another. The kingdom of Saul, for example, was taken from the house of Saul and given to the house of David, as we have said above; see I Paralipomenon 10 [.14]: the Lord “slew” Saul “and transferred his kingdom to David the son of Isai.” The transfer of the priesthood is recorded in III Kings 2 [.27]: “So Solomon cast out Abiathar, from being the priest of the Lord, that the word of the Lord might be fulfilled, which he spoke concerning the house of Heli in Silo,” and below in the same chapter [.35]: “and Sadoc the priest he put in the place of Abiathar.” Take note that the transfer of the priesthood was twofold: one from one house to another, of which we are speaking here; the other from one rite to another, that is, from one kind of sacrifice to another. The first form of sacrifice was according to the order of Aaron, in which animals were sacrificed; the second was according to the order of Melchisadech, in which bread and wine are offered, as was prefigured in Genesis 14 [.18]. Thus the Apostle says in Hebrews 7 [.12]: “For, the priesthood being translated, it is necessary that a translation also be made of the law.” Thus it is that prelates ought to be transferred, especially when they are found to be incompetent and evil.

About the obedient men of the Old Testament.

Since I started off speaking of the proper morals of prelates in this section, I will take up where I left off. It should be noted that there were three very obedient men in the Bible, one of whom was Onias, the high priest of the Jews, as recorded in the last chapter of II Machabees [15.12]: "Onias who had been high priest, a good and virtuous man, modest in his looks, gentle in his manners and graceful in his speech, and who from a child was exercised in virtues, holding up his hands, prayed for all the people of the Jews,"

The second was Eleazar [II Machabees 6.18], "one of the chief of the scribes, a man advanced in years and of a comely countenance," who is thought to have been the father of the seven brothers tortured to death by Antiochus, because they sought to preserve the laws of their country and of God, as recorded in II Machabees, chapter 7. For when Eleazar was forced to break the law, Antiochus' lieutenants seeking to make him eat pork [II Machabees 6.23]: "he began to consider the dignity of his age and his ancient years and the inbred honour of his grey head and his good life and conversation from a child: and he answered without delay, according to the ordinances of the holy law made by God, saying that he would rather be sent into the other world," than to do so. [II Machabees 6.27-28, 31]:

Wherefore by departing manfully out of this life, I shall shew myself worthy of my old age: And I shall leave an example of fortitude to young men, if with a ready mind and constancy I suffer an honourable death, for the most venerable and most holy laws. Thus did this man die, leaving not only to young men, but also to the whole nation, the memory of his death for an example of virtue and fortitude.

The third man was Gamaliel the Pharisee [Acts 5.34], "a doctor of the law, respected by all the people." He was St. Paul's teacher, and Jerome wrote about him in the first prologue to the Bible: "The Apostle Paul boasted that since he had learned the law of Moses and the prophets at the feet of Gamaliel he could thereafter teach with assurance, armed with such spiritual weapons."⁵ St. Paul reports this himself in Acts 22 [.3]. St. Paul thus fulfilled the teaching of Ecclesiasticus 18 [.19]: "learn before thou speak." St. Bernard deals with this subject fully in his work on the Song of Songs, taking as his text, "Thy name is as oil poured out," and commenting:

These are the ones who are so full of love that they seek to pour out the heavenly waters for us before they themselves are filled; they are more eager to speak than to listen and are all too ready to teach what they have not learned, seeking to put themselves in authority over others before they have learned to rule themselves. I believe, therefore, that for the good of one's salvation, one ought not to prefer any other degree of piety over that one mentioned by the Wise Man [Ecclesiasticus 30. 24]: "Have pity on thy own

soul, pleasing God." Do you think that if I have too little oil for myself I ought to give it to you and myself do without. I shall keep it completely to myself and offer it only at the command of the prophet. Yet if some people, misled by their overestimation of my words and deeds, persist in their requests, I shall answer [Matthew 25.9]: "Lest perhaps there be not enough for us and for you, go ye rather to them that sell, and buy for yourselves."⁶

Even in earlier times there were men among the Jewish people who were obedient and exemplary in their morals, such as Aaron, Joiada, Josedech, Jesus the great priest, and Simon, son of Onias. I will not speak about these individually, save for two, Aaron and Simon.

Now, Aaron was the kind of man whom God sought in Ezechiel 22 [.30-31]: "I sought among them for a man that might set up a hedge, and stand in the gap before me in favour of the land, that I might not destroy it: and I found none. And I poured out my indignation upon them, in the fire of my wrath I consumed them: I have rendered their way upon their own head, saith the Lord God." Take note that a priest can turn aside divine wrath, if he is God's friend, just as we read that through Moses' intercession God spared his people. For Moses said to the Lord in Exodus 32 [.31-32]: "Either forgive them this trespass, Or if thou do not, strike me out of the book that thou hast written." Thus the Apostle says in Romans 9 [.3-5]:

For I wished myself to be an anathema from Christ, for my brethren; who are my kinsmen according to the flesh; Who are Israelites; to whom belongeth the adoption as of children and the glory and the testament and the giving of the law and the service of God and the promises; Whose are the fathers and of whom is Christ, according to the flesh, who is over all things, God blessed for ever. Amen.

Of Aaron also it is recorded in Wisdom 18 [.21]: "a blameless man made haste to pray for the people, bringing forth the shield of his ministry, prayer, and by incense making supplication, withstood the wrath, and put an end to the calamity, shewing that he was thy servant." This account is recorded in Numbers 16 [.48], when Aaron stood "between the dead and the living" and "prayed for the people, and the plague ceased." A prelate who enjoys the friendship of God can achieve such things for his subordinates. Otherwise, as Gregory says, "A prelate while he is in a state of sin can resolve nothing. It soon becomes clear to all that an intercessor in disfavor only makes things worse."⁷ Furthermore, Aaron is frequently praised in Ecclesiasticus; see, for example, if you wish, Ecclesiasticus 45.

About Simon, the son of Onias, it is recorded in Ecclesiasticus 50 [.1-2]: "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias, who in his life propped up the house, and in his days fortified the temple. By him also the height of the temple was founded, the double building and the high walls of the temple," etc. [Ecclesiasticus 50.6-11]:

He shone in his days as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and

as the moon at the full. And as the sun when it shineth, so did he shine in the temple of God. And as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds, and as the flower of roses in the days of the spring, and as the lilies that are on the brink of the water, and as the sweet smelling frankincense in the time of summer. As a bright fire, and frankincense burning in the fire. As a massy vessel of gold, adorned with every precious stone. As an olive tree budding forth, and a cypress tree rearing itself on high.

About obedient men in the New Testament.

Among the Christian people there has been a great number of famous men, who shone forth not only in their life but in their wisdom and nobility, and "were praised in their days" [Ecclesiasticus 44.7]. In order to be brief, I will select only three: Sts. Silvester, Nicholas, and Thomas, the archbishop of Canterbury.

Silvester's mother was called Justa, and rightly so. Educated by the priest Cyrino, Silvester devoted his energies completely to care of the poor. He kept a written list of the orphans, widows, and the poor; and he provided all their necessities. At length, nearing his death, St. Silvester admonished the clergy on three important points: to have love one for another, to govern their churches more diligently, and to guard their flocks from the teeth of wolves. Then, he fell asleep joyously in the Lord.⁸ But about the prelates of our time Isaiah 1 [.23] says: "They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's cause cometh not in to them." But Job did better than this, for he says of himself in chapter 29 [.11-13]: "The ear that heard me blessed me: and the eye that saw me gave witness to me. Because I had delivered the poor man that cried out; and the fatherless, that had no helper. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me: and I comforted the heart of the widow."

Women ought to be avoided.

See also below on folio 323.⁹

After he had become bishop, St. Nicholas maintained the same moral stance that he had earlier in his private life. For his legend says: "He observed in all things the same modest conduct that he did before. He spent his nights in prayer, mortified the flesh, and shunned the company of women. He was humble in all he undertook, eloquent in his speech, prompt in his rebukes, severe in his penalties."¹⁰ Take note of what is said: "He observed in all things the same modest conduct that he did before." This is an important point, because laurels spoil morals.¹¹ And so it is that Patecchio said in the Book of Pests:

Contempt and scorn for others, you see,
Gain men high honor—but not from me.¹²

Note also what was said of Nicholas: "He shunned the company of women." And in this he acted wisely, for it was women who "deceived the children of Israel," Numbers 31 [.16]. Thus Ecclesiasticus 42 [.12-13] says: "tarry not among women.

For from garments cometh a moth, and from a woman the iniquity of a man," and also Ecclesiastes 7 [.27]: "I have found a woman more bitter than death, who is the hunter's snare, and her heart is a net, and her hands are bands. He that pleaseth God shall escape from her: but he that is a sinner, shall be caught by her," and Proverbs 5 [.20]: "Why art thou seduced, my son, by a strange woman, and art cherished in the bosom of another?" and Proverbs 6 [.25-26]: "Let not thy heart covet her beauty, be not caught with her winks: For the price of a harlot is scarce one loaf: but the woman catcheth the precious soul of a man," and Proverbs 23 [.27-28]: "For a harlot is a deep ditch: and a strange woman is a narrow pit. She lieth in wait in the way as a robber, and him whom she shall see unwary, she will kill." Furthermore, Jerome says, "The woman whose face you look on so frequently and who takes care of your needs is dangerous,"¹³ and in another place, "Believe me, the man who concerns himself wholly with women cannot be in total accord with God."¹⁴ Jerome also writes, "With a flaming fire, woman sears the conscience of every man alike,"¹⁵ and also, "Whenever a woman is with a man, the limed twig of Satan is not far off."¹⁶ Compare also the following verses:

Woman to define? That will take but two lines:
 A poison sweet, a fetid rose, a stinking treat,
 A creature always prone to what she's supposed to leave alone.¹⁷

And also

Woman is flinty stone, a thistle, a burr clinging,
 Filthy water, sticky pitch, a hornet stinging.
 Three fine things there are: wisdom, honor, worldly fame,
 And all three women mar, completely destroy, bring to shame.¹⁸

Moreover, Augustine says, "Just as oil is fuel for the fire, so women kindle the fire of lechery."¹⁹ Also Isidore: "Lust in the presence of women grows like green grass near the water."²⁰ And John Chrysostom: "What is a woman but the enmity of friendship, and unavoidable pain, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable flaw, natural evil painted in beautiful colors? To send her away is a sin; to keep her, a torment."²¹ And Augustine: "Woman was evil from the beginning, the gate of death, the serpent's disciple, the devil's friend, the fountain of deception, the misfortune of divine works, the rust of saints. Men who were almost angels have been cast down by her disastrous face."²² And Origen: "Behold! Woman! source of sin, the devil's armor, the destroyer of paradise, the mother of crime, the corruption of ancient law."²³

It is noteworthy that once he was made archbishop against his will, Thomas of Canterbury immediately became a different man. He mortified his flesh with a hair shirt and with fasting. In fact, not only did he wear a hair shirt, but he covered his legs, from the thighs to the calves, with the same harsh material. Yet he hid this act of sanctity carefully underneath his episcopal vestments, so that,

saving always, of course, his honor, he did not look at all unusual. Also, it was his daily custom to kneel and wash the feet of thirteen paupers, to feed them, and then send them away, enriched with four pieces of silver.²⁴ Because of these things, the words of Job 29 [.16-17] are applicable to him: "I was the father of the poor: and the cause which I knew not, I searched out most diligently. I broke the jaws of the wicked man and out of his teeth I took away the prey." These last words can be applied to King Artaldo,²⁵ who sought to curtail ecclesiastical freedom, as reported in St. Thomas' legend: "Yet the king sought to impose his own will upon the Church, because he attempted to have St. Thomas confirm the customs against ecclesiastical freedom which his predecessors had enjoyed."²⁶ Yet this, of course, St. Thomas would in no way do, and it was this refusal which caused his martyrdom. Thus it is written in Job [29.18]: "And I said: I shall die in my nest," that is, he died in his own church, "and as a palm tree shall multiply my days." See also the Psalm [91.13]: "The just shall flourish like the palm-tree: he shall grow up like the cedar of Libanus." Also, Ecclesiasticus 37 [.28] says: "The life of a man is in the number of his days" (compare Job 14 [.5]: "Thou hast appointed his bounds which cannot be passed"), "but the days of Israel," that is to those who see God, "are innumerable." The palm is the sign of victory, as it says in Apocalypse 7 [.9]: "palms in their hands." Also, St. Thomas fulfilled what was commanded in Ecclesiasticus 4 [.33]: "Strive for justice for thy soul, and even unto death fight for justice, and God will overthrow thy enemies for thee."

One should not overlook the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, a man endowed with every moral quality. Let us give some examples here as useful lessons for our readers. St. Gregory possessed such great humility that he would in no wise allow himself to be praised. Once, for example, he wrote to Bishop Stephen, who had praised him in his letters: "You have praised me very highly in your letters, much more than I am worthy of or ought to hear, for it is written [Ecclesiasticus 11.30]: 'Praise not any man before death.' Yet even though I am not worthy of such praise, I seek your prayers so that I may become worthy, so that those good qualities which you have said I possess I may yet possess."²⁷ And again in another letter to the patrician Narses: "When you made use of a metaphor to express my condition and title, dear brother, assuredly you called an ape a lion, for you did as is often done when people call mangy cubs leopards or tigers."²⁸ Also, in a letter to Anastasius the Patriarch of Antioch, he wrote: "I must confess that you have brought my own estimation of myself into great doubt by your statements that I am the very light and voice of God and that since I excel multitudes in my eloquence I am, therefore, able to shine for multitudes. For on considering myself, I find nothing to call forth such praise. Yet on considering you, I cannot believe that you are lying. When I wish to believe your words, my weakness contradicts them, and when I seek to dispute your praise of me, your sanctity contradicts me. Yet, O holy man, when I seek a resolution to this quarrel of ours, may it be this: that if what you say is not true, may it nevertheless be true, because you have said it."²⁹ Furthermore, he absolutely refused to use boastful and vain

words. Thus writing to Eulogius the Patriarch of Alexandria, who had called him the Universal Pope, he wrote: "In the preface to your letter, you gave me the splendid title of Universal Pope. Do not, I beseech, so style me again, for whatever is bestowed, beyond reason, upon another takes away from you. I seek not to prosper in words, but in deeds, nor do I consider anything an honor to myself which diminishes the honor of my brothers. Therefore, take back your words, for they puff up vanity and wound charity."³⁰ Thus it is that when John, the bishop of Constantinople, had obtained this vain title of Universal Pope fraudulently from a synod, Gregory, among other things, wrote about him: "Who is this who is attempting to assume to himself a new title in opposition to the Gospel commands and canonical law? Oh, he who wishes the title 'Universal'—would that he could have it without detriment to the Church!"³¹ Yet he did not want his words to be called commands by his fellow bishops. Thus he wrote in a letter to Eulogius, bishop of Alexandria: "Your love speaks to me saying: 'As you have commanded.' May that word 'command,' I beseech, be retracted, because I know who I am and who you are: with respect to station you are my brothers; with respect to morals, my fathers."³² Moreover, because of his great humility, he did not wish ladies to use such expressions as "your handmaiden" when writing to him. Thus he wrote to the noble lady Rusticiana: "I must confess that one thing in your letter has bothered me considerably: your frequent use of 'your handmaiden,' for although this expression may have been proper a single time, you use it over and over again. Yet since the burdens of my office have made me the servant of all, by what reason do you call yourself my handmaiden, an expression which would perhaps have been more proper before I accepted this office. Therefore, by the omnipotent God I ask you not to let me see this expression in your letters any more."³³ He was the first pope to use the expression "the servant of the servants of God,"³⁴ a title which he passed on to his successors. On account of his great humility, Gregory did not want his own books to be published during his lifetime, and he held his works in comparison with others to be nothing. And so he wrote to Innocent, the governor of Africa: "Your wish for me to send you my commentary on Job makes me rejoice in your study. But if you really want food to fatten the mind, read the works of your countryman, St. Augustine, and you will discover fine wheat with which my bran cannot be compared. Nor, while I am alive, do I wish this work to become widely known to men."³⁵ In a certain book which was originally written in Greek but which has been translated into Latin, there is a story about a holy abbot named John, who had come to Rome to visit the shrines of the Apostles. And while he was in the city he saw at a distance the holy Gregory making his way through the streets, and he ran to him to show him honor, as was fitting. But observing that he was going to kneel in the dust before him, St. Gregory ran to him and knelt first, and he would not arise—not until the abbot had risen. In this example can be seen Gregory's great humility.

St. Gregory was so generous with his alms that he gave the necessities of life

not only to the needy near at hand but also to those far away, even to the monks on Mt. Sinai. For he kept a list of the names of all the indigent and supported them generously. Also he would go out daily and invite pilgrims to his own table. One day a pilgrim appeared, and Gregory, in his humility thinking to pour water over his hands, turned to get the pitcher, but, on a sudden, as he turned again, the man disappeared. Gregory marveled over this event, but that same night the Lord appeared to him in a vision and said: "In former days you received me in my servants, yesterday you received Me Myself."³⁶ Once when Gregory was accused falsely to the Emperor Maurice and his sons of the death of a certain bishop, he wrote a letter to his notary with the following words: "This you may say very pointedly to our lords, that if I, their servant, had wished to become mixed up in the injury or death of the Lombards, they would today have neither king nor duke nor count, and they would be in total confusion. But because I fear God, I am afraid to be involved in anybody's death."³⁷ Behold! what great humility. Even though he was the high pontiff, he called himself the servant of the Emperor and acknowledged him as his lord! Behold! what innocence. He would not consent to the death of his enemies! At the time when the Emperor Maurice was persecuting Gregory and the Church of God, Gregory wrote, among other things, to him: "Because I am a sinner, I believe that the more you afflict me who serve God poorly, the more you will be pleasing to Him."³⁸ These things make very clear indeed how obedient Gregory was. For he says, "I seek not to prosper in words, but in deeds." And a certain poet writes:

Let him who wants to learn how to be witty
Read me and learn from my poetry.³⁹

But this poet did not always speak the truth, for he taught many dirty things.

If a man wishes to acquire the highest morals, however, let him read Ecclesiasticus, retain it in his heart, and fulfill it with works, because there was good reason why the Greeks called this book *Panarethos*: from *pan*, "all," and *arethos*, "virtue," that is, the "book of all virtue."⁴⁰ Thus it is written in Ecclesiasticus, chapter 50 [.29-31]: "Jesus the son of Sirach, of Jerusalem, hath written in this book the doctrine of wisdom and instruction, who renewed wisdom from his heart. Blessed is he that is conversant in these good things: and he that layeth them up in his heart, shall be wise always. For if he do them, he shall be strong to do all things: because the light of God guideth his steps," and also in chapter 51 [.31]: "Draw near to me, ye unlearned, and gather yourselves together into the house of discipline," etc., until the end of the book. See also Ecclesiasticus 24 [.47]: "See ye that I have not laboured for myself only, but for all that seek out the truth."

The rich man who does good for Christ's poor for the love of the Most High God has the highest kind of morals. This is what Ecclesiasticus taught in chapter 29 [.12]: "Help the poor because of the commandment: and send him not away empty handed because of his poverty." And Ecclesiasticus deals at length with this subject in that same section. But in Leviticus 25 [.36-37] God commands

such charity: "fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee. Thou shalt not give him thy money upon usury, nor exact of him any increase of fruits," and also in Deuteronomy 15 [.4]: "there shall be no poor nor beggar among you: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in the land which he will give thee in possession," and later in the same chapter [.11]: "There will not be wanting poor in the land of thy habitation: therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother, that liveth in the land." The strong woman is praised for her charity in the last chapter of Proverbs [31.20]: "She hath opened her hand to the needy, and stretched out her hands to the poor." She was praised rightly indeed, for as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 19 [.17]: "He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth to the Lord: and he will repay him." This was manifested in Gregory, for an angel told him that from the moment he gave money to a shipwrecked man, God destined him to become Pope.⁴¹ For Gregory gave gladly to the poor. Thus what is written in Job 31 [.16-18] is appropriate for him: "If I have denied to the poor what they desired, and have made the eyes of the widow wait: If I have eaten my morsel alone, and the fatherless hath not eaten thereof: (For from my infancy mercy grew up with me: and it came out with me from my mother's womb)." These words are appropriate for St. Nicholas. [Job 31.19-20]: "If I have despised him that was perishing for want of clothing, and the poor man that had no covering: If his sides have not blessed me, and if he were not warmed with the fleece of my sheep." These verses apply aptly to St. Martin, who divided his cloak with a poor man.

The man of whom Proverbs 17 [.5] speaks did just the opposite of this: "He that despiseth the poor, reproacheth his Maker." The Lord also complains in Isaiah 28 [.12] about certain men: "This is my rest. Refresh the weary, and this is my refreshing. And they would not hear," and also in Proverbs 21 [.13]: "He that stoppeth his ear against the cry of the poor, shall also cry himself and shall not be heard." The example of the rich man who would give nothing to the poor and who was totally given over to gluttony and lechery. This man refused to hear the gospel or attend Mass, so that at his death when the priests and clerks were singing *Requiem eternam*, Christ himself, hanging on the great crucifix of the church, put his fingers in his ears and spoke, saying that He would in no wise listen, since that man had scorned to hear His voice. Thus Tobias taught his son in chapter 4 [.7-9]: "Give alms out of thy substance, and turn not away thy face from any poor person: for so it shall come to pass that the face of the Lord shall not be turned from thee. According to thy ability be merciful. If thou have much give abundantly: if thou have little, take care even so to bestow willingly a little." And this section records many other things about alms-giving. Gregory gives the reason for these words of Tobias: "When we give the necessities of life to the poor, we are not giving our own goods; we are merely returning their goods to them."⁴² And he says further: "The man who gives alms does not give them to the man who receives, but to the One for whose love he gives."⁴³ Gregory, as well as many other men, fulfilled completely the words of Job 31 [.32]: "The stranger

did not stay without, my door was open to the traveller." Hebrews 13 [.1-2] speaks further of this matter: "Let the charity of the brotherhood abide in you. And hospitality do not forget; for by this some, being not aware of it, have entertained angels." Thus St. Peter says in his first Epistle, chapter 4 [.9]: "Using hospitality one towards another, without murmuring." For the Lord praised the elect in Matthew 25 [.35]: "I was a stranger, and you took me in."

The passage in Ecclesiasticus 19 [.26] which says, "A man is known by his look, and a wise man, when thou meetest him, is known by his countenance" is perfectly suited to that other wise man in Ecclesiastes 8 [.1]: "The wisdom of a man shineth in his countenance, and the most mighty will change his face." In the Order of the Friars Minor I once had a Minister who was called Brother Aldebrand, who was from the city of Fiegnano in the bishopric of Imola. And Brother Albertino of Verona, who is remembered for his witty sayings, used to joke with him, saying that he must have had a terribly ugly Form in the mind of God. For Brother Aldebrand had a deformed head, shaped like one of the ancient helmets, with tufts of hair all over his forehead. And once during the week of Epiphany when it chanced that he was to sing that Antiphon which begins *Caput draconis* ["the dragon's head"], the Brothers all laughed outright, and he blushed for shame and mortification. I was reminded, however, of Seneca's question: "What kind of soul is there within when the outward form is so ugly?"⁴⁴

Yet what Ecclesiasticus 11 [.2] says, "neither despise a man for his look" is well said. St. Augustine also says: "Many men scorned Christ because of his humble appearance, but they themselves never came close to Christ's perfection."⁴⁵ Why? Isaiah gives the reason in chapter 53 [.3]: "his look was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed him not." In opposition, however, Ecclesiasticus 11 [.3] supplies the example: "The bee is small among flying things, but her fruit hath the chiefest sweetness." The same kind of example is given by a modern poet:

Sweet juice is frequently found in a small reed,
And the water of a little fountain quenches thirst.⁴⁶

Take note that it was a failure to heed such a command from Ecclesiasticus [11.2], "neither despise a man for his look" (which I quoted above) that led to the scorn some people had for Alexander, Zaccheus, St. Martin, and Constantius, custodian of the Church of St. Stephan near Ancona. In the first book of the *Dialogues*, St. Gregory writes of this Constantius that "he was very small, with a thin and contemptible body,"⁴⁷ and yet he was supreme in humility, in contrast to the word of the poem:

Scarcely can be found in any house or hall:
Humility among the small,
Reason among the tall,
A truthful redhead, not at all.⁴⁸

A certain farmer knew Constantius' humility very well, for he said of him, "I

thought he was a great man, but he has nothing of a man about him." But this remark disturbed Constantius not in the least; instead, he embraced the farmer and kissed him. It is thus noteworthy that his great humility caused him to love a man even more because he had scorn for him. "Of such a kind is the humble man, who even approves insults directed at him. For just as proud men congratulate themselves on their honors, so too do many humble men, on their insults. And when they see themselves vile and low in the eyes of other men they rejoice, for they see that this judgment confirms their own opinion of themselves." This man Constantius, as St. Gregory relates, had such great sanctity that he once caused a lamp to burn water instead of oil.⁴⁹

We said above that a suitable and competent prelate must have three positive qualities: wisdom, a holy life, and good morals. He ought to have wisdom, for as Ecclesiasticus 21 [.20] says: "The mouth of the prudent is sought after in the church, and they will think upon his words in their hearts," and also Ecclesiasticus 37 [.26-27, 29]: "A wise man instructeth his own people, and the fruits of his understanding are faithful. A wise man shall be filled with blessings, and they that see shall praise him. A wise man shall inherit honour among his people, and his name shall live for ever," and Ecclesiasticus 39 [.12]: "Many shall praise his wisdom, and it shall never be forgotten." Whence II Paralipomenon 2 [.11-12]: "Hiram king of Tyre sent a letter to Solomon, saying: Because the Lord hath loved his people, therefore he hath made thee king over them. And he added, saying: Blessed be the Lord the God of Israel, who made heaven and earth, who hath given to king David a wise and knowing son, endued with understanding and prudence, to build a house to the Lord, and a palace for himself."

He ought to have a holy life, because as Augustine says: "The man who does not excel in knowledge and honor (which is to be preferred to dignity) should be considered the lowest of men and should be separated from the hosts of the faithful."⁵⁰ Also Bede says: "One wheel without another is not sufficient for a priest, just as one foot without the other is not sufficient for walking. Priestly purity without wisdom is like fire which is smothered by its own smoke or like wine which turns to vinegar. For his wisdom without purity is like food without salt or a lamp without a flame."⁵¹ And Bede says further: "How can an impure priest exhort to purity or an ignorant priest preach wisdom? How can a man who does not fear to fornicate or resort to whores praise widowhood or chastity?"⁵² Also St. Hilary: "Priests ought to be exemplary in their purity and wisdom."⁵³ It is written of purity [Matthew 5.8]: "Blessed are the clean of heart," etc., and it is written of wisdom [Malachi 2.7]: "the lips of the priest shall keep knowledge, and they shall seek the law at his mouth: because he is the angel of the Lord of hosts." Furthermore, Gregory says: "How can a leader of a church take away the evil from its midst when he knows within himself that he has committed that which he seeks to correct, and how dare he presume to preach to the people when he himself is stained like them?"⁵⁴ Also Gregory writes: "When the pastor is wounded, who will give the medicine to cure the sheep?"⁵⁵ And in another place he says: "How can a man

who offers himself naked to the blows of the enemy protect his people with the shield of his prayers? And what kind of fruit will a diseased tree bring forth?"⁵⁶ Also St. Ambrose says: "Prelates ought to know that all who set bad examples for posterity are worthy of death."⁵⁷ Also St. Augustine: "The prelate causes his subordinates to be damned, because in his failure to correct their errors he sets before them the example of a damned man."⁵⁸ And again he says: "The bishop who consents to his subject's error and does not correct him should not be considered a man of authority, but a shameless dog."⁵⁹ And Gregory: "Compassion for a man and correction of his vices are not opposites, just as we may love the good that a man does while at the same time we punish him for evil deeds, lest heedlessly forgiving his sins, we appear to do so not from love but from negligence of duty."⁶⁰ Take note that Eli was removed from the priesthood, because he was aware that his sons were not behaving themselves and yet did not correct them, as recorded in I Kings, chapters 2, 3, and 4. Also [Psalms 140.5]: "The just man shall correct me in mercy, and shall reprove me." That was fulfilled in Moses and Joshua, to whom Moses said in Numbers 11 [.29]: "Why hast thou emulation for me? O that all the people might prophesy, and that the Lord would give them his spirit!" Also Proverbs 28 [.23]: "He that rebuketh a man, shall afterward find favour with him, more than he that by a flattering tongue deceiveth him," which is manifest in Peter and Mark. For nobody gave expression to Peter's sin of denial like Mark, and yet Peter later calls Mark his own son, as in the last chapter of I Peter [5.13]: "The church that is in Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you: and so doth my son Mark." Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.10]: "A reproof availeth more with a wise man, than a hundred stripes with a fool." Of both the fool and the sinner, however, Ecclesiasticus 32 [.21] says: "A sinful man will flee reproof, and will find an excuse according to his will." Also Isidore: "The leader who speaks or commands anything clearly against the will of God or Holy Scripture is to be held as either a false witness against God or a sacrilegious man."⁶¹ And he says again: "Every teacher who sets a poor example by his evil works closes the kingdom of heaven to his pupils: neither does he enter, nor does he allow those who wish to to enter."⁶² Also Bernard says: "What prelate do you know who is not more interested in emptying the pockets of his subordinates than in stamping out their vices? Would that they would be more interested in the care of souls than in running eagerly to the university."⁶³ And he says elsewhere: "The proper order of clerks is a marvel to think on. For they seek to be one but appear to be another. They dress like soldiers, complain like farmers, but act like neither. For they do not fight like soldiers, they do not labor like farmers, nor yet do they preach the gospel like clerks. Therefore, since they follow no order, they will end up there where there will be 'no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth'"⁶⁴ [Job 10.22]. Also Bernard: "Clerks take for themselves all the best things in life: silks and satins from women; witty sayings from the minstrels; decorated medals from the soldiers; money from the bankers; power and honor from princes and kings. And so because [Psalms 72.5] 'they

are not in the labour of men: neither shall they be scourged like other men.'⁷⁶⁵ Also Bernard: "The priests will come, they will come before the judgment seat of Christ, and then the people, on whose money they lived while not washing away their sins, will raise up their heavy accusation against them. They were blind leaders and fraudulent mediators, who, although they held the office of reconciliation, did not fulfill the function of that office. I find that there was only one prophet in the Old Testament who rode a horse, and he was devoured by a lion." And Bernard: "Alas! Those dressed in purple preach sackcloth and ashes; those who dine on sumptuous banquets teach fasting. Once when Esdras heard that the princes and magistrates were engulfed in sin, he cut his priestly mantle asunder; he sat in mourning, cried out to the Lord, and by his groans provoked the groans of the people. But today the prelate who hears similar things merely laughs. Once a king of Israel made use of a hair shirt when he went outside the precincts of the city, but now the prelate goes about the church all decked out in his ecclesiastical vestments. Once the prophets lived in bare halls, now prelates build fine palaces for themselves."⁷⁶⁶ See also Bernard: "The goods of the Church are the goods of the poor. Whatever the lords of the Church — no, not lords, but wasters — receive beyond mere necessity in food and clothing, they grasp by their sacrilegious cruelty."⁷⁶⁷ And again Bernard: "Their shoes shine brighter than the altars, they are sooner found in the stable than in the temple, and they run more swiftly to the kitchen than to the church, to the table sooner than to the Mass."⁷⁶⁸ And again Bernard: "God subjected himself to men, and you, you are happy to rule over men; you place yourself before your Creator."⁷⁶⁹ Again Bernard: "As often as I seek to place myself over men, just so often do I strive to place myself over God."⁷⁷⁰ And he says again: "The man who desires the foremost place on earth will be confounded in heaven."⁷⁷¹ Thus it was that the martyr was truly praised about whom it was written that "he did not fear the threats of judges, nor did he seek for worldly honor."⁷⁷² And Gregory: "It is a strange thing for the blind to choose a blind leader, but it is stranger still for someone, knowingly, to commit the blind to such a leader."⁷⁷³ Again Bernard: "These are awful things, a high position, a low soul; a preeminent station, a degraded life; an eloquent tongue, an idle hand; a serious face, a trifling action; many words, no fruit; great power, no stability."⁷⁷⁴ Again Gregory: "It is a terribly shameful thing for us to fall by our negligence, while we seek to lift others by our preaching."⁷⁷⁵ See also Cassiodorus: "The man in whom I find nothing worthy of imitation can teach me nothing."⁷⁷⁶ Again Gregory: "The man who seeks to preach to others has cause to be afraid, lest he pierce himself with his own spear, by not practicing what he preaches."⁷⁷⁷

There are five reasons why God chose Judas as an Apostle even though he knew that he would not persevere in goodness, and the last one is so that we might not become presumptuous if we are elected to positions of high honor. Thus it is that St. Bernard wrote to the bishop of Cologne: "If only it be agreed that those who are chosen for a Church office are by virtue of that fact assured of gaining

heaven, then an archbishop need not worry. But when one finds in the Scripture that no one — except God — condemned Judas as priest or Saul as king, then it is clear that an archbishop has good right to be fearful.⁷⁷⁸ Thus the words of Matthew 22 [.14] are awe-inspiring: “many are called, but few are chosen,” and also those in Romans 11 [.20]: “be not highminded, but fear.” Also speaking to the ambitious man, St. Bernard says: “Go ahead, you wretch, follow your leader, multiply your prebends, hasten to the archbishopric, aspire to the bishopric. Your rise is slow, but your fall will be precipitous. ‘I saw,’ he said [Luke 10.18], ‘Satan like lightning falling from heaven.’”⁷⁷⁹ And in an opposite manner Seneca says: “Betake yourself to the lowest position, from which you cannot fall.”⁷⁸⁰ Likewise, Ecclesiasticus 29 [.29] gives useful counsel: “Be contented with little instead of much, and thou shalt not hear the reproach of going abroad.”

Many examples and citations show that those who seek after positions of authority act very foolishly.

The example of Lord William de Fogliani who was elected bishop of Reggio in opposition to Guizolo de Albriconi who was chosen at the same time. William was forced to go in exile to Mantua on account of the contention between the Imperial and the Ecclesiastical parties in the year 1243. The same thing happened to Matthew de Pio, canon of the church at Modena and head of the church at Ganaceto, who sought after and obtained the office of bishop of Modena. He was a hunchbacked man, twisted and deformed. On his account, trouble arose between the two parties, and the Imperial party, to which he himself belonged, was driven out of Modena. Matthew, therefore, was forced to wander in exile through the region of Romagna, as I saw with my own eyes at Ravenna, Faenza, and Forlì, when the war there was very fierce. Note that a man who seeks after positions of authority (where the whole concern should be with the care of souls) acts very foolishly; rather, he should avoid them if he can do so with a clear conscience. And this can be shown by many reasons and examples.

Take note of the following reasons: “Labour not to be rich: but set bounds to thy prudence. Lift not up thy eyes to riches which thou canst not have: because they shall make themselves wings like those of an eagle, and shall fly towards heaven.” Proverbs 23 [.4-5], and also Ecclesiastes 7 [.1]: “What needeth a man to seek things that are above him, whereas he knoweth not what is profitable for him in his life, in all the days of his pilgrimage, and the time that passeth like a shadow?” See also Ecclesiasticus 3 [.22]: “Seek not the things that are too high for thee, and search not into things above thy ability: but the things that God hath commanded thee, think on them,” and Ecclesiasticus 7 [.6]: “Seek not to be made a judge, unless thou have strength enough to extirpate iniquities: lest thou fear the person of the powerful, and lay a stumblingblock for thy integrity.”

See also Judges 8 [.22-23]: “And all the men of Israel said to Gedeon: Rule thou over us, and thy son, and thy son’s son: because thou hast delivered us from the hand of Madian. And he said to them: I will not rule over you, neither shall

my son rule over you, but the Lord shall rule over you." It is written of Saul also that when he was being sought so that he could be made king, "he is hidden at home," I Kings 10 [.22]. Jerome writes that St. Mark "cut off his thumb so that he might not be fit for the priesthood."⁸¹ It is also written of St. Nicholas, who was chosen bishop by divine inspiration, that he did whatever he could to avoid the office.⁸² Similarly, it is recorded that St. Ambrose, who was also divinely chosen, did all in his power to avoid being made bishop: he made his opposition to the appointment clear and he fled to Pavia. He even brought prostitutes into his living quarters, so that by raising a scandal he might cause them to despise and turn away from him. He gave no heed to the advice in Ecclesiastes 7 [.2]: "A good name is better than precious ointments," nor to that in Ecclesiasticus 41 [.15]: "Take care of a good name: for this shall continue with thee, more than a thousand treasures precious and great." And when these means did not work, he hid himself at a friend's house. Also, St. Gregory, as reported in his Legend, did all he could to avoid being made Pope. Also, it is recorded that St. Amonius of Alexandria cut his ears off to avoid being made bishop. Yet when his people told this fact to the Patriarch, he said to them, "Even if he cuts his nose off, I will appoint him, as long as he is learned and leads a holy life." And so all the people of that city, the learned men as well as the common people, came back to Amonius and begged him to deign to become their bishop. But he answered them, "I know that you want me as your bishop on account of the eloquence of my tongue. Therefore, take this as a fact: if you don't leave me in peace, I will cut it out, so that I will be useless to you or anybody else." And so they left him in peace, fearing that he would do as he threatened. For it is certain that he would have done to his tongue what he did to his ears. This Amonius was a very learned and eloquent man, who wrote a number of books; a man of holy life, he lived alone secluded from the distractions of this world.⁸³ Now, St. Amonius did as the beaver does, which, aware that the hunters seek to kill him for his testicles, saves his whole body by sacrificing a part of it. For he castrates himself with his teeth, giving the hunters the desired part so that they will allow him to escape.⁸⁴

St. Bernard writes about the wretched little clerk who gladly, though unworthily and maliciously, climbs to a position of authority: "The eager climber hustles and bustles, lies and cheats, crawls ignominiously on his hands and knees, in order to ensconce himself in the seat of the Crucified One."⁸⁵ This is not how St. Gregory teaches, in his *Pastoral Care*, that a prelate ought to act: "Let the man rich in virtues, unwilling and reluctant, take the office of the care of souls."⁸⁶ Two examples are enough to show the hatefulness of this vice of grasping after power.

First of all, an example from the life of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom it is written in John 6 [.15]: "Jesus therefore, when he knew that they would come to take him by force, and make him king, fled again into the mountain himself alone." Christ surrendered himself to those who sought to put him to death, but he fled from those who would give him a high position. He did this in order to show that it is better for some men to be dead than to have a position of authori-

ty. And, in fact, some noble and powerful men confess this to be true, saying that they would rather be lepers than to have their present high status. The Apostle gives an example of this in Hebrews 12 [.1-2]: "Let us run . . . to the fight proposed to us: Looking on Jesus, the author and finisher of faith, who having joy set before him, endured the cross." We also read of Augustine that he would flee from any city that had no bishop, afraid that they would choose him.⁸⁷

It is written also of a certain prior that, elected as bishop of Tournai and compelled by Pope Eugenius and his abbot, Bernard, to take on himself the burdens of the office, he prostrated himself in the form of a cross at the feet of the abbot and the clerks, and said, "If you elect me, I will become a runaway monk, but I will never become your bishop." And later as he lay dying, his dear friend, who was sitting by his bedside, said to him, "My dear friend, now that your spirit is about to leave your body, I pray you, if you can and if it be the will of God, to return after your death and reveal the state of your soul to me." And after his death Geoffrey appeared to his friend in a vision as he was praying before the altar and said to him: "I am your brother Geoffrey." And the monk said to him, "My dear friend, how is it with your soul?" And the spirit replied, "I am in paradise, but it has been revealed to me by the Holy Trinity that if I had been elected bishop, I would be among the damned."

These warnings which come from God himself ought to restrain the wretched and ambitious clerk from seeking after positions of authority. For God says to the prelate to whom the care of souls is committed, III Kings 20 [.39]: "Keep this man: and if he shall slip away, thy life shall be for his life," and also Ezechiel 3 [.17-18]: "Son of man, I have made thee a watchman to the house of Israel: and thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth, and shalt tell it them from me. If, when I say to the wicked, Thou shalt surely die: thou declare it not to him, nor speak to him, that he may be converted from his wicked way, and live: the same wicked man shall die in his iniquity, but I will require his blood at thy hand."

There are four examples of men who sought to avoid high office which a prelate ought to heed.

The ambitious clerk, avid for power, might do well to consider the many examples of men who declined high office. First is the example of Moses, of whom it is written in Numbers 12 [.3]: "Moses was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth." And yet he excused himself when the Lord wanted to send him as a leader of his people to Pharaoh, saying, Exodus 4 [.10]: "I beseech thee, Lord, I am not eloquent from yesterday and the day before: and since thou hast spoken to thy servant, I have more impediment and slowness of tongue." Yet insofar as he excused himself the Lord was angry with him.

The second is Jeremiah, who, when the Lord wished to send him, excused himself with the words, Jeremiah 1 [.6]: "Ah, ah, ah, Lord God: behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child."

The third is Jonah, who fled to Tarsus so that he would not have to preach to and convert the Ninevites. For he knew that if they repented God would not

carry out his threat, and he would be shamed because it would look as if he had lied. And because of his great shame he wished to leave his own land to avoid the reproaches. But subsequently the words of the Prophet, "The just shall rejoice when he shall see the revenge" [Psalms 57.11], were fulfilled in Jonah, for later when the Ninevites reverted to their earlier sinfulness they were drowned. Thus Ambrose says: "God will change his judgment when you change your ways."⁸⁸ And it is reported in Jeremiah 18 [.7-8]: "I will suddenly speak against a nation, and against a kingdom, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy it. If that nation against which I have spoken, shall repent of their evil, I also will repent of the evil that I have thought to do to them."

The fourth is the man who said in Isaiah 3 [.7]: "I am no healer, and in my house there is no bread, nor clothing: make me not ruler of the people."

As we said before, a suitable and competent prelate must have wisdom and a holy life, qualities which we have just discussed. The third quality that he ought to have is good morals, which we will talk about now. For Isidore says: "Let your demeanor be unassuming, your gait free from posturing. Let no one be offended by your bearing."⁸⁹ A prelate should follow the example of David, whose humility is praised [Psalms 131.1]: "O Lord, remember David, and all his meekness." For "with meekness" will be received "the ingrafted word, which is able to save" our "souls," James 1 [.21]. Thus the hearer of God's word is commanded to have humility if he wishes to understand, Ecclesiasticus 5 [.13]: "Be meek to hear the word [of God] that thou mayest understand: and return a true answer with wisdom." The Prophet also says about humility [Psalms 89.10]: "For mildness is come upon us: and we shall be corrected." Also Augustine writes: "Whether one punishes or forgives, the aim should always be correction."⁹⁰ Yet unless he tyrannizes over his subordinates by wrath and indignation, the evil prelate does not feel that he can control them, and whatever command he gives he believes reasonable, as the poet says:

This is my wish and my command: my wish is reason enough.⁹¹

The Ideal prelate.

The ideal prelate is described in the following verses:

Let a prelate be gentle, friendly, and benign,
Let him be patient, just, mild, and sympathetic,
Let him be aware of his own failings,
 and thereby understand the failings of others.
Let him be slow to punish, swift to mercy,
Let him be sorrowful even amid righteous indignation,
Let him, even while punishing, pour forth soothing oil and wine,
Let him display not only the scourge of the father
 but also the breasts of the mother,

Let him whistle and sing, let him encourage even as he scolds.⁹²

A man in a position of authority should have three qualities.

Note that a man in a position of authority should have three qualities: understanding, eloquence, and virtue. Ecclesiasticus 5 [.14–15] speaks of understanding: "If thou have understanding, answer thy neighbour: but if not, let thy hand be upon thy mouth, lest thou be surprised in an unskilful word, and be confounded. Honour and glory is in the word of the wise, but the tongue of the fool is his ruin." Let the man who lacks understanding seek it from God, as the Prophet did, who said [Psalms 118.34]: "Give me understanding, and I will search thy law; and I will keep it with my whole heart," and also [Psalms 118.73]: "give me understanding, and I will learn thy commandments." And because he sought understanding humbly, God bestowed it lavishly, as demonstrated in the words [Psalms 118.100]: "I have had understanding above ancients." Why? Because [Psalms 50.8]: "the uncertain and hidden things of thy wisdom thou hast made manifest to me," and therefore [Psalms 15.7]: "I will bless the Lord, who hath given me understanding," and also Proverbs 9 [.12]: "If thou be wise, thou shalt be so to thyself: and if a scorner, thou alone shalt bear the evil," and Ecclesiasticus 3 [.32]: "A wise heart, and which hath understanding, will abstain from sins, and in the works of justice shall have success," and Ecclesiasticus 4 [.12–13]: "Wisdom inspireth life into her children, and protecteth them that seek after her, and will go before them in the way of justice. And he that loveth her, loveth life," etc. Bernard also says, "You cannot be wise without knowing your own self,"⁹³ and again, "A learned man who is not obedient is an enemy armed against God."⁹⁴

The Apostle says about eloquence in Ephesians 6 [.19–20]: "[Pray] for me, that speech may be given me, that I may open my mouth with confidence, to make known the mystery of the gospel. For which I am an ambassador in a chain, so that therein I may be bold to speak according as I ought," and also II Thessalonians 3 [.1–2]: "For the rest, brethren, pray for us, that the word of God may run, and may be glorified, even as among you; and that we may be delivered from importunate and evil men; for all men have not faith."

It is important to know that even an honorable man can easily stain his life, for as the Apostle says in I Corinthians 5 [.6]: "a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump." The man who "puts a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33] does so gladly. For "he lieth in wait and turneth good into evil," as it says in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33]. For it is recorded of him that, Habacuc 1 [.17]: "he will not spare continually to slay the nations." For "craftily" he lies "in wait" for us, I Kings 23 [.22]. "For we are not ignorant of his devices," II Corinthians 2 [.11]. For our adversary "the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour. Whom resist ye, strong in faith: knowing that the same affliction befalls your brethren who are in the world." I Peter 5 [.8–9]. You are not the only ones, this passage suggests, who are tempted by him. Therefore, let us resist mightily, lest we "stain our glory," I Machabees 9 [.10].

Two examples show that carnal man, governed wholly by his senses, is more subject to bad influence than good.

The example of Cassius, bishop of Narni, of whom Gregory speaks in the third book of the Dialogues. The words of the Lord in John 7 [.24]: "Judge not according to the appearance, but judge just judgment."

It is easier to destroy than to build, and a worldly man, governed entirely by his senses, follows a bad example more readily than a good one, which can be proved by two examples.

First of all, by Cassius, bishop of Narni, whom Gregory describes in the third book of the *Dialogues* in the following manner:

In the time of the Goths when the aforementioned King Totila came to Narni, Cassius, the bishop and a man of holy life, went out to meet him. Now, Cassius' face was, as usual, blotched with red from excessive weeping. But Totila, who thought that his flushed face was the result of excessive drinking rather than tears, had contempt for him. Yet almighty God made known what kind of man this was whom the king had such scorn for, when he sent a demon to possess and plague a soldier before the eyes of the army and the king himself. And when this man was brought before the holy man Cassius, he cast the demon out of him by his prayers and the sign of the cross. Never again did that evil spirit dare to return. This was done so that that barbarous king might be forced to genuinely honor as the servant of God that very man whom he had so recently despised. For at the sight of a man of such virtue, that fierce mind lost all its haughty pride.⁹⁵

Note that the passage in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.2] "neither despise a man for his look" was meaningless for King Totila. But the words in Isaiah 28 [.19] "vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear" were pertinent to him.

Augustine's condemnation of slanderers.

How prone wicked men are to slander good men and how gladly they "lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33]! And this is what St. Augustine says: "Take note of the words of the Apostle: 'We are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men.' [I Corinthians 4.9] Those who love us seek to praise us, but those who hate us slander us. We, however, who are set, by the help of God, on a different path, we ought to so guard our lives and reputations that those who slander us will never be able to embarrass those who praise us."⁹⁶ Augustine also wrote to Felix and Hilary: "Why is it surprising that men belittle the servants of God and, since they cannot turn them from their righteous ways, seek to slander them? For they do not cease daily to blaspheme against their Lord God himself when events (which are directed by His hidden but just authority) turn out other than they would wish."⁹⁷ He also wrote to a clerk of the church at Hippo: "When the devil is unable to cause a man to sin so that he may devour him, he then

seeks to befoul his reputation, hoping that by the slanders of men and the slander of malicious tongues he may cause the man to fall and rush into his jaws. Yet if he cannot stain the reputation of an innocent man, he attempts to persuade him to entertain evil suspicions of his brother, so that, entangled in these, he may be swallowed up. Long ago in the figure of the body of Christ, it was predicted [Psalms 68.13]: 'They that sat in the gate spoke against me.'⁹⁸ And later in the letter he writes:

To what purpose do they sit and what purpose do they seek if not that they might be able to make the judgment from the fall of one man—whether clerk or monk or whatever holy man—that all men are alike sinful? But this is not true. And yet even those men do not cast off their wives or levy an accusation against their mothers because some adulterer is discovered with a married woman. Yet when some evil thing, whether false or true, is sounded forth about a man known for his holiness, they pursue the topic eagerly, they let fly their barbs, they go about tongues wagging to insure that all men believe this thing. Thus by their evil tongues they gain joy from our sorrows, and so it is easy to compare them to those dogs—as long as they are taken in an evil sense—who licked the wounds of the poor man who lay at the rich man's gate.

And again he writes:

Pray for me, lest by chance I who preach to others may be found unfit. Yet when we take pride, we do so not in ourselves, but in God. For however vigilant I may be in the discipline of my house, I am a man and I live among men, nor do I dare to take it upon myself that my house is better than Noah's ark, where one unfit man was found, or better than Abraham's house, of which it is written, "Cast out this bondwoman, and her son" [Genesis 21.10], or better than Isaac's house, for it is written of those twins, "I have loved Jacob, but have hated Esau" [Malachi 1.2-3].

And later in the same work, Augustine writes:

I must confess to you in all simplicity: if I would find it hard to point out men in secular life who lead better lives than those in the monastery, I would at the same time have to confess that it would be hard to point out men in secular life who lead worse lives too. Therefore, if we are made sad over our filth and dregs, let us yet console ourselves over our many ornaments. Thus just because of the dregs that offend one's eyes, do not have contempt for the oil press, by which the storehouses of the Lord are kept filled with oil for his lamps.

The man Isaac, who possessed the gift of foreseeing the future and yet appeared contemptible on account of his frivolous behavior.

I must now speak a word or two of Isaac, a Syrian, who lived near the city of Spoleto. He had the gift of abstaining from food (that is, of fasting), and also the gifts of praying, of scorning worldly things, and of foreseeing the future. The words of Wisdom 8 [.8] are thus appropriate for him, for wisdom "knoweth things past, and judgeth of things to come." And yet although he was famous for his virtue, excellent and fine in all his qualities, he had a kind of frivolous manner, from which it was easy to believe that his whole character was frivolous. For he found it impossible to keep a serious face, and he laughed far too easily.⁹⁹ Also in my Order, the Order of St. Francis and the Friars Minor, I knew some highly learned and holy teachers, who unfortunately had a certain defect which made their character appear frivolous to other people. For they would play happily with a cat or a puppy or some little bird, but not as St. Francis did with the pheasant or cicada, rejoicing in the Lord.¹

Men display such frivolity for various reasons.

It is important to note that men display such frivolity for various reasons. Some do so because of their vain hearts, as we read in Jeremiah 2 [.5]: "they have walked after vanity, and are become vain" because [Psalms 77.33]: "their days were consumed in vanity, and their years in haste."

Second, some do so in order to dispel sadness. For as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 15 [.13]: "by grief of mind the Spirit is cast down," and again in chapter 12 [.25]: "Grief in the heart of a man shall bring him low, but with a good word he shall be made glad," and Proverbs 24 [.10]: "If thou lose hope being weary in the day of distress, thy strength shall be diminished." But hear the remedy in Proverbs 17 [.22]: "A joyful mind maketh age flourishing: a sorrowful spirit drieth up the bones," and also Ecclesiasticus 30 [.22-25]: "Give not up thy soul to sadness, and afflict not thyself in thy own counsel. The joyfulness of the heart, is the life of a man, and a never failing treasure of holiness: and the joy of a man is length of life . . . drive away sadness far from thee. For sadness hath killed many, and there is no profit in it." Thus the poet teaches:

Intermingle your cares with joys.²

Third, some men display levity of this kind by divine permission, as is made clear in this man Isaac, whom I just spoke of. And St. Gregory speaks in the third book of his *Dialogues* about this third reason:

"Thus although this man was richly endowed with the virtue of abstinence, scorn for worldly things, the spirit of prophecy, and the intensity of prayer, yet he seemed to have one defect: he was always so filled with excessive happiness that if one did not know that he was blessed with all these virtues, it would have been impossible to believe it." Peter: "What, I ask you, is this

state called? Did he loose the reins of his joy voluntarily, or was his spirit, which was so fortified by so many virtues, drawn back, even against his will, to joy in the present life?" Gregory: "Peter, great is the generosity of the Almighty God, and it generally happens that even as He gives to men the greater gift He withholds the lesser ones. He does this so that they may be made aware of their own weakness, so that they may be able to see that however much they strive for perfection they are unable to achieve their goal. Hence as a result of these fundamental flaws, those who can scarce overcome the petty weaknesses in themselves may not rejoice excessively in the qualities they have but may come to realize that those greater gifts which they have received come from beyond themselves. This was the case when God, having led his people to the promised land and having destroyed all their most powerful enemies, spared the Philistines and Canaanites for a long time, so that Israel might be tested through them. Therefore, as it is written, God, even as He bestows great gifts on men, invariably leaves in some small flaws, against which they must constantly be struggling. Thus does he prevent them from being puffed up with pride at their victory over mighty enemies, for they are still constantly being harassed by small ones. And so it happens that, in a wondrous way, a soul at one and the same time grows strong in virtue and weak in its defects, seeing itself strong on one hand but defective on the other. Yet insofar as it seeks to acquire that good which it lacks, it preserves the more humbly the good which it possesses. But what wonder if we say these things about mankind, when in the eternal cities the same phenomenon occurred: on the one hand they suffered injuries, and on the other they were established the more firmly. For the elect angels grew in strength and in humility by virtue of seeing the evil angels fall through pride. Even these flaws, therefore, were beneficial to the angelic beings, for through the fall of the evil angels they were established the more firmly in the eternal kingdom. This is a simile of the human soul which in its humility sometimes achieves its greatest advantage through a very great [or "very small"] defect." Peter: "What you say is very pleasing."³

Augustine's pronouncement addresses this same matter: "Instruct a man about the human condition, lest he be destroyed by the inevitable problems of life."⁴ Thus the Prophet says [Psalms 9A.21]: "that the Gentiles may know them to be but men," and also Ecclesiastes 1 [.8]: "All things are hard: man cannot explain them by word," and Ecclesiastes 7 [.24-25]: "I have tried all things in wisdom. I have said: I will be wise: and it departed farther from me, Much more than it was: it is a great depth, who shall find it out?" and Ecclesiastes 8 [.17]: "I understood that man can find no reason of all those works of God that are done under the sun: and the more he shall labour to seek, so much the less shall he find: yea, though the wise man shall say, that he knoweth it, he shall not be able to find it," and Wisdom 9 [.16]: "hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon

earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out?" and Ecclesiasticus 17 [.29]: "For all things cannot be in men."

With reference to this matter, note that God sometimes permits a flaw in a wretched and avaricious man on account of his just deserts. Thus Ecclesiastes 5 [.10] says: "And what doth it profit the owner, but that he seeth the riches with his eyes?" and Ecclesiastes 6 [.1-2]: "There is also another evil, which I have seen under the sun, and that frequent among men: A man to whom God hath given riches, and substance, and honour, and his soul wanteth nothing of all that he desireth: yet God doth not give him power to eat thereof, but a stranger shall eat it up. This is vanity and a great misery," and Ecclesiastes 2 [.26]: "God hath given to a man that is good in his sight, wisdom, and knowledge, and joy: but to the sinner he hath given vexation, and superfluous care, to heap up and to gather together, and to give it to him that hath pleased God: but this also is vanity, and a fruitless solicitude of the mind," and Ecclesiastes 2 [.18-21]:

I hated all my application wherewith I had earnestly laboured under the sun, being like to have an heir after me, Whom I know not whether he will be a wise man or a fool, and he shall have rule over all my labours with which I have laboured and been solicitous: and is there any thing so vain? Wherefore I left off and my heart renounced labouring any more under the sun. For when a man laboureth in wisdom, and knowledge, and carefulness, he leaveth what he hath gotten to an idle man: so this also is vanity, and a great evil.

I have seen this to the letter very frequently in my own days, for some men gather together riches, which they never use, and which are eventually wasted by those who come after them. And this is what Ecclesiasticus 14 [.15-16] says: "Shalt thou not leave to others to divide by lot thy sorrows and labours? Give and take, and justify thy soul."

The fourth and final reason is that some men consciously display such frivolity, so that, seeming to be fools, they might avoid the praise of other men and the vainglory which frequently arises out of such good works. Thus the Apostle says in I Corinthians 3 [.18-19]: "if any man among you seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God. For it is written: *I will catch the wise in their own craftiness.*" This is spoken of also in Job 5 [.13], and see also Isaiah 29 [.14]: "wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid."

The two men who made themselves appear to be fools in order to avoid the sin of vainglory.

Here are two stories which illustrate this subject. And the first is about a certain holy father who was so greatly renowned for his sanctity that a judge of the province, accompanied by his entire family, came to see him. And his disciples

said to him, "Please conduct yourself honorably, father, for the judge of this province wishes to see you." And he answered them, "God's blessing upon you, my sons, you have spoken well." Then he dressed himself in sackcloth and sat before the door of his cell, and all day, from the first to the sixth hour, he did nothing but eat bread and cheese like a little boy, and he would not rise to greet the judge who had come to see him. Thus when the judge saw him like this, he had scorn for him and left indignant, saying, "Is this that hermit about whom I've heard so many marvels? He seems more like a fool than a wise man to me." And when the disciples heard these things they blushed for shame and said to their father: "You have sinned, father, for you have set a bad example and made yourself appear to be a fool." And he answered them: "I acted in that way so that he would think me a fool and would never come to see me again."⁵

On another occasion a certain man of secular life besought a holy father whom he revered to come for the love of God to his home and pray for his son, who was sick. But after the holy man replied that he would come gladly, the young man preceded him into the city and gathered together his friends and neighbors, thinking to go out to meet the holy man on the way and thus honor him. But when the holy man saw them coming forth from the city, he blushed for shame and feared lest he be subject to vainglory. Therefore, he went alone into the roadway which lay near the river, and taking off all his clothes he began to wash them in the water. When the young man saw him, he was ashamed and he said to the people he was bringing with him, "Let us go back to the city, for the holy father I was taking you to see appears to be out of his mind." And so they returned. Later, the young man came to his cell and said, "Father, why did you make yourself look like a fool?" And he answered, "I did so consciously, that I might appear to be a fool, for your bringing with you a crowd of men might have caused me to become vainly proud. But, come, let us two go quietly to visit your son, for the Scripture says in Ecclesiasticus 7 [.39]: 'Be not slow to visit the sick: for by these things thou shalt be confirmed in love,' and again in Job 5 [.24]: 'visiting thy beauty thou shalt not sin.'" And when they arrived the holy man placed his hands on the boy and poured out prayers to God, and immediately the boy was restored to his earlier health, in accordance with the words in Mark, the last chapter [16.18]: "they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover." Also, take note that these two fathers fulfilled the teaching of the poet:

To act the fool at the proper time is the height of wisdom.⁶

David himself knew this to be true when he made himself appear to be a fool before Achis and his servants and by this precaution saved himself from the threat of death, I Kings 21 [.13-15].

The example of the prelate, which is used here to point up the fact that one should avoid frivolity as much as he is able.

Let us place here an example of a prelate, which may be used to teach others to avoid frivolity as far as they are able, and particularly to show that once a man has become a prelate he must completely set aside all his former frivolity. For there was a certain monk famous among his brothers for his frivolous manner, and for this very reason he was, upon the death of the abbot, elected to that position of authority by the brothers, who hoped thereby to gain a much more relaxed mode of life. When he took office, however, he applied the rules of the order quite stringently. Therefore, feeling the burden of this rule even more than before, the brothers came to the new abbot and said, "We elected you abbot, because we expected to be able to do just as we pleased under your rule, but you seem to be a completely different man. Pray, explain to us the reasons for this change in you." And he replied, "My sons, 'this is the change of the right hand of the most High' [Psalms 76.11]. 'God hath softened my heart, and the Almighty hath troubled me,' Job 23 [.16]. For before when I had only myself to worry about, I had to answer to God for my own soul alone, as is written in Romans 14 [.13]: 'Every one of us shall render account to God for himself.' Now, however, I am answerable to God for you as well as for myself, as it is written in Luke 16 [.2]: 'Give account of thy stewardship.' Besides, dearly beloved, these are the teachings of the Apostle in the last chapter of Hebrews [13.17]: 'Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls; that they may do this with joy, and not with grief. For this is not expedient for you.'"

The frivolity of a certain archbishop, which ought not to be imitated.

There are some men, however, who behave just as frivolously after their election as prelates as they had done before. Such a man was St. Lupus, archbishop of Siena, of whom it is written: "When he was harshly criticized by his whole court for his excessive love of his predecessor's daughter, a virgin dedicated to God, he brought her before his critics and hugged and kissed her, saying, 'the words of other men can do no harm to a man whose conscience is clear.' For it was because of her great love for God that he loved her in purity of spirit."⁷ Yet nonetheless it is written in Proverbs 26 [.11]: "As a dog that returneth to his vomit, so is the fool that repeateth his folly."

Furthermore, with regard to this matter it is good to do what St. Francis teaches. For he says, "It is good to put aside many things, lest opinion be harmed."⁸ See also Ecclesiasticus 37 [.31]: "For all things are not expedient for all, and every kind pleaseth not every soul." Thus too the Apostle says in I Corinthians 6 [.12]: "All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient," and later in the same book, chapter 10 [.23]: "All things are lawful for me, but all things do not edify," and in chapter 13 [.11]: "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood

as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away the things of a child."

I have frequently read in the Pontificale of Ravenna about a certain archbishop who had become so senile that he had reverted to childhood and always spoke in a childish manner. And so once when the Emperor Charlemagne was to come to Ravenna to dine with him, his clerks begged him to refrain from frivolity, and behave himself honorably in order to set a good example in the presence of the Emperor. Then he answered, "All right, my sons, I will do as you say." Later, as they sat at table, the archbishop patted Charlemagne familiarly on the shoulder and said, "Eat, eat, domine Imperator!"⁹ The Emperor asked those standing by what he was saying, and they answered, "In his childish way brought on by his great age, he is inviting you to eat." Then the Emperor smiled and embraced him, saying [John 1.47]: "'Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom there is no guile.'"

St. John the Evangelist was judged quite differently by the young man who saw him playing like a child with a little bird, as in the following story:

John had received the gift of a live partridge and was playfully stroking it, when he was seen by a young man, who laughingly said to his companions, "Look at the old man playing like a child with the bird." Understanding through the spirit the young man's scorn, John called him over and asked what he was carrying in his hands. The young man answered, "A bow." Then John asked, "What do you do with it?" And the young man replied, "We shoot birds and animals." When the Apostle asked, "How," the young man bent his bow and kept it bent. But when the Apostle said no more, he let the bow relax. Whereupon John said, "Why did you let your bow relax, my son?" "Because," the boy replied, "if I kept it bent too long, it would grow so weak that one could no longer shoot with it." The Apostle then replied, "In exactly the same way, human frailty grows too weak for contemplation if one keeps it continually under strain and fails to make concession to its weakness. For the eagle flies higher than all the other birds and sees the sun more clearly; yet compelled by nature it must descend to earth. Just so with the human soul. Having drawn back a little from contemplation, it is refreshed by this pause and climbs the heavens with renewed ardor."¹⁰

A similar example of an archer is recorded in the Life of St. Anthony.¹¹ Compare the verse:

The powerful bow is drawn taut that it might strike the more forcefully.¹²

But let us return to our proper material.

A prelate must lack three qualities: anger, avarice, and pride.

A suitable and competent prelate must, on the other hand, lack three qualities: anger, avarice, and pride.

The kind of anger which is prohibited.

It is important to note that friendship with an angry man is prohibited. How much the more so, then, power? Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.24-25]: "Be not a friend to an angry man, and do not walk with a furious man: Lest perhaps thou learn his ways, and take scandal to thy soul." There is good reason, certainly, why friendship with an angry man is prohibited, for Ecclesiasticus says in chapter 28 [.11]: "For a passionate man kindleth strife, and a sinful man will trouble his friends, and bring in debate in the midst of them that are at peace," and also Proverbs 15 [.18]: "A passionate man stirreth up strifes: he that is patient appeaseth those that are stirred up," and Proverbs 18 [.14]: "a spirit that is easily angered, who can bear?"

But someone may say, "I am irascible by nature and I cannot be otherwise, for God gave me such a constitution." But there is a manifold answer to this statement. First of all, the response that Jerome gives: "We read in David the Prophet that many men give what they hold to be just excuses for their sins [Psalms 140.4]: 'to make excuses in sins,' so that what they actually do wilfully appears to be done by necessity. The Lord, however, who knows the secrets of the soul, takes into account the thoughts of every heart."¹³

The second reason is that the Lord reproached Cain for his anger, saying in Genesis 4 [.6]: "Why art thou angry? and why is thy countenance fallen?" And he added a little later about the power of anger [Genesis 4.7]: "the lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it," and also Job 36 [.18]: "Therefore let not anger overcome thee to oppress any man: neither let multitude of gifts turn thee aside," and again [Psalms 36.8]: "Cease from anger, and leave rage; have no emulation to do evil," and Ecclesiastes 11 [.10]: "Remove anger from thy heart, and put away evil from thy flesh." Take note, then, that if man were not able to overcome his anger, God would not have forbidden it in so many passages. Thus St. James 1 [.19-20] says: "let every man be swift to hear, but slow to speak, and slow to anger. For the anger of man worketh not the justice of God," and the Wise Man in Proverbs 27 [.3-4]: "A stone is heavy, and sand weighty: but the anger of a fool is heavier than them both. Anger hath no mercy, nor fury when it breaketh forth: and who can bear the violence of one provoked?" and also earlier in Proverbs 12 [.16]: "A fool immediately sheweth his anger," where the gloss says: "The nature of anger is that, indulged, it grows more heated; kept within, it dies down."¹⁴ See also Proverbs 26 [.10]: "he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger." To impose silence on a fool is to avoid promoting him to a prelate's position, for as Ecclesiastes 10 [.5-7] says: "There is an evil that I have seen under the sun, as it were by an error proceeding from the face of the prince: A fool set in high dignity, and the rich sitting beneath. I have seen servants upon horses: and princes walking on the ground as servants." And we still see this done daily, for favoritism and self-serving love dole out high positions to men who are not worth three cents, save perhaps if they hold them in

their mouths, while at the same time fine, accomplished men are passed over altogether. And this is what the Wise Man in Ecclesiastes 9 [.11] forecast: "I saw that under the sun, the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to the learned, nor favour to the skilful: but time and chance in all."

The kind of anger which is permitted, as in the case of Moses, who is said to have been angry four times.

Those prelates who will never accept amends from their subordinates.

It is important to note that anger is permitted by the Psalmist [4.5] and the Apostle, as long as the sun does not go down on our anger. Thus the Apostle says in Ephesians 4 [.26]: "Be angry, and sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger." Therefore, that anger which comes from heaven and is useful to one's neighbor is permitted. Thus the Wise Man says in Ecclesiastes 7 [.4]: "Anger is better than laughter: because by the sadness of the countenance the mind of the offender is corrected." And the Lord is said to have been angry in Mark 3 [.5]: "And looking round about on them with anger, being grieved for the blindness of their hearts."

Moses, also, who "was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth," as is written in Numbers 12 [.3], is said to have been angry four times (as I pointed out in another chronicle). Moreover, we are not told that God was displeased with him for this anger, but rather that he was highly pleased.

The first time was when the children of Israel [Psalms 105.19-20]: "made ... a calf in Horeb: and they adored the graven thing. And they changed their glory into the likeness of a calf that eateth grass." Exodus 32 [.19]: "And when he came nigh to the camp, he saw the calf, and the dances: and being very angry, he threw the tables out of his hand, and broke them at the foot of the mount." Thus Moses was angry the first time because of the sin of idolatry.

The second time was over the neglect of divine worship, as in Leviticus 10 [.16-20]:

While these things were a doing, when Moses sought for the buck goat, that had been offered for sin, he found it burnt: and being angry with Eleazar and Ithamar, the sons of Aaron that were left, he said: Why did you not eat in the holy place the sacrifice for sin, which is most holy, and given to you, that you may bear the iniquity of the people, and may pray for them in the sight of the Lord, Especially whereas none of the blood thereof hath been carried within the holy places, and you ought to have eaten it in the sanctuary, as was commanded me? Aaron answered: This day hath been offered the victim for sin, and the holocaust before the Lord: and to me what thou seest has happened: how could I eat it, or please the Lord in the ceremonies, having a sorrowful heart? Which when Moses had heard he was satisfied.

Some prelates, however, are so proud, shameless, and accursed, "sons of Belial" [Deuteronomy 13.13] that they will never accept amends from their subordinates, but always seek to confound them and cry out against them, acting contrary to the Scripture in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.7-8]: "Before thou inquire, blame no man: and when thou hast inquired, reprove justly. Before thou hear, answer not a word: and interrupt not others in the midst of their discourse."

The third time Moses was angry was at the rebellion of Dathan, Abyron, and Chore, Numbers 16 [.15]: "Moses therefore being very angry, said to the Lord: Respect not their sacrifices: thou knowest that I have not taken of them so much as a young ass at any time, nor have injured any of them."

The fourth time was against the leaders who brought women back from war, Numbers 31 [.14-19]:

And Moses being angry with the chief officers of the army, the tribunes, and the centurions that were come from the battle, Said: Why have you saved the women? Are not these they, that deceived the children of Israel by the counsel of Balaam, and made you transgress against the Lord by the sin of Phogor, for which also the people was punished? Therefore kill all that are of the male sex, even of the children: and put to death the women, that have carnally known men. But the girls, and all the women that are virgins save for yourselves: And stay without the camp seven days.

About avarice, a sin which should keep a man from becoming a prelate, it is written: "Avarice is a detestable evil, a horrifying vice, the devil's net, an abominable slavery, the canker worm of every religion, the destroyer of every virtue."¹⁵ And again: "Avarice is the excessive love of possession."¹⁶ This sin, by all rights, ought to keep one out of a high position, for it keeps one out of the kingdom of God. Thus the Apostle says in Ephesians 5 [.5]: "For know you this and understand, that no fornicator, or unclean, or covetous person (which is a serving of idols), hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God," and in I Timothy 6 [.10]: "For the desire of money is the root of all evils: which some coveting have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows." See also Ecclesiastes 5 [.9]: "A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money: and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.9-10]: "nothing is more wicked than the covetous man. Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than to love money: for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale: because while he liveth he hath cast away his bowels," and Habacuc 2 [.9-11]: "Woe to him that gathereth together an evil covetousness to his house, that his nest may be on high, and thinketh he may be delivered out of the hand of evil. Thou hast devised confusion to thy house, thou hast cut off many people, and thy soul hath sinned. For the stone shall cry out of the wall: and the timber that is between the joints of the building, shall answer," and Proverbs 28 [.16]: "he that hateth covetousness, shall prolong his days." Rightly, therefore, a man who is afflicted by this accursed sin ought not

to be made a prelate. And this is what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 29 [.4]: "A just king setteth up the land: a covetous man shall destroy it." Also Proverbs 15 [.27]: "He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house: but he that hateth bribes shall live," and Ecclesiasticus 14 [.3-4]: "Riches are not comely for a covetous man and a niggard, and what should an envious man do with gold? He that gathereth together by wronging his own soul, gathereth for others, and another will squander away his goods in rioting." And we see this frequently fulfilled to the letter, because a prelate amasses great riches, and "God hath" not "given him power to eat thereof" [Ecclesiastes 5.18], but then another comes along and wastes all his substance, as is also recorded in Ecclesiastes 6 [.2].

An apostate man is useless to God, to himself, and to his neighbor.

About pride, which ought to keep a man from becoming a prelate, it is written, Tobias 4 [.14]: "Never suffer pride to reign in thy mind, or in thy words: for from it all perdition took its beginning," and also Ecclesiasticus 1 [.14-15]: "The beginning of the pride of man, is to fall off from God: Because his heart is departed from him that made him: for pride is the beginning of all sin." Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 6 [.12]: "A man that is an apostate, an unprofitable man." Useless indeed, because he is useless to God, to himself, and to his neighbor. Useless to God, because [Deuteronomy 32.15]: "he forsook God who made him, and departed from God his saviour." And thus it is said to him in Deuteronomy 32 [.18]: "Thou hast forsaken the God that begot thee, and hast forgotten the Lord that created thee." Useless to himself, because as Ecclesiasticus 10 [.32] says: "Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own soul?" Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 9 [.12]: "If thou be wise, thou shalt be so to thyself: and if a scorner, thou alone shalt bear the evil." Useless to his neighbor, for he scandalizes him through his bad example. Thus Ecclesiasticus 19 [.3] says: "he shall be lifted up for a greater example, and his soul shall be taken away out of the number," and also Job 11 [.12]: "A vain man is lifted up into pride, and thinketh himself born free like a wild ass's colt," and Habacuc 2 [.5]: "And as wine deceiveth him that drinketh it: so shall the proud man be, and he shall not be honoured," and Proverbs 21 [.24]: "The proud and the arrogant is called ignorant, who in anger worketh pride," and Proverbs 29 [.22-23]: "A passionate man provoketh quarrels: and he that is easily stirred up to wrath, shall be more prone," that is, more inclined, "to sin. Humiliation followeth the proud: and glory shall uphold the humble of spirit." See also Isaiah 16 [.6]: "We have heard the pride of Moab, he is exceeding proud: his pride and his arrogancy, and his indignation is more than his strength." Thus the Lord complains about the proud man in Isaiah 37 [.29]: "When thou wast mad against me, thy pride came up to my ears," and also in Abdiah 1 [.3-4]: "The pride of thy heart hath lifted thee up, who dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, and settest up thy throne on high: who sayest in thy heart: Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou be exalted as an eagle, and though thou set

thy nest among the stars: thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord," and in Job 20 [.6-9]: "If his pride mount up even to heaven, and his head touch the clouds: In the end he shall be destroyed like a dunghill, and they that had seen him, shall say: Where is he? As a dream that fleeth away he shall not be found, he shall pass as a vision of the night: The eyes that had seen him, shall see him no more, neither shall his place any more behold him."

The proud man ought to be confounded for two reasons.

This shall rightly happen to him for two reasons. First as Ecclesiasticus 10 [.15] says: "Because his heart is departed from him that made him." Second, because he oppresses his subordinates, acting against the teaching in Ecclesiasticus 4 [.35]: "Be not as a lion in thy house, terrifying them of thy household, and oppressing them that are under thee." And because he did not obey this command, the words of Isaiah 14 [.20] are directed to him: "for thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people."

A prelate ought to recognize his own insufficiency and amend himself.

Although his subordinates say to him [Luke 23.39] "save thyself and us," a prelate may recognize his own inability to do so, since he is "not used to it" [I Kings 17.39]. When, therefore, the wretched prelate realizes his own inadequacy on account of the sins mentioned above, he should either lay down the arms of Saul (that is, anger, avarice, and pride), or he should reflect on his office, as in Canticles 1 [.5]: "they have made me the keeper in the vineyards: my vineyard I have not kept." How shall a man who has not taken care of his own vine take care of another's? And how can a man who is negligent of his affairs take care of the affairs of others? Thus Ecclesiasticus 14 [.5] says: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?" and also the Apostle in I Timothy 3 [.5]: "But if a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the church of God?" But a wretched and inadequate prelate cannot recognize this, because it is written [Psalms 91.7]: "The senseless man shall not know: nor will the fool understand these things," and also, Proverbs 21 [.2]: "Every way of a man seemeth right to himself," and again in the same chapter [.8]: "The perverse way of a man is strange: but as for him that is pure, his work is right," and Proverbs 16 [.25]: "There is a way that seemeth to a man right: and the ends thereof lead to death."

Yet because subordinates cannot completely do without a prelate (as the Wise Man witnesses in Proverbs 11 [.14]: "Where there is no governor, the people shall fall"), let him be chosen prelate who has the qualities specified by St. Gregory: "Let the man rich in virtues, unwilling and reluctant, take the office of the care of souls."¹⁷ See also Augustine: "The man who will not take upon himself the care of subordinates, in order to raise up the seed of his brother to Christ, must suffer the humiliation of being deprived of his shoe."¹⁸

How a prelate ought to behave himself toward his subordinates, and vice versa.

When, therefore, a good prelate has good subordinates, they ought to love and honor each other mutually, as the Scripture teaches. For Ecclesiasticus 7 [.24] says of the proper attitude of a prelate toward his subordinates: "Hast thou cattle? have an eye to them: and if they be for thy profit, keep them with thee," and also Proverbs 27 [.23-24]: "Be diligent to know the countenance of thy cattle, and consider thy own flocks: For thou shalt not always have power: but a crown shall be given to generation and generation," and Ecclesiasticus 32 [.1-3]: "Have they made thee ruler? be not lifted up: be among them as one of them. Have care of them, and so sit down, and when thou hast acquitted thyself of all thy charge, take thy place: That thou mayst rejoice for them, and receive a crown as an ornament of grace, and get the honour of the contribution," and Judith 8 [.21]: "And now, brethren, as you are the ancients among the people of God, and their very soul resteth upon you: comfort their hearts by your speech, that they may be mindful how our fathers were tempted that they might be proved, whether they worshipped their God truly." and I Peter 5 [.1-4]:

The ancients therefore that are among you, I beseech, who am myself also an ancient, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ: as also a partaker of that glory which is to be revealed in time to come: Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily: Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory.

Thus the Apostle Paul writes in Acts 20 [.17-18]: "And sending from Miletus to Ephesus, he called the ancients of the church. And when they were come to him and were together, he said to them," etc. [Acts 20.28-32]:

Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops, to rule the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood. I know that, after my departure, ravening wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock. And of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. Therefore watch, keeping in memory, that for three years I ceased not, with tears to admonish every one of you night and day. And now I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, who is able to build up, and to give an inheritance among all the sanctified.

See also III John [1.4], the voice of a prelate to his subordinates: "I have no greater grace than this, to hear that my children walk in truth." Also I Thessalonians 5 [.12-13] teaches that subordinates should behave themselves properly toward prelates: "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them who labour among you,

and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you: That you esteem them more abundantly in charity, for their work's sake. Have peace with them," and also the last chapter of Hebrews [13.17-18]: "Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls; that they may do this with joy, and not with grief. For this is not expedient for you. Pray for us."

The prelates chosen by God are better than those elected by men.

It is important to note that prelates chosen by God are better than those elected by men, as was made clear by the example of St. Ambrose, St. Nicholas, and many others, who were divinely chosen. This was seen also in St. Severus, archbishop of Ravenna, who was chosen through a dove, like many other bishops of Ravenna. The Lord appears to have spoken of such men in Jeremiah 3 [.15]: "And I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine," and in Jeremiah 6 [.3]: "every one shall feed them that are under his hand." Therefore, it is clear that those prelates given by God are better than those chosen by men, as the Apostles said to the Lord when they chose Matthias as an apostle, Acts 1 [.24]: "Thou, Lord, who knowest the hearts of all men, shew whether of these two thou hast chosen." Indeed, if it comes about that subordinates must choose a prelate, let them choose according to the rule laid down by St. Bernard: "Such men are to be chosen who will be like John to the kings, like Moses to the Egyptians, like Phineas to the fornicators, like Elijah to the idolators, like Elisha to the avaricious, like Peter to the liars, like Paul to the blasphemers, like Christ to the merchants in the temple."¹⁹

Prelates ought to be changed frequently for three reasons.

We said above that the preservation of religious orders requires the frequent and appropriate change of prelates. This is true for three reasons.

This is true, first of all, with respect to prelates themselves, because when they remain long in power, they grow far too insolent, that is, in their pride, they begin to act foolishly, as is made clear in Saul, of whom it is written in I Kings 13 [.1]: "Saul was a child of one year when he began to reign," that is, like a little one-year-old,²⁰ because he was humble in the beginning of his reign, insofar as when he was sought to be made king, "he is hidden at home," [I Kings 10.22]. Afterward, Samuel said to him in I Kings 15 [.17]: "When thou wast a little one in thy own eyes, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel? And the Lord anointed thee to be king over Israel." See how his humility exalted him. Afterward, however, when he sought to hold the kingdom by violence, Samuel said to him, I Kings 15 [.26]: "The Lord hath rejected thee from being king over Israel," and a little later [.28]: "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to thy neighbour who is better than thee." It is written in chapter 13 [.1]: "he reigned two years over Israel," that is, he ruled the people justly. In the remaining years of his reign, he was a tyrant, not a king. A tyrant is a man who violently dominates his people.

This is true in the second place with respect to the subordinates, because it is a great consolation to subordinates when a bad prelate is removed from office. Thus the Lord himself promises subordinates in Isaiah 10 [.27]: "in that day, his burden shall be taken away from off thy shoulder, and his yoke from off thy neck, and the yoke shall putrify at the presence of the oil."

The third reason also has to do with the prelates themselves, because if they are good, it is fitting that their goodness should not be harmful to them. Thus it is a great consolation to them (or ought to be) when [Psalms 65.12]: they are not "set" over men's "heads," and when they are separated from evil subordinates, just as St. Benedict separated himself from those subordinates who tried to poison him.²¹ Then, any good prelate who is separated from evil subordinates can say with Jacob, Genesis 30 [.30]: "It is reasonable therefore that I should now provide also for my own house."

Tiberius, who rarely changed governors.

If someone were to cite in opposition the example of Tiberius, who rarely changed governors, we could respond best by giving our own example. But first let us look at the example of Tiberius:

Josephus relates that the Emperor Tiberius was sluggish in all business of state. Thus when he had placed governors in the provinces, he almost never changed them. And when he was questioned why this was so, he answered that he did it in order to spare the people. For those governors who know their term to be short squeeze the life out of their subjects, and the shorter their term the harsher their rule. And those who come after them waste whatever they find. Tiberius bolstered this opinion by the example of a wounded man lying by the wayside who would not brush the flies away from his wounds. But a man passing by thought that he did not do so because of delirium, and so he brushed the flies away himself. But the wounded man said to him, "You have done me great harm, because the flies you brushed away were filled with blood and therefore hardly bothered me, but the ones that come after sting me all the more sharply." Thus recently empowered governors and officials act the more savagely toward their subordinates.²²

With respect to this example we say that Tiberius did well in changing governors so rarely, because it is indeed true that newly empowered governors, aware that they will soon be removed from power, empty the pockets of their subordinates and extort whatever they can, because they know their time to be short and later they will not be able to enjoy the fruits of office. Far otherwise it is, however, with those who have a conscience and keep God before their eyes. For in our days we see in the cities of Italy that the captains and podestà are changed twice a year, and yet they rule justly and well. For on first accepting their position, they swear to uphold the laws instituted by the wise citizens of the city. Moreover, they bring judges and wise men with them, who are governed by the

law of the elders, by whose counsel they do all things. For just as [Ecclesiastes 1.15]: "the number of fools is infinite," so [Wisdom 6.26]: "the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the whole world." Therefore, if men of secular life rule the cities well for short periods of time, how much the more so should those of religious life, who have the rule and the laws of the elders, as well as their own conscience and God before their eyes.

The frequent change of prelates preserves the religious order and provides consolation for subordinates.

And so for all the above reasons the preservation of religious orders is dependent on the frequent change of prelates. Enough has been said on this point; let us turn to other matters. And this entire work, which pertains to Brother Elias, should be called the "Book of the Prelate," for in it we have written not only of the faults of Brother Elias and evil prelates in general but also of the proper qualities of good prelates. For opposites placed side by side illuminate each other. Thus the poet writes:

Every good is known through its opposite:
 Fortune is not sweet without its bitter, nor white
 Without its black, just as every mountain must have its valley.²³

Thus Jerome writes: "Vice cannot be known, save by comparison with virtue."²⁴

Elias' Excessive mode of living.

The seventh fault of Brother Elias was that he wanted to live too luxuriously amid pomp and splendor. He would rarely go anywhere, save to see Pope Gregory IX or the Emperor Frederick, whose close friend he was. The only other places he would go to visit were St. Mary of Portiuncula, where St. Francis started the Order of the Friars Minor and also where he died; to the convent at Assisi, where the body of St. Francis is kept in veneration; and to Cella di Cortona, where he had had built a very beautiful and delightful residence in the bishopric of Arezzo. And Brother Elias kept strong well-fed horses, and he always rode wherever he went, even if he were travelling just half a mile from one church to another.²⁵ And in so doing he broke the Rule, which says that the Friars Minor "ought not to ride horseback, save when forced by clear necessity or infirmity."²⁶ Also, like a bishop, he kept young servants, secular boys dressed in multicolored clothing, to wait on and minister to him. Moreover, he rarely ate in the convent with the other Brothers, but always alone in his own room, in agreement with the words of the miser in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.19]: "I have found me rest, and now I will eat of my goods alone." And this, I believe, was the height of boorishness, because

Whatever one may own,
 He cannot enjoy it alone.²⁷

He also had his own personal cook in the convent at Assisi, who prepared him

the most elegant kinds of food. This man's name was Brother Bartholomew, and I saw him and knew him well. Up until the time that Elias died, Brother Bartholomew stayed inseparably with him, and so did all the other members of his household. For Elias had a special retinue of twelve or fourteen Brothers, whom he kept with him at Cella di Cortona, and none of them ever stopped wearing the friar's habit. Yet after the death of that bad pastor (rather, seducer), they all returned to the Order, recognizing that they had been deceived. Also, Elias had in his company a certain man named John, a lay Brother, who was called *de Laudibus*. And this John was harsh and brutal, a bully employed by Elias to inflict punishments on the Brothers without mercy, in fulfillment of the Scripture in Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2]: "As the judge of the people is himself, so also are his ministers: and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein."

The political maneuvers Brother Elias employed in his attempt to retain the rule of the Order.

The eighth fault of Brother Elias was that he attempted to retain rule over the Order by violence. In order to do this, he made use of many political maneuvers. First of all, he changed Ministers frequently, so that they could not become firmly enough ensconced to rise up against him. Second, he put only men he considered friends in the post of Minister. Third, he held no general chapters, save limited ones, that is those restricted wholly to Italy.²⁸ For he did not summon the Ministers from beyond the Alps for fear that they would depose him. But when it pleased God, from whom all good comes, he was deposed by a group from both sides of the mountains, in agreement with the words of Jeremiah in Lamentations 1 [.19]: "I called for my friends, but they deceived me." It was Brother Arnulf the Englishman who labored most strenuously to bring this General Chapter of all the Ministers together for the deposition of Brother Elias.²⁹ Now, Brother Arnulf was a holy and learned man, an enthusiastic promoter of the Order; and he was at that time penitentiary in the court of Pope Gregory IX.

Constitutions for the Order of the Friars Minor were written for the first time after the deposition of Brother Elias.

The ninth fault of Brother Elias was that when he learned that the Ministers were gathering together against him, he sent commands throughout the whole of Italy to all the strong lay brothers that he considered friends. He instructed them to be sure to attend the General Chapter meeting, for he hoped that they would defend him with their staffs. Having learned that, however, Brother Arnulf brought it about, with Pope Gregory's consent, that only those Brothers that the Rule specified should attend the General Chapter,³⁰ though they might bring with them suitable and proper companions. He also had the orders which Elias sent to the lay brothers annulled. The Pope himself attended the Chapter and he heard the voices of the Brothers calling out for the deposition of Elias as Minister General and for the election of his successor, Brother Albert of Pisa.³¹ Also at that Chapter a large number of constitutions were written,³² although they were

not organized until later under the Minister Generalate of Brother Bonaventure,³³ at which time they were codified by Bonaventure, although he added very few of his own, save that he did indeed change the penalties in certain instances. In that same year also after the Chapter had ended, there occurred a total eclipse of the sun, as I saw with my own eyes, but which I will discuss in its proper place.

While Brother Elias was still Minister General but when he had already become aware that the General Chapter of the Order was on the verge of condemning him, he sent a message to the various convents of the Brothers ordering the reading after the *Pretiosa* of that particular psalm which begins "You who reign in Israel, listen" [79.2]. He did this because that Psalm appeared to speak about the Order through the metaphor of the vine [.9-12]: "Thou hast brought a vineyard out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the Gentiles and planted it. Thou wast the guide of its journey in its sight: thou plantedst the roots thereof, and it filled the land. The shadow of it covered the hills: and the branches thereof the cedars of God. It stretched forth its branches unto the sea, and its boughs unto the river." In short, the entire psalm appears to pertain to the Order of the Blessed Francis, and it, in fact, contains as many verses as the number of years that St. Francis lived in the Order, that is to say, twenty. And that verse which reads [.14]: "The boar out of the wood hath laid it waste: and a singular wild beast hath devoured it," is known without doubt to pertain to that evil Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, that is to say, to Elias, who brought untold harm on the Order. And it is worthy of note that there has never been an evil Minister General of the Order except him. But Elias was disappointed in his expectations, because he expected like the Popes, to hold his position for life. That verse of the psalm, however, that reads [.18]: "Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand: and upon the son of man whom thou hast confirmed for thyself," refers to the good Minister General, that is to say, all the Ministers General except Elias.

Therefore, we repeated the aforesaid psalm for an entire month in those days before the meeting of the General Chapter, which I have never seen done before or since. And if this had been done before any other General Chapter, I would not have thought it strange, and particularly if it had been done after the death of a Minister General. For after that psalm and the *Gloria patri* and the *Sicut erat* would normally have been sung the Antiphon, "Oh weep, you host of little ones," and the verse, "Pray for us, Blessed Francis," and the prayer, "God, who your church of the Blessed Francis." In those times, however, when the Minister General is still living, let the verse be [Psalms 79. 18]: "Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand," and the Response [Psalms 79.18]: "and upon the son of man whom thou has confirmed for thyself." "Lord, hear my prayer. The Lord be with you." Let us pray. "Almighty and eternal God, have mercy on your servant and our minister," etc. "Honor, O Lord, we beseech, the prayers of thy people with the mercy of heaven, and give them the power to see what they ought to do and the strength to fulfill what they see, through Christ our Lord."

Pope Gregory IX excommunicated Brother Elias because he joined company with the excommunicated Emperor Frederick.

The tenth fault of Brother Elias was that after his deposition, he did not conduct himself with humility but rather attached himself wholly to the Emperor Frederick, who had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX.³⁴ And while living at the Imperial court, Brother Elias accompanied the Emperor on horseback, although he continued to wear the robes of the Order (as did all the other members of his retinue), an act which scandalized the Pope, the Church, and his own Order. And all this in spite of the fact that the Emperor was excommunicate. And even during the siege of Faenza and Ravenna, this wretch remained with the Imperial army, giving the Emperor advice and support. Yet this action of his set a very poor example for the country people and men of secular life, so that he appeared to fulfill Ecclesiasticus 19 [.3]: "he shall be lifted up for a greater example, and his soul shall be taken away out of the number." For whenever the country people and children met a friar making his way through Tuscany, they sang the following song, which I have heard a hundred times:

There he goes, Old Brother Elias,
Not too good and not too pious.³⁵

Whenever good friars heard this taunt, they were, of course, mortified and deeply offended. For in this they saw the fulfillment of the words of the Lord in Matthew 5 [.13]: "You are the salt of the earth. But if the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is good for nothing any more but to be cast out, and to be trodden on by men." It was reasons such as these that provoked Pope Gregory to excommunicate Elias.

The eleventh fault of Brother Elias was that he had the evil reputation of being an alchemist. And indeed whenever Elias heard that there were some Brothers in the Order who in their secular lives had known something about that art, he sent for them and kept them with him in the palace that Gregory had built. For Pope Gregory had had a magnificent palace built for the Friars Minor of Assisi, not only to honor St. Francis but also for himself to live in whenever he came to Assisi. And in that palace there were a large number of rooms and separate compartments in which Elias lodged not only those men just mentioned but also many others like them, and this is as if he were to "consult Phytonissa" [I Kings 28.7]. This is the accusation against him. Let him look to it!

Brother Elias sought to excuse his own faults by slandering the Order.

The twelfth fault of Brother Elias was that, even after his deposition and his sojourn with the Emperor, he sought to establish his innocence and to prove the injustice of the Order in deposing him. For once he arrived at a convent of the Friars Minor just as the Brothers had gathered together for a chapter meeting, and he began to speak to them, saying: "For the fear which I feared, hath come

upon me: and that which I was afraid of, hath befallen me. Have I not dissembled? Have I not kept silence? Have I not been quiet? And indignation is come upon me,'” Job 3 [.25–26]. After these words, he continued with his own version of things, always praising himself and condemning the Order. Yet he was soon answered point by point, because “The heart of a wise man understandeth time and answer,” Ecclesiastes 8 [.5]. And the man who opposed him spoke these words: “‘That which the wicked feareth, shall come upon him: to the just their desire shall be given,’ Proverbs 10 [.24]. But you did not dissemble, you did not keep silence, you did not keep quiet; rather, you have railed against your Order, you have defamed your own character, you have set a bad example before the people, you have shaken the whole world. Therefore, rightly [Job 3.26]: ‘indignation is come upon’ you. For you have done many evils, Job 22 [.10–11]: ‘Therefore art thou surrounded with snares, and sudden fear troubleth thee. And didst thou think that thou shouldst not see darkness, and that thou shouldst not be covered with the violence of overflowing waters?’ And so you should have known that we would in no way accept your excuse, for it is written, Ecclesiasticus 32 [.21]: ‘A sinful man will flee reproof, and will find an excuse according to his will.’ Yet, you wretch, you make excuses for yourself when you should acknowledge your guilt, because the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 20 [.4]: ‘How good is it, when thou art reprov’d, to shew repentance! for so thou shalt escape wilful sin.’ Moreover, you have abandoned your Order and even taken up with the excommunicated Emperor, although the Lord says in Luke 9 [.62]: ‘No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God.’ And so it is that the Apostle writes in Philippians 3 [.13–14]: ‘But one thing I do: forgetting the things that are behind, and stretching forth myself to those that are before, I press towards the mark, to the prize of the supernal vocation of God in Christ Jesus.’” When Elias heard these things, he answered, “Ah, I see that you are no friend of mine,” and the Brother answered, saying, “Truly, I am not your friend, because the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 20 [.17]: ‘A fool shall have no friend, and there shall be no thanks for his good deeds.’” Elias then answered, “Are you not afraid to say such things?” And the Brother answered, “No, because I am speaking for the honor of God and my Order. Moreover, the Wise Man says in Proverbs 29 [.25]: ‘He that feareth man, shall quickly fall: he that trusteth in the Lord, shall be set on high,’ and also Isaiah 51 [.12]: ‘who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a mortal man, and of the son of man, who shall wither away like grass?’ In fact, you wretch, does the Wise Man not say in Proverbs 16 [.19]: ‘It is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud?’” When Elias heard these things, he was abashed and he departed in confusion, not knowing how he could reasonably respond. As he was departing, however, the Brother said to him, II Kings 16 [.7–8]: “‘Come out, come out, thou man of blood, and thou man of Belial! The Lord hath repaid thee’ for your evil, ‘and behold thy evils press upon thee, because thou art a man of blood’ and a man of Belial.” Elias then turned to him and asked, “Who received you into the Order?” And the Brother answered,

"Not you, not you who have thrust aside your religion and become a vagabond in the world, so that the country people sing about you:

There he goes, Old Brother Elias,
Not too good and not too pious.

Go your way, therefore, Brother fly,³⁶ and bear in mind what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 14 [.32]: 'The wicked man shall be driven out in his wickedness: but the just hath hope in his death.' God willing, I shall be like that just man, because [Psalms 131.14]: 'This is my rest for ever and ever: here will I dwell, for I have chosen it.' The Scripture says about you, however, in Ecclesiasticus 13 [.22]: 'What fellowship hath a holy man with a dog,' Certainly none, because it is written of the holy man [Psalms 21.4]: 'But thou dwellest in the holy place, the praise of Israel.' Of dogs, however, it is written in the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.15]: 'Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and unchaste, and murderers, and servers of idols, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie.'" Hearing these things, Elias said no more, but withdrew in confusion. I received this whole account from the very man who confronted Elias so confidently, Brother Bonaventure of Forlì.

Brother Elias never sought to be reconciled to the Order.

The thirteenth fault of Brother Elias was that he never sought to be reconciled to his Order, but persisted in his obstinacy until the day he died. Brother John of Parma, however, sent Gerard of Modena to speak with him, for Gerard was one of the early Brothers of the Order and knew Elias well.³⁷ But when Gerard besought him for the love of God and of St. Francis to return to the Order, not only for the welfare of his soul but also for the good example this would set for others, he answered, "Because of the great good I have heard of the venerable John of Parma, I would not fear to throw myself at his feet and confess my sin, feeling fully confident of his mercy. But I am concerned that the Provincial Ministers whom I have offended might make sport of me, put me in chains, thrust me in prison, and give me [Isaiah 30.20] 'spare bread, and short water.' Furthermore, since I also offended the Papal Court, I am afraid that the Cardinal-Protector of the Order will take it upon himself to lay penances on me. Besides, I do not want to lose the Emperor's favor." Thus did Brother Gerard of Modena spend the entire day in Cella di Cortona talking with Elias and doing his best to persuade him and his entire retinue to return to the Order and submit to its rule, according to the words of Proverbs 21 [.12]: "The just considereth seriously the house of the wicked, that he may withdraw the wicked from evil," and also the last chapter of James [5.19-20]: "My brethren, if any of you err from the truth, and one convert him: He must know that he who causeth a sinner to be converted from the error of his way, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins." Yet Brother Gerard labored in vain, for Elias would not yield for the reasons we have just given, so that the words of the Scripture [Psalms 108.18] might be fulfilled: "he would not have blessing, and it shall be far from

him," and the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.11]: "He that hurteth, let him hurt still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." Furthermore, Brother Gerard spent the whole of the following night without sleep, because, as he reported later, it seemed to him that demons were swarming throughout the whole place like bats. He even heard their cries, and, Job 4 [.14, 15], "fear seized upon" him, "and trembling," and "the hair of" his "flesh stood up," and all his "bones were affrighted." As soon as morning came, Gerard bade farewell and left that place in haste with his companion, and he reported everything that he had seen and heard to the Minister General.

Finally, Brother Elias died. Earlier, he had been excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX, and whether or not he was ever reconciled to the Church and had put his soul in order, he now knows.³⁸ Let him see to it! For as I Timothy 2 [.4] says, God "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth," though it is also written that "he saveth not the wicked," Job 36 [.6]. For there are some men who will not persevere in the good life, although in the end they hope to reconcile themselves to God, and in this they are deceived, as the Apostle says in Romans 1 [.28]: "as they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense, to do those things which are not convenient." That is to say, they despair. Thus Bede writes, "When a man will not do well while he can, his punishment is that he cannot when he will."³⁹ Therefore, the Lord says in Deuteronomy 32 [.20]: "I will hide my face from them, and will consider what their last end shall be," and also in Jeremiah 18 [.17]: "I will shew them the back, and not the face, in the day of their destruction," and not without reason, for they did the same to me,⁴⁰ as recorded in Jeremiah 2 [.27]: "they have turned their back to me, and not their face." But he acts differently toward the just, as written in Tobias 2 [.18]: "we are the children of saints, and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith from him."

Furthermore, some time later, since "There is a time and opportunity for every business," as Ecclesiastes 8 [.6] says, a certain custodian had the body of Brother Elias dug up and thrown on a dungheap, as was done to Joakim, the son of Josiah, king of Juda, as recorded in Jeremiah 2 [.19]: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, rotten and cast forth without the gates of Jerusalem."

If anyone were to ask what Elias looked like in physical appearance, I can say that he looked almost exactly like Hugo of Reggio, who was called Hugo Paucapalea. In secular life, Hugo was a teacher of grammar, a great trickster, a fine orator; and after becoming a Friar Minor, he was an excellent and splendid preacher. Moreover, he attacked the enemies of the Order, refuting and overwhelming them with his preaching and examples. One such enemy was Master Guido Bonatti of Forlì,⁴¹ a self-styled philosopher and astrologer, who attacked the preaching of both the Minors and the Preachers. Once, Brother Hugo defeated him so roundly before the entire populace of Forlì that thereafter whenever Brother Hugo was in the area, he didn't dare to open his mouth or show his face. Brother

Hugo's rare gift of eloquence delighted the people, because he had a huge stock of proverbs, anecdotes, and examples, which he recounted with flair, invariably making a sound moral point. The Ministers and prelates of the Order, however, did not like him, because he was accustomed to speak in parables, and overwhelmed them too with his proverbs and examples. Yet they were of no moment to him whatsoever, for he was a man of excellent life.

But enough of Brother Elias. Because it was our intention to write an account of the Ministers General of the Order of St. Francis at the proper time, and because the life of Elias contained so much historical material, I decided to deal with him first, so that once having finished with him I could feel freer to complete the history I had undertaken. Brother Elias received me into the Order in the year of the Lord 1238, Indiction 11. Let us turn now to the following year.

Explicit the Book of the Prelate
which contains many useful
things about good and evil prelates.

The Great Eclipse of the sun.

In this year of 1239 the following events took place: the Emperor Frederick was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX; the French were defeated in the Holy Land; Brother Elias, the Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, was deposed, and Brother Albert of Pisa was installed in his place.⁴² And in this year a total eclipse took place, during which the sun was obscured, to the dread and terror of all, and the stars appeared in the darkened sky, as I myself, Brother Salimbene of Parma, saw with my own eyes, at the time that I was living in the Tuscan city of Lucca. And at that time I had been in the Order of the Brothers Minor for one year and as much more as from the Feast of the Purification⁴³ to the day of the eclipse, which took place on Friday, June 3, in the ninth hour. And on this day which seemed like the deepest night, men and women went about sadly in the grip of panic and fear. And such was their fright that they hastened to confession and did penance for their sins. And enemies were reconciled with enemies. Moreover, the podestà of Lucca at that time, Lord Manfred de Cornazano of Parma, took the cross of the Lord in his own hands and went in procession throughout the city of Lucca, accompanied by Friars Minor, clerks, and men of other religious orders, and he himself preached the Passion of Christ and brought about peace between those who were at odds with one another. I saw these things with my own eyes because I was there, and so was my brother, Brother Guido de Adam, and also Brother Giles Fasso of Parma. At that time Lord Dommafoll de Mijano and Lord Jacopo de Maluso, my mother's cousin, were the lawyers in the entourage of Manfred, the podestà of Lucca. This Lord Manfred, along with his wife, Auda (sister of Lord Bertolo Taverneri), was an outstanding benefactor of the Friars Minor. I saw these good works with my own eyes when I was in the convent of the Friars Minor at Medesano, where there were also many

other noble knights and ladies who likewise bestowed many gifts on the Friars Minor. May the Lord grant them the reward of the just.

The deeds of the Emperor Frederick II.

In that same year during the months of July, August, and September, the Emperor Frederick besieged the castles of Piumazzo and Crevalcore with troops from Parma, Modena, and two hundred knights from Reggio and a thousand foot soldiers. And both these castles, which belonged to Bologna, were destroyed. Hence the proverb in the idiom of chess: "Checked by Vignola, they captured Piumazzo." Yet while the Emperor was still engaged in the siege of these castles with his allies, the Bolognese burned down Borgo San Pietro up to the very gate of St. Peter which leads into Modena. And in the same year at Vignola, the armies of Modena and Parma defeated the Bolognese, many of whom were drowned in the river and many others taken captive. Moreover, certain princes and barons of the March of Treviso, the most prominent of whom was Marquis Azzo d'Este⁴⁴ with his forces, as well as the men of the city of Treviso, rose up in revolt.

In the year 1240 Albert of Pisa, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, died, and Brother Haymo of England⁴⁵ was appointed in his place, since Brother Elias had bolted the Order and joined the Emperor Frederick. And in the same year, on the sixteenth of January, the river Po froze over so firmly that people, on foot or horseback, could cross it freely.

The siege of Ferrara, which has always been known as a supporter of Pope and Church.

In that same year Ferrara was besieged in the months of February, March, and April by Marquis Azzo d'Este; by Gregory of Monte Longo,⁴⁶ Papal Legate in Lombardy; and by the Duke of Venice, all three of whom gathered there with a huge army. And at that time Lord Raymond de Sesso was podestà of Ferrara. The men of Ferrara surrendered their city and the person of Lord Salinguerra⁴⁷ himself to the aforementioned leaders—Gregory of Monte Longo, the Marquis d'Este, and the Duke of Venice. And Lord Salinguerra was sent to Venice in captivity, along with other noble men who had supported him, where he remained until his death and where he lies buried. A great and powerful man, renowned for his wisdom, he governed Ferrara extremely well, like William de Markesella before him, who had, however, given the city to the Marquis d'Este. Yet until that time the Marquis d'Este had nothing at all in Ferrara to call his own.

Ferrara is unquestionably a Papal city, an adherent of the Church, a fact which I have heard a hundred times. For I lived there for seven years, and I have even heard this assertion from the mouth of Pope Innocent IV himself in his sermons, because I was always close enough to touch him as he preached from the window of the bishop's palace in Ferrara. It was Lord Salinguerra who used to say, "He gave heaven to the Lord of heaven, but the earth to the sons of men," [cf. Psalms 113B.16], as if he wished to glorify himself as a powerful man on earth. Yet he

died in the waters of Venice. And although he was a wise man, he had a foolish son, just as Solomon had Roboam, of whom Ecclesiastes 2 [18-19] speaks: "being like to have an heir after me. Whom I know not whether he will be a wise man or a fool," etc. This son was called Jacopo Torrello, who had his own peculiar proverb: *L'asen dà per la paré: botta dà, botta receive^{as}*, that is, "The ass kicks through the wall when he is fractious: he gives a kick, and he receives one," that is to say, "he gives a blow, and he receives one." The common people thought this a very profound saying, because they took it to be about the Pope and the Emperor — that is, Pope Gregory IX and Emperor Frederick II — who were then at odds with one another.

Paul Traversario of Ravenna.

After the death of Paul Traversario, Ravenna was captured by the Emperor. It should be noted that from ancient times Ravenna has had four noble families, as I have read often in the Ravenna Pontifical during the five years that I lived there. Yet all these great houses, noble and superior as they were, have been reduced to nothing. The last of these, the one that endured the longest, was the house of Lord Paul Traversario, which was obliterated in my own days. Now, Paul Traversario was a handsome knight, a great baron, and a very wealthy man. And although he was generally loved by the citizens, there was a certain man named Anastasio in Ravenna, who was his rival and foe. Moreover, this Lord Paul had a son, who was survived by his illegitimate daughter Traversaria, named after her father's house. I have seen her often, and she was a beautiful and well-mannered lady of medium height, that is to say, neither too tall nor too short.

Lord Thomas de Fogliani, whom Pope Innocent IV made Count of Romagna.

Now, Pope Innocent IV legitimized this Lady Traversaria, so that she might be able to inherit, and he gave her in marriage to his kinsman, Lord Thomas de Fogliani of Reggio, whom he also made Count of Romagna — all of which was very pleasing to the people of Ravenna. These two had a son whom they named Paul, a strikingly handsome boy as I myself saw. But this youth died early, just as he had reached the turning-point of the Pythagorean letter. Yet the father named a new heir at his own death in Matthew de Fogliani, who eventually succeeded to the estate.

Lord Stephen, son of the king of Hungary, who endured great misfortunes.

After Lord Thomas' death, his wife was married again, this time to Lord Stephen, nephew of the Marquis d'Este, son of the king of Hungary, and half-brother of St. Elizabeth on the father's side. They had a handsome son, who, however, died at an early age. The wife also died and was buried in the sepulchre of Paul Traversario, in the portico of San Vitale in Ravenna. After these things, Lord Stephen went to Venice, where he died in the utmost poverty and misery. Josephus writes of Herod Agrippa: "There is no man who better illustrates the

mutability of fortune,"⁴⁹ a statement which he confirms by a description of his three great misfortunes: thus with Lord Stephen.

His first misfortune came about through the death of Andrew, king of Hungary, when his mother, even in pregnancy, had to flee the country for fear of being killed by the Hungarians. For they had already killed the previous queen, the mother of St. Elizabeth.

His second misfortune was the accusation that he was illegitimate, the son of a certain Dionysius, so that the sons of the king of Hungary refused to acknowledge him as their brother and denied him his inheritance. And even the king of Hungary harbored that suspicion for many years. Yet many Friars Minor from Hungary who made a point of seeking him out as they passed through Ferrara reported that he bore a striking resemblance to his father, the king of Hungary.

His third misfortune was that he was reared in Ferrara in the house of the Marquis d'Este and, since he was the son of the Marquis' niece (Brother Aldobrand's daughter), hoped to succeed to the realm. Yet a certain young boy was brought from Apulia on an ass or a beast of burden, who was the son of a certain noble lady of Naples and Prince Rinaldo, the son of Marquis d'Este—as it was said. (This Rinaldo was the one the Emperor kept in chains as hostage in the city of Naples.) Whether these things are true or malicious falsehoods, I do not know. Whatever the case, it is certain that Stephen was expelled from Ferrara and went to live in Ravenna.

Marquis Obizzo d'Este⁵⁰—his origins and deeds.

This young boy who was brought in, therefore, became the ruler of the March of Este. And he grew up to be a very wicked man, like the terrible Ezzelino himself. For he had his own mother drowned in the waters of the Adriatic, because he was ashamed to have had such a mother, who had been a washwoman. The jongleurs [*ioculatores*], in fact, made great sport about his lowly origins, calling him a bastard born of a common woman. Some, however, maintained that this Obizzo was indeed the legitimate son of Marquis Azzo d'Este.⁵¹ This is the Marquis d'Este who is currently ruling in Ferrara, and who became blind in one eye because of his sins. For once when he was jousting on Good Friday, the shaft of his lance broke and struck him in the right eye and totally destroyed it. And he was engaging in such activities merely for the love of a woman who was present. It is also said that he shamefully violated the wives and daughters of Ferrara, both noble and common. Moreover, it was rumored that he bedded [*cognoverit*] his wife's sister and even his own sisters. Furthermore, he ruined, murdered, and expelled from Ferrara even those members of the family of Fontana, who had reared him and made it possible for him to rise in the world. And he committed many other evil deeds, for which he will receive recompense from God, unless he repents.

Obizzo was a great friend of Ottobono, later Pope Adrian,⁵² because he had married a kinswoman of his, who bore him three sons and a daughter. His first-

born son was named Azzo, and he married a kinswoman of Pope Nicholas III. This Nicholas III⁵³ was a native of Rome, and, while he was still a cardinal, he was called John Gaitano. Nicholas III's brother, Lord Matthew Rossi,⁵⁴ the son of Lord Orsini, was also at that time a cardinal. Matthew Rossi became the Governor, Protector, and Corrector of the Order of the Friars Minor, in accordance with the Rule, having been assigned this office by Pope Nicholas, despite the fact that the Brothers themselves had petitioned for Lord Jerome,⁵⁵ who had previously been their Minister General.

Another Cardinal related to the Pope was Lord Jacopo de Colonna, who was also a very devoted friend to the Order of the Friars Minor. Years before, when Jacopo de Colonna was a young man, holding no office whatsoever, he left Bologna, where he was a student to visit the churches of Ravenna for the good of his soul. For in Ravenna during the whole month of May plenary indulgences are granted in the churches, and, therefore, people from all over the world travel there in order to obtain, by their devout prayers, that indulgence which they have always desired. Thus it was that Lord Jacopo came to Ravenna. And at that time I was living in Ravenna in the convent of the Friars Minor of the Church of San Pietro Maggiore, where lies the body of St. Liberius, who was chosen for the special veneration by a dove from heaven. I myself was assigned to be Jacopo's guide, and I conducted him to all the various shrines, both within the city and without.

The ordinances of Brother Latino, Cardinal and Papal Legate in Lombardy.

A third Cardinal related to Pope Nicholas III was Lord Latino of the Order of the Preachers. Lord Latino, in my opinion, bore a striking resemblance to Peter Caprizio de Lambertini of Bologna.

Pope Nicholas chose him as legate from Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna. And while he was legate he roused the wrath of all the women against him by virtue of an ordinance that he promulgated: that women should wear shorter skirts, long enough to touch the ground or slightly more, certainly no more than a hand's breadth. For up to that time it had been the custom for women to drag trains behind them several feet in length. Thus it is that Patecchio says:

Dresses so long they drag the dirt.⁵⁶

And he had this rule preached in the churches and imposed on the women as a commandment: no priest, the ordinance declared, could grant absolution to them until they complied. To the women, this was a fate worse than death. For one woman confided to me that her train meant more to her than all her other clothes put together. Moreover, in that same ordinance Cardinal Latino laid down that every woman — not just young maidens but even married women, widows, and elderly ladies — must wear a veil over her face. Imagine their horror and indignation! Yet they soon found a remedy for this tribulation. For although they could do nothing about their trains, they began making their veils of gossamer-

thin silk interwoven with gold, which made them ten times more fascinating, and attracted lascivious glances all the more.

The fourth cardinal related to Pope Nicholas was Lord Jordano, the Pope's own brother, a man of little learning and scarcely even connected with the Church. But it was "because flesh and blood hath . . . revealed" these things to this Pope that he made these four relatives of his Cardinals. For he built up Sion with blood, just as many other Roman Pontiffs have formerly done, as Micah 3 [.10] says: "You that build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity."

Certainly, I believe in my conscience and am firmly persuaded that there are a thousand Friars Minor in the Order of the Blessed Francis — of which I am the poorest and most lowly — who, by virtue of their knowledge and holiness of life, would have been more suitable to be Cardinals than the multitude who have been promoted because of kinship to the pope. An example is ready to hand. Pope Urban IV, who was from Troyes, made his own nephew Anger a Cardinal, and raised him up in honors and riches over all the other Cardinals of the Papal court. And yet before that time he was so miserable a student that the other students with whom he was studying used him to fetch their meat from the butcher's. Later, it was discovered that he was the Pope's own son. Thus it is that they promote and lift up their illegitimate children and bastards, calling them their nephews, their brother's sons. This is not what the blessed Job did, of whom it is written in chapter 31 [.33]: "If as a man I have hid my sin, and have concealed my iniquity in my bosom." And certainly it is true that such people are believed to be great, merely because they have been raised to power and given riches and honors with free access to the Pope. But Job 27 [.14] prescribes a remedy for such office-holders who love their bastards: "If his sons be multiplied, they shall be for the sword, and his grandsons shall not be filled with bread." Therefore⁵⁷ . . . she is beloved, *because* she is shameful, deformed, hunchbacked, and illegitimately born.

Lord Stephen, moreover, suffered a fourth misfortune: his wife, Lady Traversaria — through whom he possessed riches, glory, and honor, both in Ravenna and Romagna — died at the same time as their son, and therefore he had to go to Venice to live, where he died in the utmost poverty and misery. Thus it is that Job 21 [.23–26] says: "One man dieth strong, and hale, rich and happy. His bowels are full of fat, and his bones are moistened with marrow. But another dieth in bitterness of soul without any riches: And yet they shall sleep together in the dust, and worms shall cover them."

Guglielmotto of Apulia, who succeeded to the inheritance of Paul Traversario.

After the death of Lord Stephen, a certain man named Guglielmotto of Apulia came to Ravenna accompanied by a young servant girl, whose name was, in actuality, Paschetta, but Guglielmotto maintained that her name was Aica, the daughter of Paul Traversario, and that she was his wife. Yet the truth is that the Emperor Frederick II had taken the true Aica as hostage and sent her into Apulia, and, later, because of his anger against the girl's father, had her cast into "a fur-

nace of burning fire" [Daniel 3.11], thus returning her soul to heaven. This I know to be true because Brother Ubaldino—a Friar Minor, a nobleman of Ravenna, and brother of Lord Signorello—was there at the time living in Apulia, and he heard her last confession. This Lady Aica was an extremely beautiful girl, and it is no wonder, for her father was an exceedingly handsome man. Compare Paul Traversario with King John, if you will, and decide which one was the more striking in appearance!

But this Paschetta, who claimed to be Lord Paul's daughter and took the name Aica, was a foul, ugly woman, extraordinarily grasping and base. For I myself saw her and talked with her countless times when she came to Ravenna while I was living there. This Paschetta had learned all about Paul Traversario and his status in Ravenna from her own mother. Besides, a certain man of Ravenna, commonly called Hugo de Barci (whom I knew very well), travelled frequently to Apulia so that he, with evil intent, might instruct her in this deception, because he hoped for a rich reward if the scheme were successful.

And so Guglielmotto came with this wife of his to Ravenna. When the people of Ravenna heard that they were coming, they rushed out to greet them with great joy and gave them an enthusiastic welcome. And with my Brother companion I myself went outside the city of Ravenna through the Gate of St. Lawrence and stood on the bridge over the river, hoping to discover what the commotion was all about. While I was waiting there, a boy ran up and said to me, "Why have all the friars not come out here? Truly, the Pope and all the cardinals, if they were in Ravenna, should have rushed out to see such great rejoicing." And when I heard him say these words, I looked at him, smiled, and said, "Bless you, my son, you have spoken well!" Once the company had entered the city, they went straight to the Church of San Vitale to visit Paul Traversario's tomb. And when Paschetta stood at the tomb, she lifted up her voice in weeping, as if in lamentation for her father, that great and noble man. Yet she also displayed a haughty disdain of the fact that Traversaria had been buried alongside her father. Then after this visit, they departed to their assigned lodgings. My friend, Brother John the monk, sacristan of San Vitale, was present at the time and saw all these things, which he later recounted to me.

The following day Guglielmotto, a handsome knight and a very fine orator, spoke before the council of Ravenna. And when his forceful and ringing speech had ended, the people of Ravenna promised to him and indeed conferred upon him more than he had ever asked of them. For they were filled with great joy that the house of Paul Traversario was about to be revived. Even Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna (who himself, however, was from Tuscany) acquiesced in these things. And thus it was that Guglielmotto acquired all the properties and the power that Lord Paul himself had ever had, and he abounded in money and revenues. He also built new courts and houses and walls and palaces—and he prospered for many years, as I saw with my own eyes. But, later, he rebelled against the Church party, and, as a result, was expelled from Ravenna, and all

his palaces and buildings were destroyed, according to the words of Proverbs 17[.16]: "He that maketh his house high, seeketh a downfall," and also Ecclesiasticus 21 [.9]: "He that buildeth his house at other men's charges, is as he that gathereth himself stones to build in the winter."

Furthermore, this Paschetta, his wife, who called herself Aica, had no son by Guglielmotto, and so she sent to Apulia and had two young boys of five and seven years of age brought to her, and claimed that they were her own sons. Later, when one of the these boys died, she had him buried in Lord Paul's tomb, and she began to lament, crying out, "O the riches of Lord Paul, O the riches of Lord Paul, O the riches of Lord Paul—to whom do I leave you now?" Finally, while the ever-frequent wars were still raging, she died at Forlì, and Gulielmotto himself returned to Apulia "stripped and naked" [Micah 1.8]. Compare the words of the poet:

The end seldom corresponds to the beginning.⁵⁸

Certainly, it is true beyond doubt that all kinds of frauds and deceptions, of the most incredible kind, can be foisted upon the world, as an abundance of examples show. First of all, there is the man who called himself Alexander in the time of Augustus Caesar, as the Histories report.⁵⁹

The second example concerns the Count of Flanders who died in the Holy Land, and many years later a certain man who had a striking resemblance to the Count came to Flanders and presented himself to the countess, saying that he was her father. And this man recounted so many little personal details that he appeared to be telling the truth. Yet when he was asked who had made him a knight, he didn't know what to say, and therefore he was condemned to be hanged, as indeed was done. Thus it is that the Wise Man says in Ecclesiastes 7 [.18]: "Be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time."

The third example concerns the deposed Emperor Frederick II. For after the Emperor's death, a certain hermit was discovered who bore an extraordinary resemblance to the Emperor and who had an excellent knowledge of the details of the kingdom and the imperial court. And because of this, he was brought forth from the hermitage (with his own consent) by the princes and barons of Sicily and Apulia to further their design of invading and taking over the kingdom by proclaiming that the Emperor was still alive. And so it was that this hermit consented to the plan, because he hoped thereby to obtain riches and honors. But Prince Manfred, Frederick's son, captured him and ordered him horribly tortured and put to death.⁶⁰ What Joas, king of Israel, said to Amasias applies well to this hermit, IV Kings 14 [.10]: "Be content with the glory, and sit at home." And if this hermit had done so, he would never have been killed. Ecclesiasticus 39 [.29] also counsels: "Be contented with little instead of much." The Wise Man also teaches in Proverbs 1 [.10–11; 15–16]: "My son, if sinners shall entice thee, consent not to them. If they shall say: Come with us. . . . My son, walk not thou

with them, restrain thy foot from their paths. For their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood."

It should be noted that this deception concerning Frederick could very easily be believed, for the Sibyl says: "It shall sound among the people: 'he lives,' and 'he lives not'."⁶¹ For I myself could not believe for a long time that the Emperor was dead. I couldn't believe it until I heard it with my own ears from the mouth of Pope Innocent IV himself when he preached to the people of Ferrara on his return from Lyons. For I was near enough to touch him when he said in his sermon: "It has been fully confirmed to us that that lord, that sometime Emperor, is now dead — our enemy and the enemy of God and of the Church." When I heard this, I was horrified and could scarcely believe it. For I was a Joachite, and I fully believed and even hoped that Frederick would do even greater wicked deeds in the future than he had yet done, numerous as his past evils had already been.⁶²

The fourth example concerns the man who gave himself out to be Manfred, son of Frederick, after the real Manfred had already been killed in battle by King Charles,⁶³ the brother of King Louis of France. King Charles ordered this so-called Prince Manfred to be put to death after his capture. And in those days Charles killed many such "Manfreds." The words of Job 36 [.13] apply to all such men: "Dissemblers and crafty men prove the wrath of God." See also Ecclesiasticus 7 [.1]: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee," and [Ecclesiasticus 7.3]: "Sow not evils in the furrows of injustice, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold."

But I have spoken enough of such matters. I have said all these things because they were related to Paul Traversario of whom I was speaking. Thus it is that "The Spirit breatheth where he will," [John 3.8] and "It is not in man's power to stop the spirit" [Ecclesiastes 8.8] Now, however, let us return to the year where we left off. In the year 1240 the Emperor laid siege to Faenza, and the city surrendered to him. But once he had entered the city, he failed to observe the conditions of surrender.

The siege and capture of Faenza, the death of Pope Gregory IX, and the election of Celestine.

In 1241 Faenza was captured or, rather, the citizens came to an agreement of peace with the Emperor. But, as I have said, the Emperor failed to keep his promise to them. Pope Gregory IX died, a friend, father, and benefactor of the Order of the Friars Minor. And Celestine IV, a Milanese, was elected,⁶⁴ but he died very soon thereafter, in the space of only some seventeen days. And there was no Pope from 1241 to 1243, because the cardinals were in disagreement and were, in fact, dispersed widely, and Frederick kept close guard over the highways so that many of them were captured. For he was afraid that one of them would make his way into the city and be elected Pope. I myself, in fact, was captured many times during this period. And it was at that time that I thought out a method of writing letters in code out of pure caution.

In the year of the Lord 1242 Lord Lambertesco de Lamberteschi of Florence

was podestà of Reggio, and he administered justice properly with good will, according to the words written of David, II Kings 8 [.15]: "And David did judgment and justice to all his people." And David himself said in the psalm [118.121]: "I have done judgment and justice." For he knew that "Blessed are they that keep judgment, and do justice at all times" [Psalms 105.3]. And because Lambertesco administered judgment and justice properly with good will, the following verses in his praise were frequently repeated in Reggio:

A lion has arrived
from Florence,
And justice has
revived
in Reggio's
state.⁶⁵

The council of Reggio, with almost complete unanimity, granted to Lambertesco absolute freedom to do whatever he wished. And in the same year Lambertesco had the road to Reggiolo built, as well as the bridges over the Taleata. Also, he had the moat around Reggiolo excavated, and it extended thirty yards beyond the main tower.

The election of Pope Innocent IV and his works.

In 1243 in the latter part of June on the feast of St. Peter, Innocent IV was chosen Pope.⁶⁶ A Lombard, Innocent was of the lineage of the counts of Lavagna, which is in the bishopric of Genoa, and he sat for eleven years, five months, and ten days. And he had formerly been a canon in the church of Parma, and he was the cause of the destruction of Parma. In order to hold a council, Innocent fled to Lyons, a noble French city, situated on the Rhone river in Burgundy. His flight to Lyons took place in 1244, and he remained there for many years, that is, until Frederick died.

In his time, Innocent kept attempting to achieve a treaty of peace with the Emperor Frederick, and yet it was because of the Emperor's continuous opposition and disobedience to the Church that Innocent had to flee to France, which he managed with the help of the Genoans. And while at Lyons, he brought a council together which condemned Frederick as an enemy of the Church and deposed him from the empire. He also had the Landgrave of Thuringia elected as king of Germany, who was, upon his death, succeeded by William of Holland. Moreover, while in Lyons, Innocent canonized St. Edmund the Confessor, archbishop of Canterbury, and also, in Perugia, Peter of Verona, who was of the Order of the Preachers. This latter saint was killed in the region between Como and Milan by heretics on account of his preaching against their doctrine. Furthermore, Innocent canonized St. Stanislaus, bishop of Krakow, in the Church of the Blessed Francis in Assisi, who had been killed by that wicked prince, Frederick.⁶⁷ After the death of the Emperor Frederick, Innocent entered Apulia

with a great army, but only a short time later he died and was buried in Naples. These events have been related out of chronological order. During these times the venerable Cardinal Hugo, a Brother of the Order of the Preachers, lived and flourished in knowledge and wisdom. Hugo, a learned theologian, wrote a lucid and thorough commentary on the whole Bible. He was also the author of the first concordance to the entire Bible, although better concordances have since been written. Pope Innocent appointed Hugo Cardinal Presbyter of St. Sabine, in which office he remained until the end of his life.

The death of Bishop Nicholas of Reggio.

Also in the abovementioned year Lord Nicholas, bishop of Reggio, died in the court of the Emperor Frederick in Apulia, in the city of Melfi, and he lies buried there. And in that same year and at the same time both Lord Guizolo Albrico, provost of San Prosper de Castello, and Lord William de Fogliani were elected as bishop of Reggio. And because of this there was a great quarrel during the month of September between the Albrici and the Fogliani, as well as with the podestà of Reggio. After a time, it was Lord William, who was confirmed bishop of Reggio, because he was a kinsman of Pope Innocent IV, who presided over the Roman Church at that time. Also, this Pope took the bishopric of Parma away from Bernard Vizi de Scotis, a member of the Order of Martorano, who had received it from Gregory of Monte Longo, the Papal legate to Lombardy. And the Pope gave this bishopric to Alberto of San Vitale, his nephew, son of his sister, "because flesh and blood" had "revealed" [Matthew 16. 17] to him that he could, according to the prophecy, "build up Sion with blood," Micah 3 [10]. But King Enzo,⁶⁸ son of the Emperor Frederick, took over the palace of the bishop of Reggio, and, in contempt of the Pope and opposition to his party, would not permit William to ascend to the bishop's throne.

In the year of the Lord 1244 Brother Haymo of England, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, died, and elected in his place was Brother Crescentius⁶⁹ of the March of Ancona, who was an old man. Crescentius then commanded Brother Thomas of Celano, who had written the First Legend of St. Francis, to write another book, because many things about St. Francis had been discovered which had never been written. And so Thomas of Celano wrote a very beautiful book about the miracles, as well as the life of Francis, which he entitled the *Memorial of the Blessed Francis in the Desire of the Soul*.⁷⁰ Later, however, Brother Bonaventure wrote an excellent life of Francis,⁷¹ based on all these previous works. Yet even up to the present day, many more details about St. Francis are being discovered which have never been written down. For daily in various parts of the world the Lord continues to work great miracles through his servant Francis. Pope Innocent IV sent orders to this Crescentius to attend the council dealing with the deposition of Frederick — a letter which I myself saw — but he excused himself on account of his age and sent Brother John of Parma⁷² in his place, a learned, holy man, who later succeeded him as Minister General.

The murder of the Christians in the Holy Land by the treacherous Saracens.

In this year a letter was sent to all Christians throughout the world by Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem, a letter which contained the following evil rumors:

I Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem (unworthy though I am), write to make known to all those who hold themselves to be Christians that in the year of the Lord 1244, the fifteenth Kalends of October, the Vigil of St. Luke the Evangelist, there were many battles fought and many treacheries perpetrated among us here in the Holy Land. The first disaster, which occurred in August, was the destruction of the city of Jerusalem by the Colosini. The second, which took place on the Vigil of St. Lucy on the plain of Gadar (which is interpreted "the white sand," that is, *sabulo albo*), was the murder of 312 Templars and 324 other soldiers.⁷³ Likewise, from the house of St. John 325 Templars and 200 other soldiers were killed. From the house of the Germans there remain only three friars, all others, some 400 in all, having been killed. From the house of St. Lazarus all the leprous knights were killed. Lord Caiphus and all his people were killed. Count Walter of Jaffa was captured, and all his men were killed. The knights of the Prince of Antioch, 300 in all, were killed, and the knights of the King of Cyprus, also 300, were killed. The Archbishop of Tyre with all his people was killed. The bishop of Rama was killed. Moreover, and what is worse, 16,000 Frenchmen and so many others that it is almost impossible to number them poured out their blood for Christ. It should be noted that the sultan of Damascus, the sultan of Camele, a certain great Saracen named Nas, and the whole army of the Lady of Aleppo—all of whom were bound to us in the bonds of the Sacrament and faith, more than 25,000 Saracens: all these betrayed us by the end of the war. May their names be accursed forever and ever! Amen.

The deposition of the Emperor Frederick II.

In 1245 the Emperor Frederick was deposed from the empire by Innocent IV in the French city of Lyons in full council. In retaliation, the Emperor expelled all those loyal to the Pope from his territories, especially from Parma and Reggio, and some he imprisoned. He also initiated a military campaign against Milan, but it was unsuccessful. Also in the same year King Louis⁷⁴ of France came to Cluny to see Pope Innocent for an informal meeting with him.

The expulsion of the Church party from Reggio and Parma by the deposed Emperor.

In that same year on Sunday, New Year's day, there was a great disturbance in the city of Reggio near the house of the Scanzani, and, on the following Monday, a quarrel between the Roberti and the Sessi. And the men of Sesso were put to shame. And the house of the Calegari was burned, and there was a furor. As a result, Ghiberto Tarasco, Ascherio de Ascheri, and Viviano Meliorati, who

were said to have burned it or at least consented to the burning, were solemnly condemned and expelled from the city. And on a Monday, the third of July, Lord Simon, son of John Boniface de Manfredi, and Lord Maravono de Bonici arrived at Reggio with a large number of foot soldiers and catapults, and burned the Gate of St. Peter and entered the city by violence. And also on that same Monday and the Tuesday following, there were great disturbances throughout the city. And as a result, all the Roberti, the Fogliani, the Lupicini, the sons of Lord John Boniface, Manfred de Palude, and the Canini were expelled from the city by the imperial party, and equal numbers of the Church party in Parma and Reggio were carried away as hostages. And in that same year Pope Innocent IV was holding court in Lyons, and he deposed the Emperor Frederick from the empire and excommunicated him. In return the Emperor banished the Pope and all Cardinals and legates from his domain. Then in the month of October the Emperor marched against the Milanese over the river Ticino, and his son Enzo crossed the Taleata at the river Adda with troops from Parma, Cremona, and Reggio, and captured Gorgonzola. At this siege, however, King Enzo was captured and then rescued by the men of Parma and Reggio.

Tebaldo Francisco rebels against the Emperor.

In 1246 Tebaldo Francisco and a large number of other barons of Apulia rebelled against Frederick, the deposed Emperor. Also, the Castle of Capaccio, which had suffered great hardships from a long siege, was captured, and all the men, women, and children were imprisoned. In that same year Lord Uberto, marquis of Pellavicino, was made podestà of Reggio by the Emperor Frederick. And the Emperor was at that time besieging the castles of Rossena and Felina in the bishopric of Reggio, and these castles surrendered and accepted treaties of peace. The abovementioned Tebaldo Francisco was also at one time podestà of Parma.

Parma rebels against the deposed Emperor.

In 1247, at the end of June, the Emperor Frederick, now deposed, lost Parma. Parma was my city, that is, the city where I was born. And the Emperor laid siege to Parma from July to February. In that same year, while my city was under siege, I left Parma and went to Lyons. And when the Pope heard of my arrival, he sent for me immediately, on the Feast of All Saints, for from the time that I had left Parma to the day I arrived in Lyons, the Pope had received no news or rumors whatsoever from Parma, and he was eager to hear how matters stood. And when I found myself completely alone with him in his chambers, besides all the other matters that we spoke about, he himself absolved me from all my sins. Moreover, the Pope ordained me in the office of preaching. And in that same year a little before Parma rebelled against the Emperor, John of Parma was elected Minister General in a general chapter held at Lyons in August, where Innocent IV was residing. Also, in that same year Lord Buoso de Dovaria was

podestà of Reggio, and he governed Reggio for two months along with the king from the town of Guastalla.

The war at Fano and the destruction of Brescello and Boretto and their villages in the bishopric of Parma.

In that same year King Enzo and Ezzelino⁷⁵ captured Lord Hugo de Roberti of Reggio and many other men at Fano. Fano is a little village in the bishopric of Reggio near the stream Enza between Bibbiano, Tortiano, and Caviano, in which region there are many canals and meadows. They also destroyed Brescello and Boretto and the whole bishopric of Parma from the Enza all the way up to the castle Brescello, and they captured the bridge, which the Mantuans had built.

The Mantuans burn the whole bishopric of Cremona south of Toricella.

In that same year the Mantuan fleet at Brescello was captured and another later at Gramignazzo. And a large number of the Mantuans were killed. The Mantuans then burned the entire bishopric of Cremona from Torricella southward. And the Milanese, the Brescians, the Ferrarese, the Bolognese, and Venetians remained at Luzzara for two full months. For there was a fierce, complicated, and dangerous war between the parties of the Church and the empire.

The death of the patriarch of Antioch, a holy man.

The patriarch of Antioch, a man of the lineage of the Roberti of Reggio, died at Lyons. He was bishop of Brescia during the time of the great earthquake, and, in the midst of the quake, he rushed out of his chambers on hearing the shout of a certain Friar Minor who was living with him at that time. And just as he got outside, the whole house came crashing down from the tremors of the earthquake. This, he knew, was a sign from God, and he was totally converted to the Lord, for immediately he made a firm vow to God that from that day forward all the days of his life he would preserve his chastity (which he had not previously done) and that he would eat no meat for the rest of his life, and he fulfilled both these vows perfectly ever after, although, at the same time, he was lavish to his own household, according to the words of Chrysostom: "Do you truly want to be saintly, not only in appearance, but in reality? Then be austere in your own life; gentle toward others. You should be seen performing heavy duties, not delegating them to others."⁷⁶

But there are some wretched men who, when they abstain or fast, want all men to do likewise, and, when they are sad, want all men to be sad, which indeed some men do either because of avariciousness or their own wretchedness. But the Wise Man speaks against the first in Proverbs 15 [.27]: "He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house," and also Proverbs 11 [.29]: "He that troubleth his own house, shall inherit the winds." But because this man did not disturb his own household with avariciousness, he was like the man who "is hid from the wind, and hideth himself from a storm," Isaiah 32 [.2]. Also in order to avoid

the second, that is wretchedness, he did what the Apostle speaks of in Romans 12 [.15]: "Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep." He fulfilled this verse perfectly. For he knew how to be light and frivolous when the occasion called for it. Thus once when he was at table with his entire household and a number of outside guests, he happened to notice a jongler [*ioculator*] stealing one of his silver spoons, and so he called his servant to him and said, "I will not give you my silver spoon, unless somebody here at the table gives his to you first. For the Apostle says in Ephesians 4 [.28]: 'He that stole, let him now steal no more.'" And so it was with these words that he made his servant more careful and also recovered his spoon.

Now, this patriarch was a man of little learning, but compensated for this defect by the many good works that he performed. For he was extremely generous in alms-giving, and daily he had the office of the dead performed in nine separate readings. Thus Ecclesiasticus 4 [.1] says: "Son, defraud not the poor of alms, and turn not away thy eyes from the poor," and Daniel 4 [.24]: "Redeem thou thy sins with alms, and thy iniquities with works of mercy to the poor," and [Psalms 40.2]: "Blessed is he that understandeth concerning the needy and the poor," and also Ecclesiasticus 19 [.21]: "Better is a man that hath less wisdom, and wanteth understanding, with the fear of God, than he that aboundeth in understanding, and transgresseth the law of the most High." This was the kind of man that the patriarch of Antioch was: a man of little learning but a man of many good works, by which he compensated for his deficiency. Thus he could say [Psalms 70.16]: "Because I have not known learning, I will enter into the powers of the Lord," etc., for "the letter killeth, but the spirit quickeneth," II Corinthians 3 [.6]. In figure of foolish learned men, those who speak much and do nothing, for example, we read the words said to St. Paul, Acts 26 [.24]: "Paul, thou art beside thyself: much learning doth make thee mad," and see also Jeremiah 10 [.14]: "Every man is become a fool for knowledge," that is to say, every man who does not fear God, because "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom" [Psalms 110.10]. Thus Ecclesiasticus 23 [.37] says: "that there is nothing better than the fear of God; and that there is nothing sweeter than to have regard to the commandments of the Lord," and the last chapter of Ecclesiastes [12.13]: "Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is all man," that is, every man was created for this purpose. Therefore, because the patriarch of Antioch lived always the good life and because he gave his whole heart to the love of God, the Lord rewarded him with a death made glorious by miracles, and made manifest to all that the patriarch was his friend and servant. But I will not write of these things for the sake of brevity, and because there are many other things that need to be recorded.

Many begin well but end badly and vice versa. On the same subject see below, folio ...⁷⁷

It should be noted that many men begin well but end badly. For Saul was a good man in the beginning of his reign, for when he was first sought to be anointed as king, in his humility "he is hidden at home," as recorded in I Kings 10 [.22],

but he made a bad end, because as time went on he committed many sins. Thus it is said of him in I Paralipomenon 10 [.13]: "So Saul died for his iniquities," and, moreover, to the greatness of his sin is added the fact that he "consulted also a witch."

Yet some men begin badly but end well, like the thief, to whom the Lord said, Luke 23 [.43]: "Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise," and also Paul, who "before was a blasphemer, and a persecutor," I Timothy 1 [.13], but later the Lord said of him to Ananias, Acts 9 [.15]: "And the Lord said to him: Go thy way; for this man is to me a vessel of election, to carry my name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel," and also in II Timothy 4 [.7]: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith." Also Boniface, who, as we read, was at first a great sinner, but, later, the words of Ecclesiasticus 20 [.12] are appropriate to him: "There is that buyeth much for a small price," and also the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus [51.35]: "Behold with your eyes how I have laboured a little, and have found much rest to myself."

Others begin well and end well, like St. Nicholas, to whom the words of Job 31 [.18] can be applied: "For from my infancy mercy grew up with me: and it came out with me from my mother's womb," and St. Benedict, to whom can be applied the passage from Deuteronomy 28 [.3]: "Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed in the field," and [Deuteronomy 28.6]: "Blessed shalt thou be coming in and going out," and Genesis 24 [.31]: "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord: why standest thou without? I have prepared the house, and a place," and also Isaiah 65 [.16]: "he that is blessed upon the earth, shall be blessed in God, amen." He is the kind of man who has the grace of God in the present and will have glory in the future, because "the Lord will give grace and glory" [Psalms 83.12]. That was the kind of man Job was, who says of himself in chapter 23 [.11]: "My foot hath followed his steps, I have kept his way, and have not declined from it," etc., and also Job 27 [.5-6]: "till I die I will not depart from my innocence. My justification, which I have begun to hold, I will not forsake: for my heart doth not reprehend me in all my life."

There are others who have a bad beginning, a good middle, and then a bad ending, like Judas Iscariot and Julian the Apostate and all others who become apostate, of whom the Lord speaks in Ezechiel 3 [.20]: "if the just man shall turn away from his justice, and shall commit iniquity: I will lay a stumblingblock before him, he shall die, because thou hast not given him warning: he shall die in his sin, and his justices which he hath done, shall not be remembered." And take note that all apostates have a wretched death, like Judas, who hanged himself, as reported in Matthew 27, and like Achitophel, II Kings 17, and like Julian the Apostate, who perished miserably, as the chronicles and legends of saints report.

Finally, there are some who continue in their sins from the time of their birth to the day of their death, and yet who hope to be converted when they no longer have the ability to sin. Of these Isidore writes: "Certain men who live lecherously in their youth choose chastity and continence in their old age when libido despises

to have them as servants."⁷⁸ And St. Gregory speaks of such men: "The justices of the great Judge may be seen in the fact that those men who in this life never desire to stop sinning never miss their proper punishment. And those who never stop sinning throughout their lives show that they desire to live always in sin."⁷⁹ Augustine also says: "The sinner is smitten by this just punishment: he who forgot God throughout his lifetime, in death is himself forgotten."⁸⁰ Also the Apostle in Romans 1 [28] says: "And as they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense, to do those things which are not convenient." Then the man who does those things which are not proper despairs of the mercy of God. And this happens through the judgment of God, as Bede says: "When a man does not do well when he could, his punishment is that he cannot do well when he would,"⁸¹ that is, when he hoped to be able to. See above where I have spoken of such matters in the treatise on Brother Elias.

Brother Henry of Pisa and his songs.

Henry of Pisa,⁸² a Friar Minor, lived for many years with the patriarch of Antioch, and he frequently told me and the other Brothers many good things about the patriarch. A handsome man of medium height, Brother Henry of Pisa was generous, courteous, and lively. He could converse easily with all kinds of people, having a natural ability to find a common ground of interest with everyone he met, and he found favor not only with his fellow brothers but also with men of secular life, which can be said of few men. He was also a fine preacher, pleasing to the learned and the ignorant alike. He also knew how to write and to paint [*miniare*] (which some people call "illuminate") because a book is illustrated by the use of *minium*. Moreover, he could write music and compose very beautiful, lovely songs, in both harmony and plainsong. And he was himself a splendid singer. He had a deep and sonorous voice, and when he sang it would fill the entire sanctuary, but included in his range was a fine treble, very high and clear, soft and sweet, delightful beyond measure. He was my custodian in the custody of Siena, and he was my song-master during the time of Pope Gregory IX. At this time too Brother Lucas of Apulia, a Friar Minor of blessed memory, was still alive—a very learned man of the Church, the finest theologian in Apulia, widely known and respected. May his soul rest in peace in the mercy of God. But to return to Brother Henry of Pisa: he was a man of high morals, devoted not only to God and the Blessed Virgin, but also to Mary Magdalene, as one might expect, since his neighborhood church in Pisa was dedicated to that saint. Also, the mother church of Pisa is named after the Blessed Virgin. And it was in this church that I was ordained deacon by the archbishop of Pisa.

Brother Henry wrote many songs and sequences. Once he wrote the words and music to the hymn,

Christe Deus,
Christe meus,
Christe rex et Domine!

through the inspiration of a little servant girl who was walking through the cathedral in Pisa singing,

E s' tu no cure de me,
e' no curarò de te.⁸³

And he composed the following song for three voices:

Miser homo cogita facta creatoris.

He also composed the music for the following song written by Master Philip,⁸⁴ Chancellor of the University of Paris:

Homo quam sit pura
michi de te cura.

Once while custodian in the convent of Siena, he lay sick abed in the infirmary and was unable to write his music, and so he sent for me, and thus I was the first man who took musical notation, both words and music, while he himself sang. Also he wrote another song similar to one written by the Chancellor:

Crux, de te volo conqueri.

And also:

Virgo, tibi respondeo,

and:

Centrum capit circulus,

and:

Quisquis cordis et oculi.

Moreover, for the sequence,

Iesse virgam humidavit,

he wrote a delightful melody, so that afterward everybody sang it gladly, whereas, before, the tune had been rough and dissonant for singing. It was Richard of St. Victor⁸⁵ who had written the words of that sequence, and, in fact, many other sequences. Brother Henry also wrote fine melodies for hymns to St. Mary Magdalene which the abovementioned Chancellor of the University of Paris composed, such as,

Pange lingua Magdalene,

and for many other hymns. Also, he wrote both the words and the melody for the following hymn on the Resurrection of the Lord:

Natus, passus Dominus resurrexit hodie.

Brother Vita of Lucca and his songs.

The secondary melody, that is the harmonic accompaniment to that hymn *Natus, passus Dominus resurrexit hodie*, however, was the work of Brother Vita,⁸⁶ a Friar Minor of Lucca, the best singer of his time anywhere, in both styles, plainsong and harmony. He had a graceful and delicate voice, delightful to hear. No one was so stern and solemn that he failed to be gladdened by hearing Brother Vita sing. He sang before bishops, archbishops, cardinals, and Popes, and they heard him gladly. If ever anyone spoke while Brother Vita was singing, someone would invariably repeat the words of Ecclesiasticus 32 [.5]: "Hinder not music." Even if the nightingale or rossignol were singing in bush or hedge, it would cease whenever Brother Vita began singing, listening carefully and not moving from its perch; then afterward it would take up its song again, and with lovely, sweet voices they would sing in alternation. Also, Brother Vita was so courteous about his singing that, on being asked to sing, he never made excuses, such as having a cold or sore throat or any other reason. And so those verses which are frequently applied to singers were not appropriate to him:

This is the common vice of singers:

They are never willing to sing for their friends.⁸⁷

Moreover, his mother and sister were also fine singers. Brother Vita wrote both the words and music to the sequence which begins,

Ave, mundi spes, Maria.

He also wrote many worldly songs with harmonious melodies, which greatly delighted secular clerks. He was my music teacher in his own city of Lucca in 1239, the year of the total eclipse of the sun. Moreover, when Cardinal Thomas of Capua (who held the high office of secretary of the Papal court) composed the sequence which begins,

Virgo parens gaudeat,

he asked Brother Henry of Pisa to write the music for it, and Brother Henry composed a very beautiful melody. But Brother Vita also composed a secondary melody, the harmonic accompaniment, for it. For whenever he discovered some simple melody of Brother Henry's, he would gladly write a secondary melody for it.

Lord Philip, the archbishop, became the patron of this Brother Vita and made him a member of his household, when he was legate in the patriarchates of Aquileia and Grado, and also in Ragusa, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, as well as generally throughout Lombardy, Romagna, and the March of Treviso. And Archbishop Philip made Vita a member of his household not only because he was a member of his district, but also because he was a Friar Minor and because he was the best singer and composer that he knew. Brother Vita died in Milan and he is buried in the convent of the Friars Minor. He was a lean and slender man, taller

than Brother Henry, and his voice was better suited to a small room than to the sanctuary. And Brother Vita left the Order many times and entered the Order of St. Benedict, but he returned to it as many times again. And as often as he wished to return, Pope Gregory IX allowed him to, not only on account of his love of St. Francis but also because of his sweet singing. Once, he was singing so beautifully that a certain nun hearing him and wishing to follow him threw herself out of a window. But she was prevented in her desire because she broke her leg in the fall. This girl was not like the listener spoken of in the last chapter of the Song of Songs [8.13]: "Thou that dwellest in the gardens, the friends hearken: make me hear thy voice." Of such matters Brother Giles⁸⁸ of Perugia spoke well. (He was called "of Perugia," not because that was his native city but because he lived there for a long time and, in fact, died there. He was a mystic, completely holy, and he was, counting St. Francis, the fourth to enter the Order.) For Brother Giles said, "It is a great gift not to be gifted." He, of course, spoke not of the gifts of God but of those acquired by men, because these frequently lead one into sin.

The death of Henry of Pisa, at the time that he was Minister to Greece for the Order of the Friars Minor.

Brother Henry of Pisa was a very close friend of mine, such, truly, as described by the Wise Man in Proverbs 18 [.24]: "A man amiable in society, shall be more friendly than a brother." For he had a brother in the Order who was my age, and I had a brother in the Order of his age. Yet he loved me more, he said, than his own blood brother. And although Ecclesiasticus 13 [.32] says: "The token of a good heart, and a good countenance thou shalt hardly find, and with labour," this was not at all true of him. Brother Henry was Minister in Greece, which is a province of Romania, and he gave me written authorization through which I could, if I wished, join him in his province with any Brother companion of my choice. Moreover, he promised to give me a Bible and many other books. But I did not go, for in the same year that he went there, he passed away. He died at the time of the chapter meeting at Corinth in that province, and in that place he rests in peace. And he prophesied, that is, foretold the future, to the friars who were at that chapter, saying, "Now, we are dividing up the books of the Brothers who have died, but it will be only a short time until mine too are divided." And thus it did indeed turn out, because in that same chapter his books were divided, and so were the words of Ecclesiasticus 37 [.18] fulfilled: "The soul of a holy man discovereth sometimes true things."

Here the writer of this chronicle apologizes for his various digressions, however useful, and for the fact that he sometimes uses the singular, sometimes the plural pronoun. Take note that some matters are placed here which properly belong to the prologue. See above, folio 100, where the value of this chronicle is spoken of.⁸⁹

The various digressions that we have indulged in throughout this chronicle may be excused for three reasons. First of all, such things came to mind despite ourselves and at times when, in good conscience, we could not avoid them, because "the Spirit breatheth where he will," and it is not "in man's power to stop the spirit," as John 3 [.8] and Ecclesiastes 8 [.8] report. Second, such digressions have enabled us to say many good and useful things which can best be reported in such a history. Third, we always return to the original subject and never leave out any of the facts of the history on account of the digressions.

It should be recognized that some times have a happier state of events to report than others, and we can report historical events only with respect to the actual facts as we saw them with our own eyes in our own time during the time of the empire of Frederick and after his death during the long period up until the present day in which we are now writing, in the year of the Lord 1284. Of various times the Wise Man speaks in Ecclesiastes 7 [.11]: "Say not: What thinkest thou is the cause that former times were better than they are now? for this manner of question is foolish."

One should also not be bothered by the fact that sometimes in this history the singular pronoun is used, sometimes the plural, for such usage occurs frequently in Holy Scripture, because the prophets themselves made use of such *metaplasms*. "A *metaplasma* is a change from a correct and familiar usage to another kind necessitated by the poetic form or some other reason." This is what Donatus says in *Barbarismus*, and he gives examples of everything from the classical poets.⁹⁰ But let us put aside such talk of grammar, for we certainly intend to speak grammatically, but not to teach grammar. Thus Gregory says in the prologue to the *Moralia on Job*: "I have despised to observe the laws of eloquence which the grammarians teach. I am not afraid of the clash of vowels, barbarisms, inelegant word order, and I even scorn proper grammatical declensions, because I consider it most inappropriate that the words of divine oracle should be restricted by the rules of a Donatus. Besides, all other Biblical interpreters refuse to observe such rules, on the authority of Holy Scripture itself. And since our interpretation bases itself on this Scripture, it is perfectly fitting that the child should resemble the mother."⁹¹

Truly, as St. Gregory says, Holy Scripture is not subject to grammatical rules, is not bound and restricted by them, a fact which can be shown by a number of examples. For the Psalmist says [118.24]: "Nam et testimonia tua meditatio mea est," where proper grammar would require, "meditatio mea sunt." See also [Psalms 20.10]: "Pones eos ut clibanum ignis in tempore vultus tui, Dominus in ira sua conturbabit eos, et devorabit eos ignis." It is clear how in one and the same

verse the Psalmist shifts from the second to the third person. Likewise, the Apostle in Galatians 6 [.1] shifts from the plural number to the singular: "*Fratres, et si preoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos, qui spirituales estis, instruite huiusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans te ipsum, ne et tu tempteris.*"

About various histories.

Some writers produce their works with beautiful, lucid, mellifluous eloquence, like Job, Isaiah, Ecclesiasticus, John Chrysostom, St. Gregory, St. Bernard, and many others. To these the words of the Wise Man are applicable, Proverbs 16 [.21]: "He that is sweet in words shall attain to greater things." Some writers, however, are very obscure, like Hosea, Titus Livius, Orosius, or St. Ambrose, who in his legend of a certain virgin at Antioch, for example, writes so obscurely that one can scarcely understand him. It is worth noting that Hosea among the prophets, Mark among the evangelists, Ambrose among the doctors, and Orosius among the historians all share the same qualities: they are heavy and difficult and obscure.

With respect to Hosea it is clear that scarcely a single verse is connected logically to another. Thus it is that St. Jerome says of him: "Hosea is very boring, because he always speaks in aphorisms."⁹²

In like manner with respect to Mark, it is clear that he was an imitator of Matthew, for he merely repeats what Matthew had said, although not with the same elegance of style. For Mark had a crude style deformed by his rough and countrified grammar. Nevertheless, since he was brief in his account, he had been highly commended by the saints, and especially by Bede, who wrote a commentary on his gospel.

The obscurity of the style of St. Ambrose may be seen clearly enough in his commentary on Luke and in many other of his writings, especially in the Easter sermon *Dignum et congruum*, and in the legend which is entitled *De virgine quadam apud antiochiam*.

With regard to Orosius, it is worth knowing that he was Spanish, and he came from a little town near the sea, the name of which, although I did know, now totally escapes me. He was called Paul Orosius, and he was a priest and a devout man. And just as St. Augustine wrote the *City of God* in confutation of the pagans, so Orosius, by his example, wrote his history. Pope Gelasius wrote about him in his decretal on the authenticity of books: "Also, we commend that very learned man Orosius, because he wrote for us that extremely important history in opposition to pagan slanders, and he carried out the project with remarkable brevity."⁹³ But enough has been said on this subject.

I myself in writing various chronicles have always used a simple, clear style, so that my niece, for whom I wrote, would be able to understand it. And elegance of style was far less important to me than the truth of the history. My niece is Sister Agnes, my brother's daughter, who entered the convent of the Order of St. Clare at Parma at the age when she had reached the crossroads of the

Pythagorean Y, and she has persevered in the service of Jesus Christ until this day, the year of the Lord 1284, when I am now writing. And Sister Agnes, my niece, has an excellent understanding of Scripture, and a good memory and general intelligence. She also has the ability to speak eloquently and worthily, so that the following words could be applied to her [Psalms 44.3]: "Grace is poured abroad in thy lips; therefore hath God blessed thee for ever." Now, however, let us return to our history.

Frederick's actions after his deposition.

After the Emperor Frederick had been deposed from the empire by Pope Innocent IV in the year of the Lord 1245, he was [II Kings 17.8]: "bitter in" his "mind, as a bear raging in the wood when her whelps are taken away," and [I Kings 22.2]: "all that were in distress and oppressed with debt, and under affliction of mind gathered themselves unto him: and he became their prince." Yet he could well say what is recorded in Isaiah 3 [.7-8]: "make me not ruler of the people. For Jerusalem is ruined, and Juda is fallen." But hear, too, the words of the Wise Man in Proverbs 17 [.12]: "It is better to meet a bear robbed of her whelps, than a fool trusting in his own folly." That is the kind of man Frederick was, who did not appreciate the great benefits that the Church had conferred on him, but, rather, cruelly persecuted the Roman Church. Yet he shall not go unpunished, because, as Job 24 [.12] says: "the soul of the wounded hath cried out, and God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenged," and also the Wise Man in Proverbs 17 [.13]: "He that rendereth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house." We can clearly see that that has been fulfilled in Frederick, whose house has been totally destroyed. Thus Job 18 [.17-19] says: "Let the memory of him perish from the earth, and let not his name be renowned in the streets. He shall drive him out of light into darkness, and shall remove him out of the world. His seed shall not subsist, nor his offspring among his people, nor any remnants in his country."

The men banished by the Emperor enter Parma.

In 1247 a few knights of Parma, who had been banished by the Emperor, came from Piacenza, entered Parma, and cast out the Emperor's party on the fifteenth day of June. These men had been living in Piacenza, and they were men of courage and strength, [Song of Songs 3.8] "expert in war," and they were extremely bitter, not only because their houses had been destroyed in Parma, but also because [Ecclesiasticus 29.30] "it is a miserable life to go as a guest from house to house." For they were exiles and banished men, and they had large families but little money. And they had left Parma in haste, unexpectedly, fearing that the Emperor might capture and imprison them.

Before entering the city, these men from Parma hold a council and elect Hugo of San Vitale as their captain and leader.

When these men arrived at the village of Noceto, they held a council in a field near the village, fully armed and on horseback, and chose Lord Hugo of San Vitale as their captain and standard-bearer, for they knew "Where there is no governor, the people shall fall: but there is safety where there is much counsel." Proverbs 11 [.14]. Now, this Lord Hugo of San Vitale was a strong and wise man, learned in the art of war, the kind of man described by the Wise Man in Proverbs 24 [.5-6]: "A wise man is strong: and a knowing man, stout and valiant. Because war is managed by due ordering: and there shall be safety where there are many counsels." Lord Ghiberto de Gente was also there, a great public speaker and orator, and he said, "Since the Lord is on our side, let us hasten upon our enemies." This is what the Wise Man said in Proverbs 21 [.31]: "The horse is prepared for the day of battle: but the Lord giveth safety." Lord Gerard de Arcili also said: "May we have courage and be [I Machabees 4.35] 'ready either to live, or to die manfully,' and never retreat, and never show any fear. For 'the Lord hath fought among the valiant ones' [Judges 5.13], and help comes down to all of you from heaven." Inspired by such words, they came and took up their hard battle against the podestà and the knights of Parma at Borghetto de Taro, and there they killed the podestà, Lord Henry Testa of Arezzo. And this man was my friend, and he had a deep love for all Friars Minor. And they killed the podestà's troop of soldiers likewise, men like Lord Manfred de Cornazano; Lord Hugo, son of Magnarotto de Vicedomini; and many others. Also, Lord Berthold Tabernerio was wounded at that battle, but he managed to flee to Costamezzana along with certain friends of his. After this battle, the German troops of the Emperor sent word to these banished men, saying, "Come ahead to Parma and you may capture the city easily, for we will offer no resistance to you." And immediately they came and took over the city and nobody resisted them. Then they held a council and chose Gerard de Corigia as podestà of Parma, and this took place on Sunday, the sixteenth of June. Then on Monday these men of Parma hastily chose ambassadors — Lord Armanno Scotto and another — and sent them to Reggio to request that the prisoners from Parma, whom they were keeping in chains, be given up to them. But Lord Buoso, podestà of Reggio, would not receive the ambassadors.

The exiles were able to capture Parma easily for nine reasons.

These banished men were able to invade and capture Parma easily for a number of reasons. First of all, King Enzo, who had been given charge of the city by his father, had gone into the bishopric of Brescia with troops from Cremona to lay siege to Quinzano.

The second reason is that the Emperor himself was in the city of Torino in Lombardy, on his way to capture the Cardinals and the Pope. And, as it is said, some men had promised to betray the Papal court into his hand. But [Psalms

20.12] "they have devised counsels which they have not been able to establish." Why? Because it is written of God in Job 5 [.12]: "Who bringeth to nought the designs of the malignant, so that their hands cannot accomplish what they had begun."

The third reason is that Lord Berthold Tabernerio, on that very day, had given his daughter, Lady Mary, in marriage to a certain man from Brescia, who had arrived at Parma to receive her. And so those who went forth to meet the attacking exiles were filled with the wine and food of the abundant banquet, and thus rising up from the table, they expected to overwhelm their enemies in the first onslaught. But because they were half-drunk, they were felled and killed in the streets of Borghetto and the waters of the river Taro.

The fourth reason is that the city of Parma lay wide open on every side, for it was not walled at that time.

The fifth reason is that when the invaders met the citizens of the town, they made the sign of the cross with their hands, calling out, "For the love of God and the Blessed Virgin his mother, who is Lady of this city, may our return to our own city be pleasing to you. For we were expelled and banished without any guilt, and with peace to all let us return, for we intend no injury to anyone." And hearing these things, the Parmese, who met them without weapons in the street, were moved to mercy because of their humility, seeing well that they came in peace. And so the citizens said to them, "Enter the city safely in the name of the Lord, for our hand will take your part in all things."

The sixth reason is that the citizens of Parma did not concern themselves with such matters, for they were not of the party of those attacking the city, nor were they fighting for the Emperor. And so the bankers continued conducting their business, and the other artisans did not cease in their work merely because of what was taking place in their streets, but carried on as if everything were normal.

The seventh reason is that the noble and powerful in the city who were of the imperial party immediately left the city to hasten to their castles and fortifications spread throughout the bishopric, because they were afraid they would lose them.

The eighth reason is that when the Emperor's German soldiers heard that the exiles had killed the podestà, they invited them to do whatever they wished with the city peacefully, for they feared that they too would be killed. The guards of the palace and tower did the same. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 19 [.25]: "Scourged, the fool shall be wiser." Also the passage in IV kings 10 [.4] is pertinent to this situation: "But they were exceedingly afraid, and said: Behold two kings could not stand before him, and how shall we be able to resist?" as if the two kings were Lord Henry Testa, podestà of Parma, and Lord Berthold Tabernerio, who was the Emperor's captain in Parma. These two "could not stand before him," that is, before the troops of the invading army, even though it was very small.

The ninth reason is that the invaders hoped to have a great deal of help in a short time from various places.

The invaders of Parma received help from five places.

The first help received was from Pope Innocent IV, who had many relatives in Parma. And these men gave assistance because Parma had set out to fight the Emperor, the Pope's enemy, and the fight had already begun. Second, from Gregory of Monte Longo, legate to Lombardy, who was ready at Milan to come as soon as summoned with Lord Bernard Roland Rossi of Parma, brother-in-law to Pope Innocent IV, and with troops from Milan. Third, from the Piacenzans. Fourth, from the Count of St. Boniface of Verona. Fifth, from the Bolognese and the Ferrarese and from the entire party of the Church.

The harsh and complex war between the Church and the Empire, or between the Emperor and the Pope.

So that the complexity of these matters may be understood, it should not be omitted that the imperial party was in control of the city of Modena, with the Church party cast out. The same was true of Reggio, and, later, of Cremona. And thus there was a bitter war in those days which lasted for many years, and men could not plow, nor plant, nor reap, nor plant vineyards, nor harvest the grapes, nor even live in villages. And this was especially true in Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Cremona. Indeed, men did their necessary work near the cities under guard by civil troops, divided into four parts according to the gates of the city, and thus armed troops stood guard over the workers the whole day long so that the farmers could attend to the fields. Such procedures were necessary because of the huge number of bandits, thieves, and predators, who would take men captive, imprison them, and hold them for ransom. They would also drive the oxen off and eat them or sell them. And if the ransom were not paid, they would hang their victim up by the feet or hands, pull out his teeth, and put toads or frogs in his mouth to persuade him to pay up. These men were crueler than demons, and their deeds harsher and more abominable than any kind of death. And so it was during that time that a man would far rather meet a devil on the road than another man. For one man was always suspicious of another, fearing that he sought to capture him and carry him off to prison, so that "the ransom of a man's life are his riches," Proverbs 13 [.8]. And the land fell silent, because there was not a farmer in the field "passing through it" [Isaiah 34.10]. For in the days of Frederick, especially after he was deposed from the empire and after Parma rebelled and lifted her heel against him "the paths rested: and they that went by them, walked through by-ways," Judges 5 [.6].

Wild animals multiply in great numbers because of the war.

"And evils were multiplied in the earth" [I Machabees 1.10]. Birds and wild beasts multiplied beyond all measure: pheasants and partridges and quail; rabbits and goats, deer, oxen, boars, and ravenous wolves. And the wolves did not find the farm animals — the sheep and oxen — that they used to eat in the old days,

because the villages were all burned down. And so they gathered in great numbers around the moats of the cities, and howled from the pangs of hunger, and some got into the city at night and ate people who were sleeping on their porches or in wagons—men, women, and children. And sometimes they even dug through the walls of houses and killed infants in the cradle.

Nobody could believe unless they had seen as I have seen the horrible deeds done during that time, not only by men but by beasts of various kinds. The foxes became so numerous that, once during Lent, two even climbed up on the roof of the infirmary at the convent at Faenza trying to get at two chickens perched under the eaves, and we caught one of them, as I saw with my own eyes because I was there. And I lived for five years in Faenza, five in Imola, five in Ravenna, and a year apiece in Bagnavalle and Monte Regio, as well as many years in other convents in Romagna. And the scourge of war descended on the whole of Romagna and destroyed it during the time that I was there. And when the Bolognese laid siege to Forlì with Lombards and other allies, I myself was there with them in that siege. Similarly, I was present at the siege of Faenza (after the time that I lived there), when the Bolognese, the Lombards, and their allies besieged that city. But the siege did not succeed, as it pleased St. Francis and the Lord, in whose hand every siege rests. Also, when I was living in Imola, a certain secular man told me that he had caught in his traps twenty-seven fine cats in the burned-out cities, and that he had sold their pelts to furriers. There can be little doubt of this, because in peace time they had been pets in those cities.

There was a sixth source of help that the exiled Parmese had when they took over the city, and it lay in the fact that not only had the Emperor been excommunicated and deposed from the empire, but also Pope Innocent IV had absolved everybody from his rule. This is made clear at the end of the letter of deposition which was drawn up in the general council: "All men who are bound to him by an oath of fidelity are herewith released from that allegiance, and we command by the Apostolic authority invested in us that no one in the future give obedience or support to either the Emperor or the king. And whoever shall give help or counsel to the said Emperor or king henceforth shall, by that very fact, fall under the sentence of excommunication."⁹⁴

The ingratitude of the Emperor Frederick.

Frederick had fully and justly merited this action of deposition and excommunication because of his ingratitude. For he had stiffened his neck and lifted his heel against the Church, which had nourished him and defended him against his enemies and raised him up to the imperial throne. And yet he showed his complete ingratitude by persecuting the Church and fighting against it with his whole heart.

The meaning of ingratitude according to St. Bernard and the law.

St. Bernard writes: "Ingratitude is the perdition of the soul, the complete lack of merits, the dispersion of virtues, the annihilation of good works, the enemy of grace, the persecutor of justice. It is a burning wind which dries up the fountain of piety, the conduit of mercy, the floods of grace. Through ingratitude, the free man is justly made a slave again; it hinders the giver and takes away the gift."⁹⁵ Likewise, the law says: "If a freedman shall show himself ungrateful to his former owner and in his insolence stiffens his neck or commits a minor offense against him, he shall be returned to the state of slavery."⁹⁶ Whence it is written in the sixteenth chapter of Wisdom [.29]: "For the hope of the unthankful shall melt away as the winter's ice, and shall run off as unprofitable water." Likewise Ecclesiasticus 20 [.21] says of the ungrateful man: "A man without grace is as a vain fable," and also Ecclesiasticus 29 [.21]: "He that is of an unthankful mind will leave him that delivered him."

Those who become unjust lose their strength quickly, as shown by many examples.

Such was Frederick, and thus he was rightly deposed from the empire, for he failed to recognize the good done him. And so he became like a bird whose wings are plucked: he lost his strength immediately and could no longer fly, until his wings grew again. There are many examples on this subject in Holy Scripture.

The first was Samson, who immediately lost his strength once his hair was cut and did not recover it until his hair grew again, Judges 16. Thus the Prophet says [Psalms 58.10]: "I will keep my strength to thee," where the accusative case is used to express "in praise to thee." Or see Jeremiah 9 [.23], where the ablative is used to express "given by you to me": "Let not the strong man glory in his strength," "because no man shall prevail by his own strength," [I Kings 2.9] nor shall he [Psalms 146.10] "delight in the strength of the horse," etc., "but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, for I am the Lord that exercise mercy, and judgment, and justice in the earth: for these things please me, saith the Lord" [Jeremiah 9.24].

The second example is Adonias who usurped the kingdom, but, learning that Solomon had taken the reins of power, ran terrified into the temple and "took hold on the horn of the altar," III Kings 1 [.50].

The third example is Joab who did the same: he had been a great prince but once he lost his power, he went into the temple and held the horn of the altar, saying [III Kings 2.30]: "I will not come forth, but here I will die." And by Solomon's command Banaïas, son of Joiada, killed him there. And take note that just as Joab had killed two princes—Abner, son of Ner, and Amasa, son of Jether—so from two kings—David and Solomon—he received the sentence of death, and also it was a prince—Banaïas—who killed him. These events are recorded in II Kings 3, II Kings 20, and III Kings 2. It was thus that the Lord commanded in the law, as recorded in Exodus 21 [.14]: "If a man kill his neighbour

on set purpose and by lying in wait for him: thou shalt take him away from my altar that he may die." Also in Exodus 22 [.18] the Lord commanded: "Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live." That command was fully carried out by King David throughout his life, and what he was unable to do was carried out by his son Solomon.

Take note that all those things that I have said above about the accursedness of war, the sterility of the land, and the proliferation of wild beasts were written ahead of their proper chronological order, but they were nevertheless true also of that time when Parma rebelled against the Emperor and turned to the Church. Now, let us return to the original course of our history.

King Enzo was at the siege of Quinzano when Parma rebelled against the rule of his father.

In 1247 when King Enzo, who was besieging Quinzano with Cremonese troops, learned that the Parmese exiles had entered Parma by force, "his hands were weakened" [II Kings 4.1], and he dropped the siege of Quinzano and hurried there by an all-night march, not singing certainly but groaning in silence, like an army in retreat.

At that time I was living in the convent of the Friars Minor at Cremona (because I was a Friar Minor), and so I know all these facts very well. For the Cremonese were called into council by King Enzo very early in the morning, a meeting which was drawn out at least until the third hour. Then after they had hastily eaten, they left the city taking their carroccio with them. And no one remained in Cremona who "could walk in armour" [I Kings 17. 39] and fight in battle. Yet it seems clear to me that if they had hastened to Parma without any delay and had fought vigorously, they would — I am assured of it — have recovered the city. For not only did Parma lie completely open on all sides, since it had no walls, but also no help had yet been sent the invaders. Moreover, the regular citizens of Parma were completely indifferent to either side, for they simply wished to conduct their business as usual. Thus if one enemy could know the situation of the other, he could frequently do him great damage.

King Enzo and the Cremonese make camp near Dead Taro.

As the Lord willed, King Enzo with his Cremonese army made camp near Dead Taro and did not go all the way to Parma, that the Lord might bring evils upon them. For King Enzo wanted to await the arrival of his father there, who was at that time in the city of Torino on the Lombard borders. Lombardy extends to Susa and Moncenisio, and beyond lie the lands of the Count of Savoy and beyond that the duchy of Burgundy, wherein is situated Lyons, a large city of France which adheres to the Church party. And at that time Pope Innocent IV was holding his Papal court there.

Taro was called "dead" from the water which flowed from live Taro and flooded the region and came together in a large stagnant lake. And in this lake there are large numbers of rudd, pike, eels, and tench. A convent of the Cistercian

Order called Fontevivo is located near there, and it lies some seven miles from Parma.

Thus while King Enzo with his Cremonese troops awaited the coming of his father, help for the city of Parma arrived daily from all sides.

Lord Richard, Count of St. Boniface of Verona, the first to offer assistance to Parma.

Lord Richard, Count of St. Boniface of Verona, a hardy and experienced knight, was the first to offer assistance to the Parmese who had rebelled against the Emperor. Count Richard came through Guastallo and entered Parma with a large army. In recognition of his quick response, the Parmese gave him for his quarters the Emperor's palace, which is located on the Arena, and assigned him the protection of the city on the side facing Reggio. On the following day, a troop of three hundred knights, excellently equipped with horses and weapons, arrived from Piacenza. They were posted on the sands of the river of Parma, where they remained on horseback armed, whenever it seemed necessary. But this assignment was more a relaxation than a grave necessity, for sometimes they simply remained in their quarters or, when they wished, went walking through the city having a good time. Furthermore, on the third day after the arrival of the Count of St. Boniface, Lord Gregory of Monte Longo, the Papal legate, and Lord Bernard Roland Rossi, a brother-in-law of Pope Innocent IV, arrived with a thousand troops from Milan. And they were assigned a station on the sands of the river of Parma opposite the mountains to guard as occasion demanded. The Parmese themselves were stationed, along with the legate, outside the city on the road that leads to Borgo San Donnino, and they dug a ditch with a crosswalk as protection against their enemies.

But the Emperor, beside himself with fury and flaming with anger because of these things which had happened to him, hastened to Parma, and in the district of Grola (famed for its huge number of vineyards, choice grapes, and excellent wine) had a city built encircled by a wide and deep moat, a city which, in anticipation of the future, he named Victoria. Moreover, he had coins minted, which he called Victorines, and his largest church he named St. Victor. And in that city Frederick with his army and King Enzo with his Cremonese army took up quarters, and the Emperor sent messages to all his allies summoning them there in haste. And the first to come was Lord Hugo Boterio, a citizen of Parma, nephew on the sister's side of Pope Innocent IV, who was then podestà of Pavia, and brought Pavian troops with him fully equipped for battle. And neither by prayers nor promises could Pope Innocent persuade him to leave Frederick, and, moreover, Innocent loved Boterio's mother more than his two other sisters, who were also married women living in Parma. After Boterio, Ezzelino da Romano, who was at that time lord of the March of Treviso, came with a huge army.

The cruelties of Ezzelino, who had the likeness of the devil, just as St. Francis had the likeness of Christ.

Ezzelino was feared more than the devil himself, for he would have men, women, and children killed for no reason at all, and would commit the most incredible atrocities. Not even those great tyrants, Nero, Domitian, Decius, or Diocletian approach his like for cruelties. Once, for example, he had eleven thousand Paduans burned to death on a single day in the Field of St. George in Verona. He had fire set to the building they were in and while it was burning down, he played war games with his soldiers in a circle around the house. It would take too long to relate all his cruelties, for that would take a huge book. With full assurance, I believe that just as the Son of God wanted to have one special friend like unto Himself (that is, St. Francis), so the devil had Ezzelino.

It is said of St. Francis that he is the only one to whom God gave five talents. For there was never anyone in the world, except St. Francis, whom Christ honored with the stigmata in likeness to Himself. For after his death when he was laid out being washed up for the tomb, he looked exactly like a man who had been crucified, as his companion Brother Leo⁹⁷ himself, who was present at that time, told me. Thus the words of Apocalypse 1 [.13] are perfectly suited to St. Francis: "I saw . . . one like to the Son of man." The ways that he was like Christ, however, I will not enumerate here since I have written of them elsewhere⁹⁸ and since I need to hasten to report other matters. Yet since it sounds strange to liken a man to God, especially since the Scripture says, "I will not level God with man," Job 32 [.21], take note of the other Scripture [Psalms 88.7] which says: "For he who is compared to God in the clouds, will be similar to God in the sons of God,"⁹⁹ and also I John 3 [.2]: "Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know, that, when he shall appear, we shall be like to him: because we shall see him as he is."

But it is clear that Ezzelino was the very image of the devil in his cruelties and maliciousness. Thus it is not without reason that the Lord said to the Jews, John 8 [.44]: "You are of your father the devil, and the desires of your father you will do."

The allies of the deposed Emperor at the siege of Parma.

Besides Ezzelino, a large number of people came to the assistance of Frederick: the men of Reggio and Modena, whose cities held with the Imperial party, the Bergamese also, and other cities in Tuscany and Lombardy, and even other sections of the world, which did not hold with the Church. And he had allies from Burgundy, Calabria, Apulia, Sicily, Terra di Lavoro, and Greece, as well as Saracens from Lucera, and people from practically "every nation under heaven" [Acts 2.5]. And so it was "an exceeding great army," Ezechiel 37 [.10]. Moreover, the words of Isaiah 9 [.3] could be applied to him: "Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy." This verse is appropriate for two reasons: first, because despite all these people, he was able to occupy only the road that

led from Parma to Borgo San Donnino, and, second, because the city was not harmed by the siege.

The noble ladies of Parma have a miniature city made of silver, and offer it to the Holy Virgin to implore her aid for Parma against her impious enemy.

Since the Emperor planned to destroy the city of Parma completely and to substitute for it the city of Victoria, which he had built, and since after the destruction of Parma he planned to sow salt in her streets as a sign of her eternal sterility and as a warning to rebels, the women of Parma — especially the rich, noble, and powerful — dedicated themselves wholly to the Blessed Virgin, beseeching her to liberate their city from Frederick and his allies. They besought the Holy Virgin, because her name was held in the highest reverence in the mother church of Parma. And in order to be the more readily heard by her, they had a miniature city made all of silver, which they dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. And I myself saw this offering. In this miniature appeared all the major and principal buildings of the city completely constructed in silver, like the major church, which was called “house,” although it was unlike that house of which David spoke in I Paralipomenon 22 [.5]: “the house which I would have to be built to the Lord, must be such as to be renowned in all countries.” The baptistery was also there and the bishop’s palace and the community palace and as many buildings as were necessary for a good likeness of the city. The Mother besought the Son; the Son obeyed the Mother, to whom he could deny nothing, according to the words written in figure in Holy Scripture, III Kings 2 [.20]: “My mother, ask: for I must not turn away thy face.” These are Solomon’s words to his mother. And after the Mother of Mercy asked the Son to free her city Parma from the multitude of people that had gathered together against her and prepared for future battle, the Son said to the Mother, III Kings 20 [.13]: “Hast thou seen all this exceeding great multitude, behold I will deliver them into thy hand this day: that thou mayest know that I am the Lord.” Moreover, the passage in Isaiah 9 [.3] was fulfilled: “They shall rejoice before thee, as they that rejoice in the harvest, as conquerors rejoice after taking a prey, when they divide the spoils.”

Furthermore, during this time, before the Parmese captured Victoria, both sides went forth daily to battle with their catapults, archers, and slingers; and bloody encounters they were, as I saw with my own eyes. Moreover, freebooters rode about whenever they pleased through the entire bishopric of Parma burning and pillaging, and men from Parma did the same thing in the regions around Cremona and Reggio.

The Mantuans burn Casalmaggiore.

The Mantuans also came during that time, and they burned down the whole of Casalmaggiore, as I saw with my own eyes.

During the siege of Parma, the Emperor had some men on the other side decapitated every day.

Every morning, the Emperor accompanied by his troops came forth onto the sands of the river of Parma and decapitated three or four or even more men, as he saw fit—Parmese, Modenese, Reggians, all prisoners of the Emperor who had taken the part of the Church. And, to make matters worse, he executed these men in full view of the citizens of Parma to give them grief. And the sentence was carried out on that side of Parma toward the mountains, beyond the bridge of Lady Egidia, the section called Biduzzano. And during the whole time the Emperor's soldiers stood by him, fearing that the Parmese might rush upon them in attack. For as St. Jerome says, "It is wise to fear whatever may happen."¹ The greater the security the less one need fear his enemy. Yet there is an old saying:

Sometimes years do not accomplish what a single day brings to pass.²

Of such a day it is recorded in Zachariah 14 [.7]: "And there shall be one day, which is known to the Lord." Such a day was that day when the Emperor was put to flight ignominiously from his city of Victoria, a calamity that justly befell him because of the many innocent men he had put to such a vile death. Thus the Lord says in Matthew 23 [.34]: "some of them you will put to death and crucify, and some you will scourge." This verse was made manifest in Lord Andrew de Trezo, a noble knight of Cremona, and Conrad de Berceto, a scholar and knight in arms, whom the Emperor tortured with fire and water and various other torments.

The Parmese knights that the people of Modena and Reggio place in chains on account of the quarrel between Frederick and the Church.

Also, before Parma rebelled against the Emperor, there were two hundred knights who had been sent to Modena by the men of Parma on city business, and the Modenese, who held with the Emperor, put them in chains and imprisoned them immediately upon learning of Parma's defection. The same thing happened at Reggio. And the Emperor sent for these prisoners and chained them up in Victoria, and he chose from among these those that he would put to death, the whole time insulting the city of Parma with slanders and battle. But this killing of prisoners turned out badly for him, because it hardened the hearts of the citizens against him, so that in his efforts to capture the city, he encountered more resolute resistance.

The knights of the March of Ancona whom the Emperor had hanged on the gallows.

Once, certain knights of the March of Ancona deserted the Emperor's army, and fled into Parma, saying that they wished to take the part of the Church. And they were received gladly. It was for this reason that they bolted the Imperial party: Soon after Parma rebelled, the Emperor, fearing to lose the March also, had a number of knights of the March of Ancona placed under guard in

Cremona—some in prison, some merely under house arrest. Yet unknown to themselves, those under house arrest had been singled out for the worse fate. Therefore, sometime later, a messenger from the Emperor came to summon these five knights and, although they were just sitting down to dinner, they immediately arose in haste, took their horses, and rode with the messenger to the Imperial quarters. Once there, however, they were taken immediately to the field called Mosa outside Cremona, where gallows had been set up, and were hanged. And the hangman said to them, “The Emperor commanded this, because you are traitors.” Yet they had just come in great haste to the Emperor’s aid! The next day the Friars Minor came, took them down, and buried them, and they could hardly keep the wolves away that were trying to eat them while they were still hanging on the scaffold. I myself saw these things, because I was living in Cremona at the time, and I saw similar things in Parma.

Lord Gerard de Canale, whom the Emperor had thrown “in the depth of the sea” with “a millstone” tied “about his neck” [Matthew 18.6].

It would take a long time to recount all those people of the Church party that the Emperor himself killed or had killed. In Apulia, for example, he had Lord Gerard de Canale of Parma thrown “in the depth of the sea” with “a millstone” tied “about his neck” [Matthew 18.6]. And yet this man had been his very best friend, and had held many positions of power in his kingdom, and, in the siege of Parma, he always stayed by him. There was only a single mark of suspicion that the Emperor had against him: his tower in Parma had not been destroyed. Thus once the Emperor said to him, smiling as if in jest, “The Parmese love us greatly, don’t they, Gerard, because although they have destroyed all the other buildings that belonged to the empire, they have touched neither my palace on the Arena nor your tower.” Yet Lord Gerard failed to grasp the Emperor’s irony, for he thought that all times were the same. But how mistaken he was, for

The end seldom corresponds to the beginning.³

For as the Wise Man says in Ecclesiastes 3 [.8]: there is “a time of war, and a time of peace.”

At the time of the siege when I left Parma to go into France, I went through Fontanellato, where Gerard de Canale was then living. Gerard was glad to see me, and he told me that he was being of great service to the Parmese who were still in the city. But I said to him, “When the Emperor is laying siege to Parma, you are either with him or with the Parmese. Do not seek to halt between two parties. It will not be expeditious for you, for the Scripture says about the man who halts between two parties, Ecclesiasticus 23 [.30]: ‘Where he suspected not, he shall be taken.’” But he did not heed me, for he neglected to follow my advice, and thus he ended with a millstone tied around his neck cast into the depth of the sea, as I have said above. Thus the words of the Wise Man in Proverbs 12 [.15] are appropriate to him: “The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he

that is wise hearkeneth unto counsels," and Ecclesiastes 7 [.18]: "be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time," and also Job 22 [.16]: "Who were taken away before their time, and a flood hath overthrown their foundation."

Lord Bernard Rossi of Parma.

Lord Bernard Rossi of Parma, relative of Pope Innocent IV (for he was married to Innocent's sister), understood the Emperor's metaphorical words better than Gerard de Canale. For once when he was out riding with the Emperor, his horse stumbled, and the Emperor said to him, "Lord Bernard, you have a poor steed, but I will make this promise to you: in a few days I will give you a better one that will not stumble." But Lord Bernard knew that by "horse" he meant the gallows, and his "heart" was "inflamed" [Psalms 72.21] and angered against the Emperor; and so he deserted the Imperial party. Therefore, he went to Piacenza, along with a number of other Parmese knights, among whom were Gerard de Corigia (whom I saw twice as podestà of Parma), Lord Ghiberto de Gente (who, later, governed Parma for many years), and many other noble and powerful knights worthy of memory. The Emperor immediately banished them and ordered their palaces destroyed. For this reason a large number of other knights of the Imperial party, two hundred at least, were intimidated and therefore followed after these first and dwelt with them in Piacenza, "all holding swords, and most expert in war" [Song of Songs 3.8]. And the Emperor never saw them again, until he was humiliated and shamefully put to flight from his city of Victoria. Furthermore, this Lord Bernard, of whom I was speaking, was a very close friend of the Emperor's, greatly beloved of him, so that whenever he wished to see the Emperor, all doors were open to him.

Piero delle Vigne.

The Emperor, in fact, did not know how to preserve anyone's friendship. Rather, he boasted that he always used the lard of any pig he raised. And he meant by this that he had never raised anyone to riches and honor, whom he did not later divest of all his goods—a mean, contemptible thing to say. Yet this saying was made manifest in the person of Piero delle Vigne,⁴ the most powerful man of the Imperial court. He was not only the Emperor's personal counsellor and secretary, but also the Chancellor of the empire. For although the Emperor had "exalted" him "out of the dust" [III Kings 16.2], yet, afterward, he reduced him to the same dust again. For he found "occasion of word" and slander "against him" [Job 19.28], and these brought death upon him. But "Oppression troubleth the wise, and shall destroy the strength of his heart," as the Wise Man says in Ecclesiastes 7 [.8].

The slanders against Piero delle Vigne, which brought about his death.

The slander against Piero delle Vigne was as follows: the Emperor dispatched Justice Taddeo, Piero delle Vigne (whom he greatly loved and had placed over all others in his court), and some other men to Lyons to try to prevent his deposi-

tion by Pope Innocent IV. For he had heard that this was the reason for the council. And the Emperor had commanded his men that no one of them was to speak with the Pope alone without all the others being present. After their return, however, Piero delle Vigne was accused of having spoken many times alone with the Pope. The Emperor, therefore, sent for him, had him imprisoned, and caused him to die a wretched death. Thus the Emperor began to say "They that were sometime my counsellors, have abhorred me: and he whom I loved most is turned against me," Job 19 [.19].

At this time, indeed, the Emperor was disturbed very easily, both because he had been deposed from the empire and because Parma had rebelled against him. But his irritability was also caused by his attempt to hinder the Church and prevent her, by his fraudulent deeds and words, from proceeding against him, and since his malicious actions did not succeed, it is no wonder that he was so easily upset. For, Proverbs 29 [.22], "he that is easily stirred up to wrath, shall be more prone," that is, more inclined "to sin." Thus he killed his counselors, princes, and barons, calling them all traitors. So it is that Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33] says: "For he lieth in wait and turneth good into evil, and on the elect he will lay a blot," and Proverbs 21 [.24]: "The proud and the arrogant is called ignorant, who in anger worketh pride," and Proverbs 27 [.3-4]: "A stone is heavy, and sand weighty: but the anger of a fool is heavier than them both. Anger hath no mercy, nor fury when it breaketh forth: and who can bear the violence of one provoked?" and also Proverbs 28 [.16]: "A prince void of prudence shall oppress many by calumny." This was the kind of man that Frederick was, who killed many and had many put to death in fulfillment of Daniel's words describing the Antichrist, Daniel 7 [.24-25]: "another shall rise up after them, and he shall be mightier than the former, and he shall bring down three kings. And he shall speak words against the High One, and shall crush the saints of the most High: and he shall think himself able to change times and laws, and they shall be delivered into his hand until a time, and times, and half a time," and Daniel 8 [.23-26]: "When iniquities shall be grown up, there shall arise a king of a shameless face, and understanding dark sentences. And his power shall be strengthened, but not by his own force: and he shall lay all things waste, and shall prosper, and do more than can be believed. And he shall destroy the mighty, and the people of the saints. According to his will, and craft shall be successful in his hand: and his heart shall be puffed up, and in the abundance of all things he shall kill many: and he shall rise up against the prince of princes, and shall be broken without hand" (Here Abbot Joachim added with respect to Frederick, " 'human' is understood here"⁵). "And the vision of the evening and the morning, which was told, is true: thou therefore seal up the vision, because it shall come to pass after many days." See also Daniel 11 [.44]: "And he shall come with a great multitude to destroy and slay many." This can be applied to Frederick when he laid siege to Parma, because then was fulfilled the passage in Isaiah 10 [.7-9]: "his heart shall be set to destroy, and to cut off nations not a few. For he shall say: Are not my princes as so many kings?" and

Job 34 [.24]: "He shall break in pieces many and innumerable, and shall make others to stand in their stead." Also, it should be noted that Frederick could not deceive the Church, for it is written in Proverbs 26 [.24-26]: "An enemy is known by his lips, when in his heart he entertaineth deceit. When he shall speak low, trust him not: because there are seven mischiefs in his heart. He that covereth hatred deceitfully, his malice shall be laid open in the public assembly." These words were completely fulfilled in Frederick in the council at Lyons, where he was deposed and where his evil was made clear to all. The words which follow to the very end of that same chapter of Proverbs are peculiarly appropriate to Frederick.

Lord Bernard Roland Rossi knew how to beware of Frederick's witticisms.

But to return to Bernard Roland Rossi: I have never seen a man who had a better figure of a great prince, in both physical appearance and general mode of living. For when he was armed for battle and struck out at his enemies hither and yon with his iron mace, they fled before him as from the devil himself. And when I think of him, the image of the Emperor Charlemagne always comes to my mind, not only because of the things that I have read about him but also because of those things I myself have seen with my own eyes. Bernard rightly answered "a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise," Proverbs 26 [.5] when he and his allies went to the aid of Parma, but Frederick with his parables remained in "everlasting reproach" [Jeremiah 23.40; Psalms 77.66]. For "A parable coming out of a fool's mouth shall be rejected: for he doth not speak it in due season," Ecclesiasticus 20 [.22]. Frederick was never able to be a good friend to anyone. For it is easy to begin a friendship, but to preserve one requires great caution. Of the first Ecclesiasticus 37 [.1] speaks: "Every friend will say: I also am his friend: but there is a friend, that is only a friend in name." About friends, see also Ecclesiasticus 6. The poet speaks of the second:

Good friends are kept by proper deference.⁶

But the Emperor Frederick knew nothing, nor wished to know anything, about proper deference, because of his meanness and avariciousness. In fact, in the end he always slandered, confounded, or killed all his friends so that he could obtain all their possessions and treasure for himself and his sons. Thus it was that in time of need he found few friends, for as Ecclesiasticus 20 [.17] says: "A fool shall have no friend, and there shall be no thanks for his good deeds." Also what is written of Ismael is applicable to Frederick, Genesis 16 [.12]: "He shall be a wild man: his hand will be against all men, and all men's hands against him."

True and false friends.

What Seneca writes pertains to this matter of friendship: "I can show many men to you who not only do not have a friend but lack the ability to make friends."⁷ Also, the philosopher says, "It is difficult to test a friend when one is prosperous; in adversity, it is easy."⁸ In like manner Ecclesiasticus 12 [.8] says:

"A friend shall not be known in prosperity, and an enemy shall not be hidden in adversity," and again [Ecclesiasticus 12.17]: "And if evils come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first." For

A sunken ship catches no winds in its sails.⁹

Thus the Prophet says [Psalms 101.9]: "They that praised me," that is, in time of prosperity, "did swear against me," that is, in time of adversity. Whence also the Psalm [37.17]: "Whilst my feet are moved, they speak great things against me." Moreover, the poet writes:

When Zephyr blew, I was followed by a host of friends;
Now, in the blast of the cold north wind, they have all fled.¹⁰

Similarly, another poet:

Innumerable friends in happy times;
Under cloudy skies, alone.¹¹

Thus the Lord says in John 16 [.32]: "Behold, the hour cometh, and it is now come, that you shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me," and Proverbs 19 [.4,6-7]: "Riches make many friends: but from the poor man, even they whom he had, depart. Many honour the person of him that is mighty, and are friends of him that giveth gifts. The brethren of the poor man hate him: moreover also his friends have departed far from him," and also Proverbs 14 [.20]: "The poor man shall be hateful even to his own neighbor: but the friends of the rich are many."

The capture of Victoria by the Parmese, and the Cremonese carroccio found there.

Now, let us return to Frederick, whose violent enmity and hatred of Parma lasted from the end of June 1247 to the eighteenth day of February, a Tuesday, 1248, when the city of Victoria was captured. For the Parmese—not only the soldiers but all the citizens, even the women and boys and girls, "young men and maidens . . . the old with the younger" [Psalms 148.12]—went out from Parma armed for battle and violently expelled the Emperor, with all his knights and infantry, from Victoria. And many people were killed there and many led captive into Parma, and the prisoners that the Emperor was holding in chains in Victoria were freed. Thus the words of Isaiah 14 [.2] were fulfilled: "and they shall make them captives that had taken them, and shall subdue their oppressors." Also the Parmese took the Cremonese carroccio, which was in Victoria, and brought it into Parma and placed it with honor in the baptistery. But when the enemies of Cremona—the Milanese, the Mantuans, and many others whom the Cremonese had offended one time or another—came to the baptistery and saw the enemy's carroccio there, they carried off its ornaments as relics. And this carroccio had the name Bertha. The wheels and bed of the wagon, however, remained there

on the pavement of the baptistery, and its flag pole stood against the wall.

The Emperor's treasure and his priceless crown which the Parmese captured.

The Parmese also carried off the Emperor's entire treasury, which consisted of huge amounts of gold, silver, precious stones, vestments, vases, general furnishings, and household goods. Moreover, they captured the imperial crown, a splendid treasure itself, for it was very heavy and extremely valuable. The crown was completely covered with raised images worked delicately in gold and precious stones like miniature sculptures. It was as large as an urn, for it was a ceremonial crown intended solely to impart magnificence and splendor, not meant for wearing, since, save for a cloth which kept it elevated, it would have covered the entire head, face and all. I myself once held this crown in my own hands, for it was kept in the sacristy of the cathedral of the Blessed Virgin in the city of Parma. And remembering this crown, I am reminded of the diadem spoken of in II Kings, chapter 12 [.30]: "And he," that is, King David, "took the crown of their king," that is, the sons of Amon, "from his head, the weight of which was a talent of gold, set with most precious stones, and it was put upon David's head, and the spoils of the city which were very great he carried away."

It was a certain little man, of small stature, who found the crown, and he was facetiously called Short-step, because of his height. He carried the crown through the public streets, as one carries a falcon, showing it to all who wished to see it in honor of the capture of Victoria and to the "everlasting reproach" of Frederick. Whatever one could carry off from the city of Victoria became his own property, and no one presumed or dared to contend for it, and not one single word of contention was heard during the sack of Victoria, which is the more amazing since it is written in Isaiah 9 [.4-5]: "For the yoke of their burden, and the rod of their shoulder, and the sceptre of their oppressor thou hast overcome, as in the day of Madian. For every violent taking of spoils, with tumult."

The Parmese, however, bought the crown from their fellow citizen for two hundred imperial pounds, and gave him also a house near the church of St. Christine, in that place where in ancient times there had been a watering place for horses. For they had made the law that whatever should be taken from the city of Victoria, half should go to the community, half to the man who bore it off. Paupers thus became marvellously rich from such princely spoils, just as Ecclesiasticus 11 [.23] says: "For it is easy in the eyes of God on a sudden to make the poor man rich." Whence also Wisdom 10 [.10]: "He made him honourable in his labours, and accomplished his labours."

Gregory of Monte Longo, legate, obtained the Emperor's war gear.

Gregory of Monte Longo, legate, obtained the Emperor's war gear, such as his pavilions, etc. But the images and relics that the Emperor had collected were preserved in the sacristy of the cathedral of the Blessed Virgin, for although there were many warriors who fought Frederick and put him to flight, it was She herself

"one Hebrew woman" who "hath made confusion in the house of king Nabuchodonosor," as recorded in Judith, 14 [.16]. Thus the words of Debbora in Judges 4 [.9] are applicable to Victoria: "Sisara shall be delivered into the hand of a woman."

The leaders of the army which put Frederick to flight.

The leaders of this army were Gregory of Monte Longo, legate, a man of wisdom who "hath learned many things" [Ecclesiasticus 34.9], and Philip Vicedomino, a Piacenzan, a powerful, experienced man, who was at that time podestà of Parma. I have noted such matters in another chronicle that I wrote on the twelve wicked impieties of the Emperor Frederick.¹² Of all the treasures found in Victoria, however, few remained in Parma, for merchants came to buy from everywhere, and they got them at a good price and carried them away — the silver and golden vases, gems, pearls, precious stones of all kinds, silken garments of purple, and all manner of things which are used to ornament the human body. Take note, however, that many treasures of gold, silver, and precious stones still lie hidden in urns, coffers, and sepulchres in that place where Victoria once stood, and they are there to this day still awaiting discovery. Take note too that the merchants buying the treasure found in Victoria fulfills the Scripture in Proverbs 20 [.14]: "It is nought, it is nought, saith every buyer: and when he is gone away, then he will boast." It is important to note also that after the destruction of Victoria everybody found the place where his vineyard had previously been located, and no quarrel or trouble arose from such matters. Thus was fulfilled the Scripture [Psalms 103.23] which says: "Man shall go forth to his work, and to his labour until the evening." Also in that time when the Emperor was put to flight by the Parmese, the Scripture in Proverbs 10 [.25] was fulfilled: "As a tempest that passeth, so the wicked shall be no more." Why? Because "the wicked man shall be driven out in his wickedness," as recorded in Proverbs 14 [.32]. And the Emperor fled shamefully, having become "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked" [Apocalypse 3.17], and stripped, and sad. The words of Isaiah 33 [.1] are thus appropriate for him: "Woe to thee that spoilest, shalt not thou thyself also be spoiled? and thou that despisest, shalt not thyself also be despised? when thou shalt have made an end of spoiling, thou shalt be spoiled: when being wearied thou shalt cease to despise, thou shalt be despised," and also Micah 1 [.8-9]: "Therefore will I lament and howl: I will go stripped and naked: I will make a wailing like the dragons, and a mourning like the ostriches. Because her wound is desperate," because in full council in Lyons, the Emperor was deposed from the empire by Pope Innocent IV in the year of the Lord 1245. Thus Jeremiah 30 [.12] says: "Thy bruise is incurable, thy wound is very grievous," and also Daniel 4 [.14]: "This is the decree by the sentence of the watchers, and the word and demand of the holy ones; till the living know that the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; and he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him, and he will appoint the basest man over it."

The deeds of Frederick after being put to flight from Victoria by the Parmese.

Also, it is good to know all those things Frederick did after the destruction of Victoria, which I have written in another chronicle. He then returned to Apulia, from which it would have been better for him never to have come forth to make war against the Lombards. Therefore, the Scripture in Daniel 11 [.18-20] was fulfilled in him:

he shall cause the prince of his reproach to cease, and his reproach shall be turned upon him. And he shall turn his face to the empire of his own land, and he shall stumble, and fall, and shall not be found. And there shall stand up in his place, one most vile, and unworthy of kingly honour: and in a few days he shall be destroyed, not in rage nor in battle.

This Scripture can also be referred to Conrad,¹³ Frederick's son, who survived his father a few days and then died by poison injected into the bowels. The passage which follows [Daniel 11.21]: "And there shall stand up in his place one despised" can also be applied to Manfred,¹⁴ who was illegitimate. For although the Emperor did indeed marry his mother on his deathbed, he was the bastard son of the daughter of the Marquis of Lancia's sister. And the passage which follows [Daniel 11.21]: "And the kingly honour shall not be given him" was fulfilled when King Charles killed him in battle. The preceding passage written of Frederick, Daniel [11.18]: "And he shall cause the prince of his reproach to cease" also refers to Pope Innocent, who fled from Rome to Lyons from fear of Frederick. And, truly, he was the prince of his reproach, because he deposed him from the empire in full council at Lyons. The passage which follows [11.18]: "And his reproach shall be turned upon him," we saw fulfilled with our own eyes. Thus the Scripture says [Psalms 7.17]: "His sorrow shall be turned on his own head: and his iniquity shall come down upon his crown."

I remember all these things that took place in that year, because I had taken it upon myself to chronicle all matters concerned with Frederick. And so because they are worthy of record and because many people have inquired of me about them, it was incumbent upon me to write of such events and not keep silent, but [Psalms 101.19]: "Let these things be written unto another generation: and the people that shall be created shall praise the Lord."

It was, however, in the year 1247, while my city of Parma was still under siege by the deposed Emperor Frederick, that I left Parma and went to Lyons, where I spoke intimately with Pope Innocent IV in his own chambers. After the feast of All Saints, however, I resumed my journey, and made my way into France.

Brother John of Piano Carpine, whom Pope Innocent IV sent to the Tartars.

The influence of the stars.

On the same day that I came to the first convent of the Friars Minor beyond Lyons, Brother John of Piano Carpine¹⁵ also arrived there on his return from the Tartars, to whom he had been sent by Pope Innocent IV. This Brother John was

a down-to-earth man of great learning and spirituality. Moreover, he was a fine orator [Ecclesiasticus 34.9]: “learned” in “many things,” and he had once been a Provincial Minister in the Order. He showed me and the other Brothers a wooden cup which he was bearing as a gift to the Pope. In the bottom of his cup, as I saw with my own eyes, was the image of a beautiful queen, printed there not artificially by the hand of a painter, but by the power of the stars, and if it had been cut into a hundred pieces, each piece would still have retained the impression of this image. Yet if this seems to be impossible, I can demonstrate its truth and help establish its credibility by another example. For, once, the Emperor Frederick gave a certain church in Apulia to the Friars Minor, and it was a very ancient church, completely abandoned and in ruins. There, in the place where the altar had previously been located, a huge nut tree had grown up. And when this tree had been cut down it was discovered that on every piece was impressed an image of our Lord Jesus Christ crucified. And even if cut into a hundred pieces, every piece would always retain this image, whole and entire. This miracle was done by the Lord, because that tree had grown up in the place where the Passion of the Immaculate Lamb had once been reverently celebrated in the Host. In like manner, some people assert that such images can be caused by the influence of the stars.

Also, Brother John told us that he was carrying a very beautiful *capella* to give to the Pope. And, as he explained to us, he gave the name *capella* to all those pontifical garments which are required for the celebration of Mass on the high feast days. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 18 [.16]: “A man’s gift enlargeth his way, and maketh him room before princes,” and again: “Many honour the person of him that is mighty, and are friends of him that giveth gifts,” Proverbs 19 [.6]. Also Brother John told us of the many tribulations he had gone through to get to the high lord of the Tartars: the fatigue of the long journey, the great difficulties, the hunger, the cold, the heat. And he said that the proper name of the people is *Tatars*, not *Tartars*,¹⁶ and, he said, they eat horse flesh and drink mares’ milk. And he saw there among them “every nation under heaven” [Acts 2.5], except two. Moreover, he said that he could enter into the presence of the high lord of the Tatars only when dressed in purple, and that he was honorably and courteously received by him and that he was always treated well. He told us too that when the lord of the Tatars asked how many rulers there were in the western regions, he answered that there were only two—the Pope and the Emperor—and that all other regents held their powers from them. And again when the Tatar king asked which one of these two was the more powerful, Brother John answered that it was the Pope, and he then took out the Pope’s letter and gave it to him. And when the king had heard the letter read, he said that he would write the Pope an answer and give it to him, which he did.

Moreover, Brother John wrote a large book about the Tatars¹⁷ and other marvelous things in the world that he had seen with his own eyes. And he had this book read to the Brothers, as I myself heard as often as he undertook the

task of relating the facts about the Tatars. And whenever the Brothers marvelled over the work or did not understand some part that was being read, he himself explained the matter and expounded at large on the details.

The letter of the Emperor of the Tartars to the Pope.

I wish to record nothing from that book except the aforementioned letter, because I do not have the time. The letter reads as follows:

The letter of the lord of the Tatars to Pope Innocent IV.

By the power of God, the Emperor of all men sends a true and veracious letter to the great Pope. In order to preserve peace between us, you, the Pope, and all Christian people have sent your messenger to us, as we have learned from the messenger himself and from your letter. Therefore, if you desire to have peace with us, you, the Pope, and all kings and potentates should in no wise delay to visit me in order to come to a definition of peace. Then you will be able to hear our answer and our will.

One part of your letter suggested that we ought to be baptized and become Christians. To this we answer you briefly that we do not understand why we should do this. To the statement in your letter that you marvel at the great slaughter of men, and especially of Christians, among the Poles, the Moravians, and the Hungarians, we answer again that we do not understand this. Yet lest our silence should cause you completely to misunderstand, we will answer you in this manner: Because these people obeyed neither the word of God nor the command of Genghis Khan or the other khan, God commanded us to kill them and He delivered them into our hand. And, indeed, if it were not God who did this, what could man have done? Yet you men of the West believe yourselves to be the only Christians, and despise all other men. But how could you possibly know to whom God deigns to grant his grace? We, however, worship God, and by the power of God have conquered the whole world from the East to the West. And if this had not been by the power of God, what could men have done? If, however, you wish to have peace, and will turn over all your power to us, you, the Pope, and all Christian potentates must not in any wise hesitate to come to me and work out the peace. Then we will know that you wish to have peace with us. If, however, you will not believe our letter, and God's, and will not listen to the advice to come to us, then we will know for certain that you wish to have war with us. After this, what the future will bring, we do not know; God alone knows.

Ghengis Khan, First Emperor
Ochoday Khan, Second Emperor
Cuiuich Khan, Third Emperor

This is the whole of the letter sent by the lord of the Tatars to the Pope.

The peoples who have wreaked havoc on Italy in various times.

Note that the Vandals were the first people who invaded wretched Italy. They came from Africa, and they carried away Paulinus of Nola, bishop of the city, with them as captive. St. Gregory gives a full account of this man in the first part of the third book of the *Dialogues*.¹⁸

The second group of people were the Huns, whose king was Attila, the Scourge of God. And he came in the eleventh year of the pontificate of Pope Leo I,¹⁹ and laid waste to Aquileia, a principal city of Italy. And he would have destroyed almost the whole of Italy, including Rome, if Pope Leo had not opposed him by the help of the Lord and preserved his city. Thus the savage Attila was repulsed and, leaving Italy, returned to Pannonia.

Josaphat, king of Juda, is a figure of Pope Leo.

It is Pope Leo I, who, according to Abbot Joachim, fulfills the figure of Josaphat, king of Juda. See in the *Book of the Figures* and the *Book of the Concords*²⁰ how the two correspond, where Joachim speaks of Leo. And it is written of Josaphat in II Paralipomenon 20 [.3] that "being seized with fear betook himself wholly to pray to the Lord, and he proclaimed a fast for all Juda," and he put to flight the entire multitude of the sons of Moab and Ammon and the men of the Mount of Seir. Whence the Scripture says below [II Paralipomenon 20.22]: "And when they began to sing praises, the Lord turned their ambushments upon themselves, that is to say, of the children of Ammon, and of Moab, and of mount Seir, who were come out to fight against Juda, and they were slain."

The deeds of Theodoric, king of the Goths. He deserved to have his body exhumed for four reasons.

The third nation which invaded and destroyed Italy was the Goths. St. Gregory writes about them in the *Dialogues*. This people had many kings in Italy, the greatest of whom was Theodoric²¹ at Ravenna. He had such power and influence that when there arose a discord at Rome over the election of a Pope, messengers were sent to Ravenna for his help and counsel. Theodoric had the church of the Goths built in Ravenna, and the tower of his palace in Ravenna remains standing to this day. He also had the Church of St. Martin built in Celo Aureo, a church which is now called San Apollinare Nuovo, because the body of that saint was translated from the city of Classe to that church, and it is believed to still be there. He also had constructed that church outside Ravenna which is called Santa Maria Rotonda, and its roof consists of one single stone. And he himself was buried there in a crypt of porphyry. But that tomb may be seen vacant at the present day, for when Pope Gregory came to Ravenna, he had Theodoric's body dragged forth and thrown into a pit of dung. Pope Gregory did this for four reasons. First of all, although Theodoric was a Christian, he was an Arian. Second, he committed many evil deeds against Catholics. Third, he killed three great men: Boethius, Symmachus, and Pope John. Fourth, he was cast into the crater of Vulcan by

demons, as St. Gregory records in the fourth book of the *Dialogues*.²²

The fourth group of people to invade and lay waste Italy was the Longobards, as the historian Paul records in the first book of his history:

Innumerable captives were frequently taken in Germany and sold into slavery in the South. Furthermore, because that country could scarcely support them, many tribes left their homeland — some moving into Asia, but the majority swarming over the neighboring countries in Europe. Witness to this fact are the devastated cities of Illyria and Gaul, and particularly hapless Italy, which has endured the fury of almost all those tribes: the Goths, the Vandals, the Rugi, the Heruli, and the Turcilingi, as well as other barbarian hordes that came forth from Germany. Similarly, the Vinnili, that is, the Longobards, came out of Germany, a tribe which, subsequently, ruled Italy in peace. Yet some people say that this tribe came from the island called Scandinavia, and these people give a different reason for their migration. Pliny the Elder speaks of this island in his work on the nature of things.²³

Thus wrote Paul.

The fifth and last — oh, may it be the last! — people to consider invading Italy were the Tatars, as reported by Brother John of Piano Carpine, who spoke on friendly terms with the great lord of the Tatars. Piano Carpine lies in the district of Perugia.

In the time of Pope Gregory IX rumors first went abroad about the Tartars, and several Popes sent messengers to them.

It is important to note that it was in the time of Pope Gregory IX that rumors about the Tatars first arose. Then in the time of Pope Innocent IV Brother John of Piano Carpine was sent to them. Again, later, Pope John XXI²⁴ sent six Friars Minor to them, two from Bologna (one a lector, Brother Anthony of Parma; the other, a discretus, Brother John de San Agatha), two more from the March of Ancona, and two more from Tuscany — in all, three lectors and three representatives [*discreti*]. The lector from Tuscany who went to the Tatars was Brother Gerard of Prato, with whom I lived in the convent at Pisa when we were young. He was a brother of Brother Arlotto, who was in the convent at Paris and became a professor at the University there. These Friars Minor returned from the Tatars without any harm, and they reported many things about them, which I heard with my own ears.

Pope Innocent IV did great honor to Brother John of Piano Carpine after his return from the Tartars.

When Brother John of Piano Carpine arrived at Lyons after his return from the Tatars and gave the letter and gifts to Pope Innocent IV and reported many stories about that people, Pope Innocent rewarded him in five ways. First, he met with him very courteously and dealt with him on a very cordial and friendly

basis. Second, he retained him at the Papal court for three months—until the Parmese captured and destroyed the city of Victoria and put the Emperor to flight. For Pope Innocent always kept six Friars Minor with him as long as he lived, as I saw with my own eyes. Third, the Pope commended him highly for his service and faithfulness, according to the words of Proverbs 28 [.20]: “A faithful man shall be much praised.” Therefore, the Pope said to him “Blessings on you, my son, from the Lord Jesus Christ and from me his vicar, because I see fulfilled in you the words of Solomon in Proverbs 25 [.13]: ‘As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to him that sent him, for he refresheth his soul,’ and later in the same chapter [.25]: ‘As cold water to a thirsty soul, so is good tidings from a far country.’” Fourth, he made him archbishop of Antivari, saying with Matthew 25 [.23]: “Well done, good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things.” Fifth, he again made him papal legate and sent him to King Louis of France.²⁵ When asked why he was sent to the king of France, however, Brother John would not say, quoting the Scripture in Proverbs 25 [.9]: “Treat thy cause with thy friend, and discover not the secret to a stranger.” Thus Isaiah 24 [.16] says: “My secret to myself, my secret to myself,” and again [Psalms 118.11]: “Thy words have I hidden in my heart, that I may not sin against thee.”

Pope Innocent IV requested the king of France to delay his crusade until after affairs were settled with Frederick.

The cause of Brother John's mission was thought to be this: Pope Innocent had deposed Frederick from the empire, and the Parmese had rebelled against him. Moreover, the Parmese had cast him out of his own city, putting him shamefully to flight and destroying Victoria utterly, so that scarcely a trace remained. From all these injuries as a result, the Emperor was completely exasperated and like “a bear raging in the wood when her whelps are taken away” [II Kings 17.8], enflamed in his anger and fury. For after the expulsion from Victoria, he returned to Cremona, then back again to Torricella; and he surrounded Parma and did what damage he could and what he could not do, he threatened. Yet he wreaked great havoc before returning to his own kingdom, as we shall report below and as we have already recounted in another chronicle. Seeing Frederick as the great persecutor of the Church who would spout forth his poison gladly whenever possible, and fearing not a little for his own person, the Pope, therefore, sent his legate to the king of France requesting him to delay his Crusade until he should discover what God would finally do with Frederick. To further his request, moreover, he alleged that there were also in Italy a huge number of men who had become infidels and worse, violent, perverse men “in distress and oppressed with debt” [I Kings 22.2], “needy men, and robbers” who “followed” Frederick “as their prince” [Judges 11.3], and who were destroying Church property.

What more can one say? The Pope labored in vain, for he could not change the king's mind about going to the Holy Land, since all preparations had already

been made: all expenses had been laid out and everybody had been given the sign of the cross. And so the king wrote Innocent saying that he should commit the problem of Frederick to Divine Judgment, since God is the one who "is able to abase" those "that walk in pride," as is written in Daniel 4 [.34]. For [Psalms 74.8-9]: "One he putteth down, and another he lifted up: for in the hand of the Lord there is a cup of strong wine full of mixture." "For various is the event of war: and sometimes one, sometimes another is consumed by the sword," as recorded in II Kings 11 [.25]. Thus it was He who spoke in III Kings 20 [.11]: "Tell him," that is, Benedab, king of Damascus, who had thirty-two kings with him when he besieged Samaria and who boasted that his men outnumbered the very dust of Samaria, "Let not the girded boast himself as the ungirded." This is the meaning of the passage: until you are girded with arms, the matter hangs in the balance. Do not boast, therefore, and recklessly lay your arms aside, that is, a warrior should not boast as if he were a victor. Or according to another reading: "Let neither the girded nor the ungirded boast," that is, before the victory, a man armed with a multitude or even disarmed (that is, lacking a multitude) cannot boast, because frequently the few conquer the multitude.²⁶ Thus Judas Machabeus said to his men, I Machabees 3 [.18-19]: "It is an easy matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few: and there is no difference in the sight of the God of heaven to deliver with a great multitude, or with a small company: For the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven." Jonathan is a good example of this, for he penetrated the Philistines' stronghold with his bodyguard alone, I Kings 14. Thus it was too that with a firm, determined mind and a devout spirit King Louis of France planned to go abroad and bring help as quickly as possible to the Holy Land.

The day after I saw Brother John of Piano Carpine on his return from the Tatars, he traveled on to Lyons to see Pope Innocent, who had sent him. I, however, resumed my journey into France. And I stayed first at Troyes for fifteen days in the Brie region of Champagne, France. And there were many Lombard and Tuscan merchants in that place, for a market is held there which lasts for two whole months, and the same is true of Provins. This city of Troyes was the native city of Pope Urban IV and Master Peter, who wrote the *Histories*.²⁷ Afterward, I went to Provins, and stayed there from the feast of Saint Lucy to the Purification.²⁸ During the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, however, I was in Paris, where I stayed for eight days,²⁹ and I saw many things which were pleasing to me. Then I left and lived in the convent at Sens, and the French Brothers always received me gladly wherever I went, because I was a placid, happy young man who praised them highly. Once when I lay sick in the infirmary with a cold, some of the French Brothers came to me in haste from the convent, bearing a letter with the following news: "We have the best of news about Parma: the men of Parma have cast the deposed Emperor Frederick out of the city of Victoria, they have put him shamefully to flight, and they have destroyed his city utterly, so that the words of Apocalypse 17 [.8,11] may be truly said:

a city 'that was, and is not.' They have also captured the Emperor's treasure and the Cremonese carroccio and carried them into Parma. This present is a copy of the letter sent by the Parmese to the Pope at Lyons." Then the French Brothers asked me what was so important about a carroccio. And I answered that the Lombards called a wagon of this sort their carroccio and that if the carroccio of some city is captured in battle, the city considers it the greatest kind of dishonor, just as, for example, the French people and the king would consider it the greatest dishonor if the Oriflamme were captured in battle. Hearing this, they all marvelled greatly, and said, "Ha, God! now we have heard wonders.!"

The lavish praise that Brother John of Piano Carpine received, and his book on the Tartars.

After this, I recovered from my sickness. And, behold, Brother John of Piano Carpine returned from the king, to whom he had been sent by the Pope, and he had with him the book that he had written on the Tatars. The Brothers then read the book in his presence, and he himself interpreted it and explained passages that seemed difficult or hard to believe. And I ate with Brother John, both in the convent of the Friars Minor and in abbeys and other important places, "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10]. For he was gladly and frequently invited to lunch and to dinner, for a number of reasons – because he was a papal legate, because he was ambassador to the king, because he had gone among the Tatars, but also because he was a Friar Minor, considered by all to be a man of the holiest kind of life. For they said of him: "One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come, he will not deceive us," I Machabees 7 [.14]. For when I was at Cluny, the monks said to me, "Would that all papal legates were like this Brother John who was among the Tatars. For other legates despoil churches if they can, and carry off whatever they are able to. But when Brother John was with us, he sought to carry off nothing, save a piece of cloth with which to make a tunic for his companion."

Praise of the monastery at Cluny and of the black monks generally.

And may you know, you who read this, that the monastery at Cluny is the finest monastery of the black monks, the Order of St. Benedict, in Burgundy. For within its walls there are several priories. There is also so great a number of facilities that the Pope, the Cardinals, and the whole papal court, as well as the Emperor himself could be housed there without the slightest problem for the monks; no monk would have to leave his cell nor be inconvenienced in any way. It is worth noting too that the Order of St. Benedict, certainly with respect to the black monks, is better preserved in the sections beyond the mountains than in Italy. Within this order of the black monks of St. Benedict, it is worth noting also, there are four important monasteries: in Burgundy, Cluny; in Germany, St. Gall's; in Lombardy in the bishopric of Mantua between the Po and the Larione, St. Benedict's (where the Countess Matilda lies buried in a stone sepulchre); and Monte Casino, the head of the Order.

After leaving the convent at Sens where I was living when Victoria was cap-

tured and destroyed and the Emperor shamefully put to flight, I went to Auxerre and lived there, because I had been specifically assigned to this convent by the Minister of France. Auxerre is said to be like a high seat of the gods or like a high star, because the bodies of many martyred saints are there. The body and the monastery of St. Germanus is also there, for he was the bishop of that city, and he was like a very bright star, "as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds" [Ecclesiasticus 50.8], as is well known to those who have read his legend.

Master William of Auxerre,³⁰ who had a special gift of disputation though not of preaching.

Master William, who wrote the *Summa* and another work on the ecclesiastical offices, was a native of Auxerre, and I frequently went to his house. Brother William, as the priest of the bishopric of Auxerre told me, had a special gift of disputation. When he debated at the University of Paris, for example, nobody could best him, for he was a master logician and theologian. When he attempted to preach, however, he did not know what to say. And yet in his *Summa* he had included many subtle distinctions.

An illustration of a subtle distinction that the Apostle makes when he says: "To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom" [I Corinthians 12.8].

Here is what the Apostle says on this matter, I Corinthians 7 [.7]: "every one hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that," and again later in chapter 12 [.7-8]: "And the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man unto profit. To one indeed, by the Spirit, is given the word of wisdom." Let us remember here the example of St. Equitius, who could not cease speaking about God, as St. Gregory writes in the first book of the *Dialogues*.³¹ "And to another, the word of knowledge, according to the same Spirit." Remember here the example of Abbot Joachim, who says that he received his great knowledge of the Scripture and the future from God.³² Thus when the Wise Man says in Proverbs 30 [.3]: "I have not learned wisdom, and have not known the science of saints," he is speaking of aquired knowledge, not infused. Ecclesiastes 2 [.9] speaks of the latter: "My wisdom also remained with me." This wisdom comes from the Lord, because, as John 3 [.27] records: "A man cannot receive any thing, unless it be given him from heaven," since "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy," Romans 9 [.16]. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 2 [.6]: "the Lord giveth wisdom: and out of his mouth cometh prudence and knowledge," and Daniel 2 [.21]: "giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that have understanding," and Isaiah 28 [.9] "Whom shall he teach knowledge? and whom shall he make to understand the hearing? them that are weaned from the milk, that are drawn away from the breasts." Thus Ecclesiasticus 1 [.33] says: "Son, if thou desire wisdom, keep justice, and God will give her to thee." But he does not give it to fools, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.16]: "What doth it avail a fool to have riches, seeing he cannot buy wisdom?" and also Proverbs 24 [.7]: "Wisdom is too high for a fool, in the gate

he shall not open his mouth." And note that Moses had both kinds of wisdom, acquired and infused. Acts 7 [.22] speaks of the first that he "was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; and he was mighty in his words and in his deeds," and of the second Ecclesiasticus 4 [.12] that: "Wisdom inspireth life into her children, and protecteth them that seek after her, and will go before them in the way of justice," and also Proverbs 4 [.11]: "I will shew thee the way of wisdom, I will lead thee by the paths of equity." Wherefore the Lord said to Moses, Exodus 25 [.40]: "Look and make it according to the pattern, that was shewn thee in the mount."

Thus it was that Master William of Auxerre had the gift of disputation, but not of preaching to the people. Gregory speaks of the first: "Nothing is understood fully until it is broken by the teeth of disputation."³³ And Ecclesiasticus 17 [.29] speaks of the second: "For all things cannot be in men."

The Apostle continues [I Corinthians 12.9]: "To another, faith [add "is given"] in the same spirit." This was given to Cornelius, who came to the faith through works, Acts 10. The Apostles also besought the Lord for this, saying in Luke 17 [.5]: "Increase our faith." And the Lord required this of them, Luke 17 [.6]: "If you had faith like to a grain of mustard seed," etc. Note the exemplum of the shoemaker who moved a mountain and freed the Christians in the land of the Saracens. See the sermon *Salvatorem expectamus* by Brother Luke. Thus Jeremiah 5 [.3] says: "O Lord, thy eyes are upon faith."³⁴ Why? because as the Apostle says in Hebrews 11 [.6]: "Without faith it is impossible to please God." Faith is necessary to salvation, as the Apostle says in Hebrews 11 [.33]: "by faith conquered kingdoms, wrought justice, obtained promises." Also, it was faith that the Lord praised in the centurion, saying in Matthew 8 [.10]: "Amen I say to you, I have not found so great faith in Israel." The Lord did the same with the woman of Canaan, Matthew 15 [.28]: "O woman, great is thy faith." Moreover, he ascribed the miracles that he did more to the faith of the believer and the devout seeker than to his own powers. Thus to the man whose son he healed, he said, Mark 9 [.22]: "If thou canst believe, all things are possible to him that believeth," and also Luke 7 [.50]: "Thy faith hath made thee safe, go in peace." See also Luke 17 [.19] and 18 [.42]. Also, the Lord says that such faith will not last, Luke 18 [.8]: "but yet the Son of man, when he cometh, shall he find, think you, faith on earth?" and Jeremiah 7 [.28]: "faith is lost, and is taken away out of their mouth," and also Proverbs 20 [.6]: "Many men are called merciful: but who shall find a faithful man?"

The Apostle says further [I Corinthians 12.9]: "To another, the grace of healing in one Spirit." Take note, for example, of the hermit who had the gift of healing the sick, at whose cell some robbers thought to find much gold. He caused them to be transfixed outside his door until morning, however, when the neighbors came and wanted to burn them as thieves. But the hermit said, "Let them go unharmed; otherwise, the gift of healing will depart from me." And, immediately, the robbers were converted to God.³⁵ St. Gregory speaks of the same in the

third book of the *Dialogues* about the priest Amantius, who had the gift of healing. For Gregory says: "Florida, bishop of Tivoli, told me that there was a certain priest of his bishopric named Amantius, who was a man of great simplicity. And he had the gift of being able to lay his hands upon the sick in the manner of the Apostles and restoring them to health, and however serious the illness it would recede at his touch. I made a point of seeing this man of such great power, desiring to house him for a few days in the infirmary, where the presence of the gift of healing could be very easily tested," etc. See in the *Dialogues* how he healed a man afflicted with palsy.³⁶

The Apostle adds [I Corinthians 12.10]: "To another, the working of miracles." The Apostle Paul himself had this gift, of whom it is written, Acts 19 [.11-12]: "And God wrought by the hand of Paul more than common miracles. So that even there were brought from his body to the sick, handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the wicked spirits went out of them." Many men of the primitive Church performed all these things, as reported in Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. And this is what the Lord says in the last chapter of Mark [16.18]: "they shall lay their hands upon the sick, and they shall recover."

The Apostle continues [I Corinthians 12.10]: "To another, prophecy" (add "is given"). Agabus had this gift, about whom it is written, Acts 11 [.28]: "And one of them named Agabus, rising up, signified by the Spirit, that there should be a great famine over the whole world, which came to pass under Claudius." Simon Niger also had this gift, of whom an account is found in Acts 13 [.1]. The daughters of Philip the Evangelist, "who was one of the seven" [Acts 21.8], also had this gift, of whom it is written in Acts 21 [.9]: "And he had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy." The Scripture of Joel 2 [.28] was fulfilled in these people: "And your sons," that is, Agabus and Simon Niger, "and your daughters," that is, the daughters of Philip, "shall prophesy." Many other men have had this gift, and this is necessary, because as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 29 [.18]: "When prophecy shall fail, the people shall be scattered abroad."

The Apostle continues [I Corinthians 12.10]: "To another, the discerning of spirits" (add "is given"). Fortunatus, a man of venerable life, bishop of Todi, had this gift, of whom St. Gregory writes in the first book of the *Dialogues*: "He had the powerful gift of casting out spirits, so much so that he was always successful in casting out legions of demons from possessed men, and by his constant perseverance in prayer he was able to overcome the attacks of these repulsive hordes against himself."³⁷ And in the course of his story, Gregory tells how a demon which Fortunatus had cast out of one man entered into another, who then killed his own son in a fire. And when Peter asked why God permitted this, among the many answers given, Gregory concluded briefly as follows: "There are some men who labor hard to do good merely in order to overshadow another man's merit. And they do not take joy in the good that do, only in the praise which they get from others. I believe this to be true of that man whom the evil spirit took possession of: his intention was vain display rather than good works, in order

to appear to be better than the bishop himself. Therefore, the demon which that man of God, Fortunatus, had cast out entered into him.' Peter answered, 'So said, so done. For the conclusion shows that his intention was not pure.' Thus St. John speaks well in his first Epistle, chapter 4 [.1]: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God."

The Apostle continues [I Corinthians 12.10]: "To another, diverse kinds of tongues" (add "are given"), that is, by the Spirit. Thus it is recorded in Acts 2 [.4]: "And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak," and also in Acts 10 [.44-46]: "While Peter was yet speaking these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word. And the faithful of the circumcision, who came with Peter, were astonished, for that the grace of the Holy Ghost was poured out upon the Gentiles also, For they heard them speaking with tongues, and magnifying God," and Acts 19 [.6]: "And when Paul had imposed his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came upon them, and they spoke with tongues and prophesied," because some of them predicted the future. Paul says that he himself had this gift, I Corinthians 14 [.18]: "I thank my God I speak with all your tongues." And this was the special sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit in the primitive Church.

The interpretation of speeches can be understood in two ways.

The Apostle continues: "To another, interpretation of speeches" [I Corinthians 12.10]. It should be noted that "the interpretation of speeches" can be understood in two ways. First is the fact that those men who translate books from one language to another are called interpreters. Of such men I have written fully in the section on the Emperor Adrian, because Aquila, chief among interpreters, translated during his reign. See the chronicle which begins "Octavianus Caesar Augustus,"³⁸ etc., which I wrote when I was in the convent of Ferrara in the year that King Louis of France was captured by the Saracens in the Holy Land, that is, in the year 1250. I gathered the material of this chronicle from various writings and carried it up to the time of the Longobards. But then I laid down my pen and ceased to write that chronicle, because I was so poor that I could not obtain the necessary paper or parchment. And it is now the year 1284. I did not, however, cease to write many other chronicles, which, in my opinion, I have written extremely well, for I have removed from my sources repetitions, errors, and contradictions. Yet I have not corrected everything, because some errors are so customary that nobody could root them from minds engrained with them from the beginning. I could give many examples of such things, but to the ignorant and unlearned no example is sufficient, because "He that teacheth a fool, is like one that glueth a potsherd together," Ecclesiasticus 22 [.7]. For "He that telleth a word to him that heareth not," that is, him that understandeth not, "is like one that waketh a man out of a deep sleep. He speaketh with one that is asleep, who uttereth wisdom to a fool: and in the end of the discourse he saith: Who is this?"

[Ecclesiasticus 22.8-9]. The following can be said to such a man: "Erla ke þe farina."³⁹ This is the reply of a jester.

For those who preach and teach, there is a second way of understanding the "interpretation of speeches": that it pertains to preachers and teachers, of whom there is a huge number in the New Testament. And what the Apostle says in the passage above about the division of gifts pertains more to this interpretation than what he says in I Corinthians 12 [.11]: "But all these things one and the same Spirit worketh, dividing to every one according as he will." Thus he says later in chapter 14 [.5]: "And I would have you all to speak with tongues, but rather to prophesy. For greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh with tongues: unless perhaps he interpret, that the church may receive edification." Even Mark the Evangelist is called Peter's disciple and interpreter not because Peter needed him as an interpreter, since he himself knew how to speak all languages, but because Mark wrote his Gospel according to the way he had heard Peter preaching it in Italy. What the Apostle says in I Corinthians 12 [.10], therefore, pertains to the teachers of the New Testament: "To another, interpretation of speeches" (supply "is given by the Spirit"). Thus the Lord says, Matthew 13 [.52]: "Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old," and also Job in chapter 28 [.11]: "The depths also of rivers he hath searched, and hidden things he hath brought forth to light," and Daniel 13 [.3]: "But they that are learned shall shine as the brightness of the firmament: and they that instruct many to justice, as stars for all eternity."

Blessed be the Lord, who has got me through this matter of the Apostle's division. It was by way of Master William, who had the gift of disputing and of writing books though not of preaching that I have written of this division of the Apostle's. Now, let us return again to the description of Auxerre.

I remember that while I was living in the convent of Cremona in the year that my city Parma rebelled against the deposed Emperor, Brother Gabriel of Cremona, a Friar Minor, a fine lector, and a man of most holy life, told me that Auxerre had far more vineyards, and produced more wine than Cremona, Parma, Reggio, and Modena put together. I was astonished to hear this and believed it impossible. While I was living in Auxerre, however, I discovered that he had spoken the truth, for that bishopric is very large, and all its mountains and valleys and fields are simply filled with vineyards, as I saw with my own eyes. And the men of that country "sow not, neither do they reap, neither have they storehouse nor barn" [Luke 12.24; Matthew 6.26]; rather, they send their wine to Paris by means of the river that flows through their own countryside. And in Paris they receive very good prices for their wine, on which they live very well indeed. I myself have traveled three times throughout the region of Auxerre, for I once accompanied a Brother who was preaching the Crusade there and giving the sign of the cross to those who would go with the king of France. And I traveled on another occasion with a different Brother who preached the Last Supper in a beautiful Cister-

cian monastery. At that time we celebrated Easter with a certain countess, who invited us to dinner, and spread for us, that is, for the entire household, a fine dinner of twelve different courses. Yet it was unfortunate that her husband, the count, was not at home, for then the variety and largess would have been even greater. And that Brother pointed out to me the monastery at Pontigny, where Pope Alexander III, who was living in Sens, received St. Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, when he had been expelled from England by King Artaldo.⁴⁰ The third time I traveled with Brother Stephen, and I saw and learned many things which are worthy of record, but which I pass over for the sake of brevity, and hasten on to other matters.

Take note that in the province of France—I am speaking of the divisions of the Order of the Friars Minor—there are eight custodies, and of these eight, four drink beer; four, wine. Take note too that there are three regions in France that produce an abundance of wine: La Rochelle, Beaune, and Auxerre. It is noteworthy also that in Auxerre red wines have the lowest reputation, for they are not as good as the red wines of Italy. The wines of Auxerre are white and sometimes golden; they have a splendid bouquet and a wonderful taste, and they bring the drinker “into security and happiness” [III Esdras 3.20]. Thus one can say of the fine wine of Auxerre what is written in Proverbs 31 [.6-7]: “Give strong drink to them that are sad: and wine to them that are grieved in mind. Let them drink, and forget their want, and remember their sorrow no more.” The wines of Auxerre, moreover, are so strong that even when a small quantity of it remains in a jug, the outside of the jug weeps.

The high praise that the French bestow on wine.

The French are accustomed to say with a smile that if it is of the best, good wine should have three *b*'s and seven *f*'s. For they say playfully:

El vin bons e bels e blance,
forte e fer e fin e franble,
fredo e fras e formijant.⁴¹

Master Morando on wine.

Master Morando, the master of grammar at Padua, commended wine, according to his taste, in these words:

Sweet, glorious, beautiful wine
Pampers the body, makes it fine,
and enhances the spirit.

This delicate nectar to those inclined
Sharpens the senses, improves the mind,
it has such merit.

Good, strong wine, sweet and pure
Renders a man safe, sound, secure,
and warms the blood.

But bitter wine sears the guts.
Bites the tongue and sharply cuts,
and fills a man with crud.

And wine that is chilled excessively cold
Makes a man loud, and boisterous, and bold,
and frequently to piss.

But wine too strongly carbonated
Makes one slow, indolent, satiated,
lends color, but takes bliss.

Yet red wine delicate and nice
Should never be considered a vice,
for it gives a healthy glow.

And golden wine tastes like nectar.
It warms the belly and all that sector,
and disperses woe.

But clear, pure water, ugh, provokes a chill,
Stirs one's guts, and makes one ill
from head to toe.⁴²

The French, therefore, delight in good wine, and it is no wonder, for "wine . . . cheereth God and men," as is written in Judges 9 [.13]. And [Psalms 103.15]: "Wine may cheer the heart of man." And "it turns every mind to security and joy, makes one forget every sadness and guilt, and makes all intentions honest. It respects neither king nor magistrate, and makes all speak openly. When they drink they remember neither friendship nor brotherhood, but soon draw forth their swords. And once they have immersed themselves in their wine and risen from their carousing, they do not remember what they did." And above in the beginning of this passage the man who spoke of the power of wine started out in this manner: "Wine prevails over all men who drink it. It seduces the mind, and makes vain the king's mind, as well as the orphan's. So it is with the servant and the free man, with the pauper and the rich man." III Edras 3.⁴³ Note too, as one reads in Genesis 9 [.21]: "And drinking of the wine was made drunk, and was uncovered in his tent," and on that occasion Noah said to his son [Genesis 9.25]: "Cursed be Chanaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." Thus St. Jerome writes about this passage: "Before the invention of wine, everyone enjoyed unrestricted freedom."⁴⁴ See also Ecclesiasticus 19 [.2]: "Wine and

women make wise men fall off, and shall rebuke the prudent." The truth of this may be seen in Lot's daughters, who gave wine to their father in order to lie with him, Genesis 19. Hence it is that Solomon after writing of an evil woman, Proverbs 23 [.27-28]: "For a harlot is a deep ditch: and a strange woman is a narrow pit. She lieth in wait in the way as a robber, and him whom she shall see unwary, she will kill," immediately turns to the subject of wine, saying [Proverbs 23.29-30]: "Who hath woe? whose father hath woe? who hath contentions? who falls into pits? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? Surely they that pass their time in wine and study to drink off their cups."

The French and the English, who "study to drink off their cups," for which reason Jeremiah 11 [.18]: "But thou, O Lord, hast shewn me, and I have known: then thou shewedest me their doings" can be applied to them.

The French and the English literally "study to drink off their cups." Thus the eyes of the French are suffused with red, because from their excessive drinking their eyes become bleary and crossed, and rheumy. Thus very early in the morning they have the habit of rising up from their wine bleary-eyed, making their way to the priest who celebrated Mass, and asking him to rinse their eyes in the holy water in which he has washed his hands. To such men, when he was priest in Provins, Brother Bartholomew Guiscolo of Parma used to say, as I have heard him say many times: "Alé! Ke mal onta ve don Dé! Mettì de l'aighe in le vins, non in lis oculi," which is to say "Get out of here! May God punish you! Put the water in your wine when you have to drink, not in your eyes!" Also, it is written in Proverbs 20 [.1]: "Wine is a luxurious thing, and drunkenness riotous: whosoever is delighted therewith shall not be wise."

The English also delight in such matters and "study to drink off their cups." For an Englishman will take a huge glass of wine and drink it all with the words, "Ge bi a vu," which means, "May you drink as much as I drink." And he thinks this is the height of courtesy, and is greatly disturbed if anyone fails to perform what he has taught by both word and action. His action, therefore, is contrary to the Scripture in Esther 1 [.7-8]: "Wine also in abundance and of the best was presented, as was worthy of a king's magnificence. Neither was there any one to compel them to drink that were not willing." Moreover, another Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 31 [.30]: "Challenge not them that love wine: for wine hath destroyed very many." And he continues on the subject of sobriety until the end of the chapter. It should be forgiven the English, however, if they drink freely whenever they can, for there is little wine in their country. Since wine is abundant in their country, the French, however, are less easily forgiven, for one should not have to say to them, "A habit is hard to break." Take note of the following poem:

Let the land of Normandy give you fish;
England, wheat; Scotland, milk; France, wine;
Forests, wild beasts; air, birds; herds, butter;

Gardens, delights; groves, shade; ponds, paper.⁴⁵

Enough has been said of these matters.

The length of days in France.

It should be noted that in France in the month of May the days are longer than in Italy; and, in like manner, they are shorter in the winter than they are in Italy, as I saw with my own eyes.

St. Louis, king of France, and his first Crusade.

King Louis' presence at the provincial chapter of the Friars Minor held at Sens.

Let us now return to the course of our history and speak of the king of France. In the year 1248 around the first of Pentecost or after, I left Auxerre and went to the convent at Sens, because a provincial chapter of the French province was to be held there, and Louis, the king of France himself, was to attend. And so after the chapter had assembled, the Provincial Minister of France went to Brother John of Parma, the Minister General, with his definitors, and said to him, "Father, we have examined and approved forty Brothers who came to this chapter to receive the office of preaching, and we have given it to them and sent them back to their own convents to avoid having too many Brothers at the meeting-place of the chapter." And the Minister General answered that they had acted wrongly and ill-advisedly, since this office was to be given by Provincial Ministers and definitors only in the absence of the Minister General. Then he added, "I will approve of the examination which you have given them, but I want them all recalled so that they may receive the office of preaching from me, as the Rule instructs."⁴⁶ And it was so done. These men thereafter remained in the convent until the end of the chapter meeting.

When the king of France had left Paris and arrived at the place of the chapter, all the Friars Minor went out to meet him and receive him with honor. And Brother Rigaud,⁴⁷ a Friar Minor, who was a professor at the University of Paris and archbishop of Rouen, went forth dressed in his pontifical robes and hurried along seeking the king and crying out, "Where is the king? Where is the king?" And I followed him, for he was somewhat distracted in making his way alone, with his mitre on his head and his pastoral staff in his hand. He had taken so long in dressing himself that all the other Brothers had already gone out and stationed themselves here and there along the street, and they were standing with expectant faces hoping to catch sight of the approaching king. I myself was astonished beyond measure, thinking, "Certainly, I have read 'not once nor twice' [IV Kings 6.10] that the ancient inhabitants of Sens were so powerful that they captured Rome under the leadership of Brenno. Now, however, their women look like servants." If the king of France had taken his way through Pisa or Bologna, the finest ladies of those famous cities would have turned out to meet him. But then I remembered the French custom, for in France only the bourgeoisie live in the

cities while the knights and their noble ladies live in villas on their estates.

The king of France's physical appearance and the depth of his religious character.

The king was slender and delicate, tall and somewhat emaciated. He had a very pleasing face and an angelic expression. And he had come to the church of the Friars Minor not in regal pomp but in pilgrim dress with a staff and scrip on his shoulder, splendid accoutrements for a king. He did not come on horseback but afoot, and his three brothers, who were counts, followed him in the same kind of humility of spirit and clothing. The first of these brothers was called Robert; the last, Charles, an admirable young man. Thus that prophetic Scripture could be used of them [Psalm 19.8]: "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will call upon the name of the Lord our God." The king cared more for prayer and charity to the poor than he did for noble entourage. And so he fulfilled the teaching of Ecclesiasticus 4 [.7]: "Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor." Truly, he was closer to the monk in the devotion of his heart than to the warrior in the pursuit of war. And so the king entered the church of the Brothers, made a devout genuflection before the altar, and knelt in prayer. Afterward, just as he was going out the door of the church, I was very near him. And, behold, a gift was brought to the king on behalf of the treasurer of the church of Sens: a huge fish still alive in a large tub of fir-wood—which the Tuscans call *bigonza* and which is used to bathe infants. This fish was a pike, which is regarded as the finest and rarest fish in France. And the king gave thanks both to the giver and to the one who presented it. Then the king spoke in a loud voice, commanding that nobody under the rank of knight be permitted to enter the house where the chapter was being held, save, of course, for the Brothers, with whom he himself wished to speak.

The king requests the prayers of the Brothers, a request which was granted.

When we were gathered together in chapter, the king began to speak, commending himself, his brothers, his mother the queen, and his entire entourage to the Order, and, kneeling most devoutly, he besought the prayers and spiritual support of the Brothers. And some of the French Brothers, who were near me, wept inconsolably in their piety and devotion. After the king had finished, Cardinal Oddo—who had once been Chancellor of the University of Paris and who planned to accompany the king on the Crusade—arose to speak, and he was succinct and to the point, following the advice in Ecclesiasticus 7 [.5]: "desire not to appear wise before the king," and Job 29 [.22]: "To my words they durst add nothing," and also Proverbs 30 [.6]: "Add not any thing to his words, lest thou be reproved, and found a liar." Then by virtue of his position as Minister General, Brother John of Parma gave a fitting response: "Ecclesiasticus 32 [.4-5] teaches: 'Speak thou that art elder: for it becometh thee, To speak the first word with careful knowledge,' Our king and lord, father and benefactor, who has presented himself 'affable to the congregation of the poor' [Ecclesiasticus 4.7] has come to us humbly,

and first, as befitted his station, he has spoken edifying words to us, courteously and mildly. But he did not ask us for gold or silver, with which indeed, through the grace of God, his treasury abounds. He besought instead the prayers and spiritual support of the Brothers, for which he is to be highly commended. Moreover, our lord the king has taken up the Crusader's cross to honor our Lord Jesus Christ, the universal Church, and all Christendom. His purpose is to bring assistance to the Holy Land and to battle against the enemies of the faith and the true cross, for the salvation of his own soul and all of those who go with him. Wherefore, since he has been the especial benefactor and defender of the Order, not in Paris alone but throughout his realm, and since he has come to us so humbly with so worthy a company to seek the spiritual support of the Order, it is fitting and right that we bestow some benefits upon him. Yet because our French Brothers are more suitable to undertake this duty and understand far better what to do than I, I will give them no ruling in this matter. Yet when I undertook to visit the Order, I decided at that time to require every priest to say four Masses for the king and his entire court—first, the Mass of the Holy Spirit; second, of the Cross; third, of the Blessed Virgin; fourth, of the Trinity. And if it should happen that the Son of God should call him from this world to the Father, further Masses shall be said by the Brothers. If, however, I have not given a response which corresponds to the king's desire, let him command me, for on my part there is no lack of willingness to obey, only ignorance of what to command." When the king heard this, he gave his thanks to the Minister General, and received his response so gladly that he desired to have it recorded in a letter and confirmed with a seal. And thus was it done.

The meal that the king of France ate with the Brothers, at the king's own expense.

Moreover, on that day the king had a meal prepared at his own expense and ate with the Brothers, and we all ate in the refectory. And the people who ate there were as follows: the three brothers of the king; the cardinal; the Minister General; Brother Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen; the Provincial Minister of France; the custodians; the definitors; the delegates [*discreti*]; and all of those who made up the membership of the chapter, as well as the invited Brothers whom I mentioned earlier.

The humility of the Minister General, who ate by himself at a separate table.

Seeing that there was a noble and worthy company with the king—the three counts, the cardinal and legate of the Church, and the archbishop of Rouen—the Minister General did not want to obtrude himself, according to the word of Ecclesiasticus 1 [.4]: "Be not exalted in the day of thy honour." Thus although he had been invited to sit next to the king, he preferred to display the courtesy and humility that the Lord taught by both word and example. For the Lord said in the gospel, Luke 14 [.8-11]:

When thou art invited to a wedding, sit not down in the first place, lest perhaps one more honourable than thou be invited by him: And he that invited thee and him, come and say to thee, Give this man place: and then thou begin with shame to take the lowest place. But when thou art invited, go, sit down in the lowest place; that when he who invited thee, cometh, he may say to thee: Friend, go up higher. Then shalt thou have glory before them that sit at table with thee. Because every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.

Again, he said in another Scripture, Ecclesiasticus 13 [.12-13]: "If thou be invited by one that is mightier, withdraw thyself: for so he will invite thee the more. Be not troublesome to him, lest thou be put back," and in another, Proverbs 25 [.6-7]: "Appear not glorious before the king, and stand not in the place of great men. For it is better that it should be said to thee: Come up hither; than that thou shouldst be humbled before the prince." Therefore, Brother John chose a humble table and sat there, but he ennobled it by his presence, to the edification and good example of the Brothers. And just as

An open, generous face ennobles the meanest repast,⁴⁸

so the presence of this humble man humbly choosing to sit at a lower table gloriously ennobled that table. Just so, did God place the great stars of heaven not in one place set aside, but scattered them throughout the sky for the greater beauty and usefulness.

Furthermore, on that day the king fulfilled the Scripture in Ecclesiasticus 4 [.7]: "Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor," and also Ecclesiasticus 9 [.22-23]: "Let just men be thy guests, and let thy glory be in the fear of God. And let the thought of God be in thy mind, and all thy discourse on the commandments of the Highest."

The king's magnificent dinner. The king's frequent detours from the main route to seek the spiritual support of religious men.

We had, first of all, cherries and, later, the finest white bread; "Wine also in abundance and of the best was presented, as was worthy of a king's magnificence" [Esther 1.7]. And in the Gallic manner many were invited and "compelled to drink," although they "were not willing" [Esther 1.8]. Afterward, we had fresh beans cooked in milk, fish, crabs, eel-cakes, rice in almond milk and grated cinnamon, roasted eel in splendid sauce, cakes, cheese, and fruit in abundance. And all things were done with the utmost decorum and courtesy.

On the following day, the king resumed his journey. Since the chapter had ended, I followed the king, for I had been commanded by the Minister General to go and take up residence in the province of Provence. And it was easy for me to meet the king again, for he turned aside from his way frequently to visit hermitages of the Friars Minor and other religious orders here and there, on the right

and on the left, in order to seek their prayers. And he continued this practice all the way to the sea where he took ship for the Holy Land.

*The humility of the king of France, which was in accordance with the Scripture [Psalms 142.3]:
I have "brought down my life to the earth."*

After I had visited the Brothers of Auxerre, where I had been a member of the convent, I went one day to Vezelay, a noble town in Burgundy, where the body of the Magdalene was then believed to be. The following day was Sunday, and very early in the morning the king came to the Brothers there seeking their prayers, according to the words of Proverbs 11 [.27]: "Well doth he rise early who seeketh good things." And the king left his entire retinue at the castle which was only a short distance from the convent, bringing with him only his three brothers and the servants who took care of the horses. After he had genuflected and worshipped before the altar, the Brothers set out benches for them all to sit on, but the king sat on the ground in the dust (for the church was not paved), as I saw with my own eyes. And he called to us, saying, "Come to me, my dearest brothers, and hear my words." So we made a circle around him on the ground, and his brothers did likewise. And the king besought the prayers and spiritual support of the Brothers, as I have described above. After he had received their response, he made his way out of the church in order to resume his journey. But he was told that Charles was still fervently praying, and the king rejoiced and awaited his praying brother patiently before mounting his horse. The other two counts, the king's brothers, likewise waited patiently with the king. Now, Charles was the youngest of the brothers;⁴⁹ he was Count of Provence and was married to the queen's sister. And on his way out Charles genuflected a number of times before the altar in the wing of the church near the exit. I myself saw Charles praying fervently and the king waiting outside patiently, and I was greatly edified, for I knew the Scripture in Proverbs 18 [.19] to be true: "A brother that is helped by his brother, is like a strong city." After this, the king hastened on to his ships.

I, however, went to Lyons, and saw there Pope Innocent IV and the Cardinals. Then I went down the Rhone as far as the city of Arles, which is five miles from the sea. It was the feast of St. Peter the Apostle.⁵⁰ At that time Brother Raymond, the Provincial Minister of Provence (who was later made a bishop) came to that convent, and he received me graciously, and the lector of Montpellier was with me.

Brother Hugh: his physical, spiritual, and mental qualities.

Then I went by sea to Marseilles, and from Marseilles I travelled to Hyères in order to see Brother Hugh of Barjols, who is also called "of Digne," although the Lombards call him Ugo⁵¹ of Montpellier. He was one of the greatest scholars in the world and a fine preacher, pleasing to the learned and the unlearned alike. Moreover, he was a master at disputation, prepared for any subject that might arise. He overwhelmed all contenders; he had logical proof for all matters. His

tongue was most eloquent and his voice like a trumpet or thunder, like the sound of many waters rushing through a gulf. His eloquence was always flowing and never hesitated. He was always prepared for every response. He told marvellous things of the kingdom of heaven, that is, the glories of paradise, and terrible things of the pains of hell. He was born in Provence; he was of medium height and was dark but not unpleasingly so. He was an exceedingly spiritual man, so much so that you would think that you saw another Paul in him, or another Elisha. For "in his days he feared not the prince, and no man was more powerful than he. No word could overcome him," Ecclesiasticus 48 [.13-14]. Thus he spoke in consistory court to the Pope and the cardinals as one would speak to boys gathered together for play, and he did this once in Lyons and, at an earlier time, in Rome. For they all trembled before him when he spoke as the reed trembles in water. Why? because he fulfilled what was said in Isaiah 51 [.7-8]: "fear ye not the reproach of men, and be not afraid of their blasphemies. For the worm shall eat them up as a garment: and the moth shall consume them as wool," and again in the same chapter [.12-13]: "who art thou, that thou shouldst be afraid of a mortal man, and of the son of man, who shall wither away like grass? And thou hast forgotten the Lord thy maker," etc.

Brother Hugh reproaches the Cardinals who sought news from him. Brother Hugh harshly rebukes the Cardinals in Lyons.

Both the Pope and the Cardinals fail to heed what Jethro counsels about choosing proper men for the pastoral office.

Once, when the cardinals asked Brother Hugh for news, any news he could relate, he rebuked them like asses, saying, "I have no news, I have only a fullness of peace, both with my conscience and with my God, 'which surpasseth all understanding' and 'keeps' my 'heart and mind in Christ Jesus' [Philippians 4.7], my Lord. Verily, I know that you seek news, which is all that you do the livelong day. For you are Athenians, not disciples of Christ, like those Luke speaks of in Acts 17 [.21]: 'Now all the Athenians, and strangers that were there, employed themselves in nothing else, but either in telling or in hearing some new thing.' The disciples of Christ were fishermen and lowly men according to the wisdom of the world, and yet they converted the whole world, because the hand of God was with them, according to the words of the last chapter of Mark [16.20]: 'But they going forth preached every where: the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed.' And they fulfilled as well that other Scripture written of them [Psalms 18.5]: 'Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world.' You, however, have not fulfilled what is written [Psalms 44.17]: 'Instead of thy fathers, sons are born to thee: thou shalt make them princes over all the earth,' because, verily, you are 'You that build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity,' Micah 3 [.10].

"For you have appropriated for your nephews and your relatives the goods and the dignities of the Church so that you might raise up your kinsmen and make

them wealthy. You have excluded good and suitable men who would have been useful to the Church of God in order to give office to children who are scarcely out of the cradle. Thus the witty poet has spoken rightly of you:

To Rome in mood accusative?
 Hopeless the case, without the dative.⁵²

Another writes:

The stern Roman bull despises lambs without wool;
 If at Rome you would succeed, put this in your creed:
 Mighty are the bones of Albinus or the relics of Ruffinus;
 Everything in reverse money is the nurse Simon holds the purse.⁵³

Certainly, you are the ones of whom Amos 5 [.7] spoke: 'You that turn judgment into wormwood, and forsake justice in the land.' You who

are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity; You that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches: that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; You that sing to the sound of the psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David; That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments: and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph,

Amos 6 [.3-6]. You are the ones of whom Isaiah the prophet, 5 [.20-23], spoke: 'Woe to you that call evil good, and good evil: that put darkness for light, and light for darkness: that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter. Woe to you that are wise in your own eyes, and prudent in your own conceits. Woe to you that are mighty to drink wine, and stout men at drunkenness. That justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the justice of the just from him.' Also the words of the Lord condemning the scribes and Pharisees were spoken in figure of you, Matthew 23 [.15]: 'Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you go round about the sea and the land to make one proselyte; and when he is made, you make him the child of hell twofold more than yourselves.' Yet you neglect to fulfill what Jethro taught Moses, Exodus 18 [.21-22]: 'provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, in whom there is truth, and that hate avarice, and appoint of them rulers of thousands, and of hundreds, and of fifties, and of tens. Who may judge the people at all times.' How little you have followed this Scripture you yourselves know; think about it. For whenever you have to choose cardinals, you do not choose among the people freely, but you limit your choice to your own kinsmen, and you make them cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and primates. And you have grossly amplified your own importance in these modern times of ours. For Pope Innocent IV has given you a red hat so that when you ride about you may be set apart from other priests. In olden times you were not

even called cardinals, but people like you — that is, your predecessors — were simply called deacons of the Papal court or priests. This can be shown by a clear example. When Pope Sylvester went in to see Constantine to heal him of leprosy, there is no mention made of cardinals at all. The legend says only that he took two deacons and five priests with him. Also, before he became Pope, St. Gregory was called a deacon of the curia, not a cardinal. Similar examples may be found in Paul, the historian of the Longobards, and many other historians for a long time thereafter. But Abbot Joachim of Fiore was correct in calling you *carpinales*, not *cardinales*,⁵⁴ for, truly, your highest art is in grasping (*carpere*), and cheating, and emptying purses. Moreover, you gloss the Scripture like cheats and tricksters, according to your own twisted judgment, explaining I Kings 2 [.8] in this manner: 'For the cardinals [*cardinales*]⁵⁵ of the earth are the Lord's, and upon them he hath set the world,' that is, rule over the world, because you are lords of the earth. Whence, also, you cite the other passage in Job 9 [.13]: 'under whom they stoop that bear up the world.' But Proverbs 3 [.32-34] says: 'For every mocker is an abomination to the Lord, and his communication is with the simple.' For 'He shall scorn the scorers, and to the meek he will give grace.' When, therefore, you receive among yourselves a new cardinal, you say to him, 'Accept the ring in which there is no angle; be a prince of the world, and a colleague of us, your brothers.' For in the not too distant future I believe that it will come to pass that the High Pontiff, that is, the Pope, will in his ambition say of you, 'Are not my princes as so many kings?' Isaiah 10 [.9]. But these are the words of Sennacherib, who is a figure of the devil. Of Christ's princes, that is, the Apostles, however, it was said [Psalms 44.17]: 'Thou shalt make them princes over all the earth.' That verse fits you very ill indeed, for you have not labored and preached over the whole world as they did, of whom it is written [Psalms 18.5]: 'Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world.' For the Lord had said to them, John 15 [.16]: 'I have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain.' You, however, go no further than from your living quarters to the Papal court, and [Amos 6.1]: you 'go in with state into the house of Israel' with a huge entourage. From the court to the table to eat and drink lavishly; from the table to the bed to sleep softly. The whole day long you spend in your chambers idly, lazing about slothfully. And you take delight only in little lap dogs and rings and sleek horses and your kinsmen. Your only ambition in life is to have a flock of liveried servants, lavish furnishings, and admiring comments about your kinsmen. Such is your conduct. You care not for the pilgrim who lies in your streets, nor for the naked and hungry. You take no thought of visiting, of redeeming, of burying.

"Certainly, you could convert the whole world, if you would do what the Wise Man teaches, Proverbs 6 [.3]: 'Run about, make haste, stir up thy friend,' and Proverbs 24 [.11]: 'Deliver them that are led to death: and those that are drawn to death forbear not to deliver.' More is expected of you than of other priests. Even of the people it is written [Psalms 21.28]: 'All the ends of the earth shall

remember, and shall be converted to the Lord.' Certainly, the Lord did not keep himself secluded with his disciples in a single city, but 'he sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself was to come,' as St. Luke records, 10 [.1]. You then, why do you not do likewise? Perhaps you will say, 'Because we are afraid to die or to endure poverty.' But hear the words of the Apostle to the apostles, I Corinthians 4 [.9]: 'For I think that God hath set forth us apostles, the last, as it were men appointed to death,' and later [.11]: 'Even unto this hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked,' etc. It is written of the Lord that 'Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom: and healing all manner of sickness and every infirmity, among the people,' Matthew 4 [.23]. He is a high priest certainly who is called Pope and bishop and servant of the servants of God, just to enrich those who take care of him in his 'prison,' where he remains enclosed day and night, in fulfillment of the words of Isaiah, 32 [.2]: 'a man shall be as when one is hid from the wind, and hideth himself from a storm.'"

And Brother Hugh added: "If I say the truth to you, why do you not believe me? He that is of God, heareth the words of God,' John 8 [.46-47]. For 'Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise,' Apocalypse 3 [.19]. Of the first, it is recorded in Proverbs 8 [.17]: 'I love them that love me and they that in the morning early watch for me, shall find me.' Of the second, see II Kings 7 [.14]: 'I will correct him with the rod of men,' etc. Of the third, see Psalms [117.18]: 'The Lord chastising hath chastised me: but he hath not delivered me over to death,' and Jeremiah 30 [.11]: 'I will chastise thee in judgment, that thou mayst not seem to thyself innocent,' and Jeremiah 31 [.18]: 'thou hast chastised me, and I was instructed, as a young bullock unaccustomed to the yoke.' Also the Apostle says to Timothy in II Timothy 4 [.2]: 'reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.' Let us speak of the three verbs used here; then we will show why the Apostle taught these things.

"The Wise Man speaks of the first in Proverbs 9 [.8]: 'Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee,' and in Proverbs 24 [.25]: 'They that rebuke him, shall be praised: and a blessing shall come upon them.' But of evil hearers, Amos 5 [.10] says: 'They have hated him that rebuketh in the gate: and have abhorred him that speaketh perfectly.' Why? because: 'A corrupt man loveth not one that reproveth him: nor will he go to the wise.' Proverbs 15 [.12]. And so: 'Speak not in the ears of fools: because they will despise the instruction of thy speech.' Proverbs 23 [.9]. 'A fool receiveth not the words of prudence: unless thou say those things which are in his heart,' Proverbs 18 [.2]. Thus Proverbs 9 [.8] says: 'Rebuke not a scorner lest he hate thee. Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee,' and also Proverbs 19 [.25]: 'if thou rebuke a wise man he will understand discipline.'

"The Apostle speaks of the second in II Corinthians 5 [.20]: 'For Christ, we beseech you, be reconciled to God.' See also I Peter 2 [.11]: 'Dearly beloved, I beseech you as strangers and pilgrims, to refrain yourselves from carnal desires which war against the soul.' Thus it is that he says below in chapter 5 [.1-4]:

The ancients therefore that are among you, I beseech, who am myself also an ancient, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ: as also a partaker of that glory which is to be revealed in time to come: Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it, not by constraint, but willingly, according to God: not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily: Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the prince of pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never fading crown of glory.

"The Apostle speaks of the third in Titus 1 [.13]: 'Rebuke them sharply, that they may be sound in the faith.' Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 12 [.1]: 'He that hateth reproof is foolish,' and Proverbs 15 [.10]: 'He that hateth reproof shall die,' and [Proverbs 15.31-32]: 'The ear that heareth the reproofs of life, shall abide in the midst of the wise. He that rejecteth instruction, despiseth his own soul: but he that yieldeth to reproof possesseth understanding.'

"The words are 'reprove, entreat, rebuke,' and it continues 'in all patience and doctrine' [II Timothy 4.2]. Proverbs 14 [.29] speaks of the first: 'He that is patient, is governed with much wisdom: but he that is impatient, exalteth his folly,' and Proverbs 16 [.32]: 'The patient man is better than the valiant: and he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh cities,' and Proverbs 19 [.19]: 'He that is impatient, shall suffer damage.' Proverbs 13 [.15] speaks of the second: 'Good instruction shall give grace: in the way of scorers is a deep pit,' and Proverbs 15 [.10]: 'Instruction is grievous to him that forsaketh the way of life,' and Proverbs 12 [.8]: 'A man shall be known by his learning: but he that is vain and foolish, shall be exposed to contempt,' and also Proverbs 19 [.11]: 'The learning of a man is known by patience: and his glory is to pass over wrongs.'

"Then after these words the Apostle gives the reason why he had said 'reprove, entreat, rebuke.' For he says, II Timothy 4 [.3-4]: 'For there shall be a time, when they will not endure sound doctrine; but, according to their own desires, they will heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears: And will indeed turn away their hearing from the truth, but will be turned unto fables.' And, verily, you are like such men who seek after fables and rumors.

"Tell me what man of your college — I am speaking of the cardinals — has been recorded in the catalog of saints. Certainly, Pope Damasus was accused of adultery by you, and Jerome was shamefully and ignominiously put to flight by you.⁵⁶ But Jerome made a wise move in getting away from you and giving 'place unto wrath,' Romans 12 [.19]. For as the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 20 [.3]: 'It is an honour for a man to separate himself from quarrels.' Seneca also says, 'The highest portion of holiness is to abandon the preachers of madness.'⁵⁷ Certainly, Jerome's departure from you was more useful to the Church of God than staying to perhaps become Pope. For if he had become Pope he would perhaps have ordained four deacons, five priests, and fifteen or so bishops, and he would perhaps have required the patens to be made of glass. But by having fled from you he

wrote many books and wrote commentaries on many and translated the Bible. Let these things suffice for now."

"Now hearing these things," the cardinals "were cut to the heart, and they gnashed with their teeth at him" [Acts 7.54]. But they did not dare to respond, for "fear" of the Lord "fell upon" them [Luke 1.12] and "the hand of the Lord was with" this man [Ezekiel 3.14]. Yet they marvelled greatly that he dared to speak so boldly to them, and it seemed all too long before he left their presence, and they failed to say to him, "We will hear thee again concerning this matter," as the Athenians did to Paul, Acts 17 [.32].

Pope Innocent praises Brother Hugh for his speech to the Cardinals.

Before Brother Hugh left, however, the Pope spoke to him courteously, Job 32 [.8]: "'As I see, there is a spirit in men, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth understanding.' For 'The Spirit breatheth where he will' [John 3.8], and 'It is not in man's power to stop the spirit' [Ecclesiastes 8.8]. Blessings on you, my son, from God almighty. For you have said many good things to us. [Ecclesiasticus 48.11]: 'Blessed are they that saw thee, and were honoured with thy friendship.' Go in peace, and 'The blessing of him that appeared in the bush, come upon' your 'head'" [Deuteronomy 33.16].

These things took place in the city of Lyons in the court of Pope Innocent IV in the presence of the Cardinals, who had asked Brother Hugh for news and predictions. I learned this from Brother Hugh himself, and I have reported exactly what I heard.

Brother Hugh had the help of the Pope and God in saying whatever he wished to the Cardinals.

I said to Brother Hugh that I marvelled at two things: why they stood for his talking to them in such a manner and why they did not confound him with a host of Biblical quotations, which they could have done if they had known them. And he answered me that they could not for two reasons: "First, because I had the safeguard of the High Pontiff, on whose assistance I was relying. For the High Pontiff had sent for me, and as I stood in the court in the midst of all the Cardinals, he said to me: 'We have heard that you are a great scholar and a good, spiritual man. But we have heard also that you are the successor of the Abbot Joachim in prophecy, and that you are a great Joachite. "Immediately therefore I sent to thee: and thou hast done well in coming. Now therefore all we are present in the sight, to hear all things whatsoever are commanded thee by the Lord." Acts 10 [.33]. Wherefore, "If you have any word of exhortation to make to" us [Acts 13.15], speak forth, for "Thou art permitted to speak for thyself," Acts 26 [.1]. "For as concerning this sect, we know that it is every where contradicted," Acts, the last chapter' [28.22]. Then I answered and said, "'I am not a prophet, nor am I the son of a prophet" [Amos 7.14], but I believe in prophets. And if you want me to speak in your presence, promise me that you will listen patiently to the end of my speech, and "As the Lord liveth, whatsoever the Lord shall say

to me, that will I speak" [III Kings 22.14]. I will not deliver a well-organized speech; I will not "speak unto" you "pleasant things," nor will I not "see errors for" you [Isaiah 30.10], but I will "touch the mountains, and they shall smoke" [Psalms 143.5]. For [Psalms 52.6]: "God hath scattered the bones of them that please men: they have been confounded, because God hath despised them." Thus the Apostle Paul says that he was not guilty on this account, Galatians 1 [.10]: "If I yet," he said, "pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ." Jeremiah also, bewailing the ruin of Jerusalem, lays the loss of the city to flattering prophets and to those who failed to speak out the truth, Lamentations 2 [.14]: "Thy prophets have seen false and foolish things for thee: and they have not laid open thy iniquity, to excite thee to penance: but they have seen for thee false revelations and banishments." But [Jeremiah 6.10-11]: "To whom shall I speak? and to whom shall I testify, that he may hear? behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hear: behold the word of the Lord is become unto them a reproach: and they will not receive it. Therefore am I full of the fury of the Lord." Then the Pope said, "Speak to the earth, and it shall answer thee," [Job 12.8] and hold back no word that the Lord puts in your mouth, because we will patiently hear you out.' Then the cardinals asked in their haughtiness, 'What kind of news does this man have?' And I, taking up their word *news* as my theme, followed up with the words that the Lord gave me. For He himself said: 'For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay,' Luke 21 [.15], and 'Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it' [Psalms 80.11], and 'The Lord shall give the word to them that preach good tidings with great power,' [Psalms 67.12], and 'He will give to his voice the voice of power' [Psalms 67.34]. This speech, therefore, that Brother Hugh delivered before the Pope and cardinals, I have faithfully transcribed above.

Then I said to Brother Hugh that they could have confounded him easily if they had said, "Even a fool, if he will hold his peace shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips, a man of understanding,' Proverbs 17 [.28], or Proverbs 26 [.10]: 'Judgment determineth causes: and he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger.' And they could have required the Pope to discipline you by citing Proverbs 19 [.25]: 'The wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be wiser,' or Proverbs 21 [.11]: 'When a pestilent man is punished, the little one will be wiser.' And they could have added that you were no better than the apostles who are said to have been flogged in the Acts of the Apostles, Acts 5 [.40]. The Pope could also have quoted Isaiah 47 [.3]: 'I will take vengeance, and no man shall resist me.'" But Brother Hugh answered me, "If they had disciplined me, I would have quickly accepted it and answered: 'And thy discipline hath corrected me unto the end: and thy discipline, the same shall teach me,' [Psalms 17.36], and also Acts 5 [.41]: 'And they indeed went from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus.'"

Brother Hugh told me that it would have been impossible for them to have disrupted him, not only because the Pope had promised that he could say what-

ever he wished and had given him warrant of it, but also because "the hand of the Lord was with me" [Ezechiel 3.14], who says in Jeremiah 1 [.17-19]:

Thou therefore gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak to them all that I command thee. Be not afraid at their presence: for I will make thee not to fear their countenance. For behold I have made thee this day a fortified city, and a pillar of iron, and a wall of brass, over all the land, to the kings of Juda, to the princes thereof, and to the priests, and to the people of the land. And they shall fight against thee, and shall not prevail: for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee,

and again in Ezechiel 3 [.8-9]: "Behold I have made thy face stronger than their faces: and thy forehead harder than their foreheads. I have made thy face like an adamant and like flint: fear them not, neither be thou dismayed at their presence: for they are a provoking house," and in Isaiah 50 [.7-9]: "The Lord God is my helper, therefore am I not confounded: therefore have I set my face as most hard rock, and I know that I shall not be confounded. He is near that justifieth me, who will contend with me? let us stand together, who is my adversary? let him come near to me. Behold the Lord God is my helper: who is he that shall condemn me?" Also the Apostle says in Romans 8 [.31]: "If God be for us, who is against us?" Thus Job said, 17 [.3]: "Deliver me, O Lord, and set me beside thee, and let any man's hand fight against me," and also Wisdom 8 [.12]: "They shall wait for me when I hold my peace, and they shall look upon me when I speak, and if I talk much louder they shall lay their hands on their mouths." Blessed be God, who has delivered me of this matter.

Brother Hugh's four close friends

Brother Hugh was accustomed to say that he had four friends whom he specially loved. The first of these was brother John of Parma, the Minister General, and this was fitting, for they were both great scholars and spiritual men and great Joachites. It was also because of John of Parma that Brother Hugh was friendly to me, as well as for the fact that I seemed to believe in the writings of Abbot Joachim of Fiore. His second friend was the archbishop of Vienne, a holy, learned, and honorable man, who greatly loved the Order of St. Francis. Once, for example, out of his love for the Friars Minor, he had a stone bridge built over the Rhone, because he had given them a convent in his lands across the river.

Brother William, who wrote a Summa of vices and virtues, and another William, called Brito, who also had written a book to which he gave his own name as title.

Once, when I was at Vienne, Brother William, a Dominican and the author of a Summa of vices and virtues, arrived there from Lyons in order to preach and hear confessions. And because the Dominicans did not have a convent in that city, he stayed at the house of the Friars Minor. It pleased the Guardian

of our house very much that I spent a lot of time with Brother William and that the two of us became close friends. He was humble and courteous, although he was very short. When I asked Brother William why the Dominicans did not have a convent in Vienne, he told me that his Order preferred to have one fine convent in Lyons than to have a number of them in various places. And I asked him to preach to the Brothers on the feast of the Annunciation, which was near at hand, for I wanted very much to hear him preach, since, in addition to the *Summa*, he had compiled a collection of sermons. He answered me that if the Guardian would request him to preach, he would gladly obey, and thus it was done. He preached a beautiful sermon on the Annunciation, the text of which was *Missus est angelus*.

At another time while I was living there, Brother William Britto, a Friar Minor and also an author of a book, arrived. And in shortness of stature he resembled the first William, but not with respect to general demeanor, for he was far more high-strung and impatient, as, in the words of the poet, is usually true of short men:

Scarcely can be found in any house or hall:
Humility among the small,
Reason among the tall,
A truthful redhead, not at all.⁵⁸

Also in the convent at Lyons, I heard this Brother William give a reprimand at the table, when both Brother John of Parma and Innocent IV were present. And at that time Brother William had not yet written his book, to which he gave his own name as title.

Brother Hugh's third friend was Robert Grosseteste,⁵⁹ bishop of Lincoln, one of the greatest scholars in the world. He was the second man to translate St. John of Damascus—Burgundio, judge of Pisa, was the first—and he also translated the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs and many other books. Brother Hugh's fourth friend was Brother Adam March,⁶⁰ a Friar Minor and another great scholar, and, like Grosseteste, he was also famous in England and wrote many books. These men were close friends, both were English, and both lie buried in the episcopal church. These two were also close friends of the Englishman, Master Alexander, a Friar Minor, who was professor at the University of Paris.⁶¹ He, too, wrote many books, and those who knew him well said that there was not his like in the whole world.

I heard of the fame of Brother Hugh when I was a young man in the convent at Siena. Brother Hugh's learning, which was highly commended in the synod at Lucca.

I remember that when I was a young man living in the convent at Siena in Tuscany, Brother Hugh, who had just returned from the Papal court, spoke before an audience of both Minorites and Preachers who had come to see him. And he said many wonderful things about the glories of Paradise and the contempt of the world, and whenever he was asked a question on any subject, he answered

immediately without the slightest delay. And "all that heard him were astonished at his wisdom and his answers" [Luke 2.47] and marvelled greatly.

Once, when Brother Hugh was at Pistoia, a synod was being held at Lucca on Ash Wednesday, and since there was no one to preach there, the Brothers hastened to Brother Hugh and secured his promise to come to their aid, which he did. And he arrived at Lucca just at the time he was to go to the episcopal church to preach. And the entire congregation of the synod went out to meet him to do him honor, because of their great desire to hear him preach. And seeing all the Brothers coming out to meet him, Brother Hugh marvelled and said, "Ha, God! Why has this large congregation turned out?" And they answered that it was to honor him and to hear him preach. But he replied, "I do not seek such honor; I am not the Pope. If they wish to hear me preach, let them come at the appointed time. In the meantime, I plan to walk with my single companion; I will have nothing to do with this huge troop." At the appointed time, therefore, everybody gathered together to hear his words, and the last man who was speaking, quickly ended his sermon. Thus Brother Hugh preached, and he said such things to the edification and consolation of these learned men that everybody marvelled "at the words of grace that proceeded from his mouth" [Luke 4.22]. And the clerks of the bishopric of Lucca said that it had been yea many years since they had heard so eloquent a speaker. For other men merely recited their sermons like a psalm that they had learned by heart. And they remembered and praised Brother Hugh and his sermon for many years afterward, and they loved the whole Order for his sake.

At another time I heard him preaching to the people in Provence near the Rhone at Tarascon. And there was a large number of men and women at that service from Tarascon and Beaucaire, two fine towns situated side by side, save that the Rhone river divided the two. And in one of the two there is a fine convent of the Friars Minor. Also present at that service were men and women from the cities of Avignon and Arles. And Brother Hugh preached to them, as I heard with my own ears, edifying words, useful words, mellifluous words, words of salvation. And they heard him gladly, as they would have listened to John the Baptist or Jesus Christ himself, for he was like a new prophet, and they said, "This is of a truth the prophet, that is to come into the world," John 6 [.14]. But those who are deprived of grace like his do not believe these things. For the words of Ecclesiasticus 44 [.20] were not written in vain: "there was not found the like to him in glory, who kept the law of the most High." It would be a very ridiculous thing for me to refuse to believe that someone is a bishop or a Pope, simply because I myself am not one.

How Brother Hugh confounded Master Rainerio of Pisa, who called himself a philosopher.

Now, there was in Provence a certain Master Rainerio, a Pisan, who called himself a universal philosopher. And he would engage in disputation all the judges, notaries, and physicians of the court and defeat them so roundly that nobody could

live there honorably. And so they all reported their troubles to Brother Hugh and besought him to help them defeat their worst enemy. Brother Hugh answered, "Set a day of disputation at the Count's court, and let there be present with the Count the knights, potentates, judges, notaries, and physicians, and let them begin debating with him. Then let the Count send for me, and I will prove to Rainerio that he is an ass and that heaven is a frying pan." All these things were done, and Brother Hugh so confounded him that he was embarrassed to be in the Count's court. He left in disgrace and did not dare to live there any longer, or even show his face. For he was a great sophist and thought he could overwhelm everybody with his sophisms. But as Ecclesiasticus 37 [.23-24] says: "He that speaketh sophistically, is hateful: he shall be destitute of every thing. Grace is not given him from the Lord: for he is deprived of all wisdom." Therefore, Brother Hugh freed "the poor from the mighty" who "had no helper" [Psalms 71.12]. And then all the people kissed the hands and feet of Brother Hugh, because he had freed them from the hand of the powerful one. And so the Scripture in Job 29 [.11-12] was fulfilled: "The ear that heard me blessed me, and the eye that saw me gave witness to me: Because I had delivered the poor man that cried out; and the fatherless, that had no helper." Also, another Scripture says, Ecclesiastes 5 [.7-8]: "If thou shalt see the oppressions of the poor, and violent judgments, and justice perverted in the province, wonder not at this matter: for he that is high hath another higher, and there are others still higher than these: Moreover there is the king that reigneth over all the land subject to him," and Isaiah 50 [.4]: "The Lord hath given me a learned tongue, that I should know how to uphold by word him that is weary," and also the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus [51.30]: "The Lord hath given me a tongue for my reward: and with it I will praise him."

The Count of Provence and his daughters.

The Count I mentioned above was Raimond Berengar,⁶² a fine man and a friend of the Friars Minor. He was the father of the queens of both England and France. The brother of the king of England was married to his third daughter, and the fourth was married to Charles, brother of the king of France. It was through her that Charles came into possession of Provence. There is in Provence a certain town with a large number of people, situated between Marseilles and Ventimiglia or Nice near the sea, on the road that leads to Genoa. And there are salt mines there, for the area abounds in natural salt: hence the name Hyères (*aree saline*). And in that place there is a large number of men and women doing penance for their sins, even though they live in their own homes and wear secular dress. These people are devoted to the Friars Minor, and they hear the word of God gladly when the Brothers preach. But the Dominicans do not have a convent there, for they love to dwell in large convents, never in small ones.

Brother Hugh gladly lived in the convent of the Friars Minor at Hyères.

Brother Hugh gladly lived in this town. And there were a large number of notaries, judges, physicians, and learned men there who, on solemn feast days, would gather in Brother Hugh's chambers to hear him speak on the doctrine of Joachim, teaching and expounding the mysteries of Holy Scripture and predicting the future.⁶³ For he was a great Joachite, and he had all the books, in elaborate versions, that Abbot Joachim wrote. And I myself was among the group that gathered there to hear Brother Hugh. For I had heard of this doctrine earlier when I was living in Pisa, where I was taught it by a certain abbot of the Order of Fiore, an old and holy man, who had collected and stored in the convent at Pisa all the books by Joachim that he owned, since he was afraid that the Emperor Frederick would destroy his own monastery, which lies between Pisa and Lucca on the road to Luni. For he believed that in Frederick all the mysteries were to be fulfilled at that time, because Frederick had such great discord with the Church. And it was because of this collection of Joachim's books in our convent that Brother Rudolph of Saxony, who was lector at Pisa, a great logician, theologian, and debater, laid aside his study of theology and became a great Joachite.⁶⁴

The two Joachites who predicted that the king of France would be captured by the Saracens in the Holy Land.

Later also when preparations were being made for the first Crusade of the king of France at the time that I was living in Provins, there were two Brothers there who were firm Joachites, and with great effort they tried to convert me to that doctrine. One of these — a certain Brother Bartholomew Guiscolo — was from Parma, my native city, and he was a courteous and spiritual man, but also a great Joachite and fine orator, and, moreover, an adherent of the Imperial party. He was once a Guardian in the convent at Capua, and he performed all his duties with great dispatch. He died while attending a general chapter at Rome. In secular life he was a master of grammar, and in the Order he was adept at writing, illuminating, writing poetry, and many other arts. "In his life he did great wonders, and in death he wrought miracles" [Ecclesiasticus 48.15]. For, at his death, he saw such wonders that all the Brothers present marvelled. The other man was Brother Gerard of Borgo San Doninno,⁶⁵ who had grown up in Sicily and was also a master of grammar. He was a well-mannered young man, honorable and good, with the single exception that he was too obstinate in the teaching of Joachim and could never be swayed from his own fixed opinion. These two kept exhorting me to study the writings of Joachim and believe in them. And they owned Joachim's *Super Hieremiam*⁶⁶ and many such books. At the time that the king of France was preparing for the Crusade, these two laughed and made fun, saying that if he did go it would turn out badly for him — as indeed did take place. And they showed me this prophecy in Joachim's *Super Hieremiam*, and maintained that what he

predicted would be fulfilled. Thus when the Psalm [78] "O God, the heathens are come into thy inheritance," etc., was recited every day for a full year in the conventual Mass throughout France, they were again scornful, saying, "It is necessary for the Scripture to be fulfilled, Lamentations 3 [.44]: 'Thou hast set a cloud before thee, that our prayer may not pass through.' For the king of France shall be captured, the French defeated, and the plague rage." And these two were greatly hated by the French Brothers, who maintained that these things had already been fulfilled in the preceding Crusade.⁶⁷

Brother Maurice, who wrote a handbook on preaching.

At that time Brother Maurice, a lector, a handsome, noble, and very learned man, was living in the convent at Provins. Before entering the Order, he had studied at the University of Paris, and after becoming a Friar Minor he continued his studies for eight more years. He was from the district of Provins, for in France the nobles live in villas and on their estates, while the bourgeoisie live in the cities. Provins is a noble town in Champagne, twenty-five leagues from Paris. This Brother Maurice was my new-found friend, and he said to me, "Brother Salimbene, don't believe these Joachites, for they upset the Brothers with their doctrine. But help me with my writing, for I want to write a good work of distinctions that will be very useful for preaching." Then the Joachites went their separate ways, voluntarily.

Brother Gerard, who wrote a book which was used by the enemies of the Order to cast aspersions on the Friars Minor.

For I went to Auxerre to live; Brother Bartholomew, to the convent at Sens; and Brother Gerard was sent to Paris for study to prepare himself for the province of Sicily to which he had been assigned. He studied there four years, and he thought out the foolish plan of writing a little book,⁶⁸ and he showed his foolishness by publishing that book among some ignorant Brothers. (I shall speak again about this book when I come to Pope Alexander IV, who condemned it). And because of this book, the Order was brought into shame, both in Paris and elsewhere. Therefore, Brother Gerard was, as a result, deprived of his office as lector, and relieved of his duties of preaching, hearing confession, and every other legitimate act of the Order. And because he refused to mend his ways and admit his guilt humbly, but, rather, obstinately and shamelessly persevered in his pertinacity and contumacy, the Friars Minor placed him in chains in prison and fed "him with bread of affliction, and water of distress" [III Kings 22.27], saying, Joshua 7 [.25]: "Because thou hast troubled us, the Lord trouble thee this day." This wretch would not bend in his obstinacy, until "vexation" made him "understand what" he heard, Isaiah 28 [.19]. And thus the Scripture in Proverbs 27 [.22] was fulfilled: "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in the mortar, as when a pestle striketh upon sodden barley, his folly would not be taken from him." Indeed, he allowed himself to die in prison and was buried in a corner of the garden, de-

prived of Christian burial. May all men know, therefore, that the rigor of justice is preserved in the Order of the Friars Minor against transgressors of the Order. There is not a single act of foolishness that can be imputed to the entire Order, for just as "the number of fools is infinite" [Ecclesiastes 1.15], so "the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the whole world" [Wisdom 6.26].

In 1248 when I was at Hyères with Brother Hugh, and he saw that I was inquiring about Joachim's doctrine and heard him gladly with applause and rejoicing, he said to me, "Are you as foolishly taken with this doctrine as the others who follow it?" Truly, many people *do* consider them to be fools.

Three problems which make Joachim's doctrine difficult to believe.

Although Abbot Joachim was a holy man, his doctrine has three main defects. The first is the condemnation of the book which he wrote against Master Peter Lombard, calling him a heretic and a madman, as I have pointed out in another chronicle.⁶⁹ For Joachim's criticism can be excused only in the way the Apostle excuses the Jews, Romans 10 [.2]: "For I bear them witness, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge." For Joachim thought that Master Peter imputed quaternity to trinity when he wrote, "The highest quality of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is non-begetting, non-begotten, and unchanging." Therefore, Joachim asserted that Peter Lombard adduced quaternity not trinity to God, that is to say, three persons and a common essence as a fourth. But I have recounted this matter more fully in another, briefer chronicle, just as it is recorded in the decretals. Moreover, in that chronicle I listed eight places where master Peter is incorrect in the *Sentences*. See in the chronicle on similitudes and examples, signs and figures, and the mysteries of the Old and New Testaments.

The second problem with Joachim that inhibits belief is that he predicted future tribulations, and it was for this very reason, in fact, that the Jews killed the prophets, as St. Stephen says in Acts 7 [.52]: "Which of the prophets have not your fathers persecuted? And they have slain them who foretold of the coming of the Just One: of whom you have been now the betrayers and murderers." For carnal men do not hear future tribulations gladly; they prefer consolation, as Isaiah 30 [.10] says: "speak unto us pleasant things, see errors for us." Thus when he spoke of tribulations, Joachim added, "Those men who have hearts hardened by ambition will not believe this. For those who hate the kingdom of heaven do not want the kingdom of the world to perish, nor do those who despise the citizens of Jerusalem wish the Egyptian kingdom to end."⁷⁰

The third problem comes from Joachim's own believers, because they have sought to set precise limits where he set none. And he himself spoke of such men: "I am afraid that what the patriarch Jacob complained about to his sons will happen to me, Genesis 34 [.30]: 'You have troubled me, and made me hateful to the Chanaanites and Pherezites, the inhabitants of this land: we are few: they will gather themselves together and kill me; and both I, and my house, shall be destroyed.'"

The Abbot Joachim did not set a definite time period for the coming of the Antichrist nor for the end of the world.

Although it seems so to some men, Abbot Joachim did not set a definite time period whatsoever. But he set a number of terminal points, saying, "God is powerful and able to make his mysteries clearer, as those who are then living will see."

The two Joachites who incited Brother Hugh to dispute with a Dominican about Joachim's doctrine.

When I saw the judges, notaries, physicians, and learned men gather in Hugh's room to hear him teach Joachim's doctrine, I was reminded of Elisha, of whom it is written in IV Kings 6 [.32] that "Eliseus sat in his house, and the ancients sat with him." At that time two Joachites from the convent at Naples came there, one of whom was Brother John of France; the other, Brother Johannino Pigulino of Parma, the cantor at Naples. They came to Hyères to see Brother Hugh and hear him speak on this doctrine. At about the same time two Dominicans arrived, who were returning from their general chapter that had been held at Paris. One of these was Brother Peter of Apulia, a learned lector and a fine orator of the Order of the Preachers. There was no convent of their Order in that region, and they had to stay over at our convent awaiting a good wind for sailing. And so it happened that one day after dinner Brother Johannino said to Peter, "Brother Peter, what do you think of Joachim's doctrine?" And Brother Peter answered, "I care as much for Joachim as for the fifth wheel of a wagon. Even Gregory in his homily on the gospel passage 'There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars,' [Luke 21.25] believed that the end of the world was imminent in his time, because the Longobards had come and were destroying everything." Brother Johannino, therefore, hurried to Hugh's room and in the presence of all those famous men said to Brother Hugh, "Here is a certain Dominican among us who does not believe in this doctrine." And Brother Hugh answered, "What is it to me if he doesn't believe. Let it be on his own head. Let him look to it when 'vexation shall make' him 'understand what' he 'hears' [Isaiah 28.19]. Yet ask him to come and discuss the matter and we will see where his doubts lie."

The debate about Joachim's doctrine between Brother Hugh and Brother Peter, a Dominican and lector at Naples.⁷¹

When he was invited, Brother Peter came, but he came with an ill will, not only because he thought so little of Joachim but also because he thought there was no one in that entire convent who could equal him in knowledge of letters and the Scripture. When Brother Hugh saw him, he said, "Are you the man who doubts the teachings of Joachim?" And Brother Peter answered, "Truly, I am the one." Then Brother Hugh said, "Have you ever read Joachim?" And Peter answered, "I have read him and read him thoroughly." And again Brother Hugh said, "I think you read him like a woman reads a psalter, who forgets the begin-

ning before she reaches the end. There are many who read but few who understand, either because they have contempt for what they read or because 'their foolish heart was darkened' [Romans 1.21]. Now, tell me what you would like to hear about Joachim so that we can discover where your greatest doubts lie." And so Brother Peter answered, "I would like for you to prove to me that Isaiah predicts, as Joachim says, that the Emperor Frederick cannot die until the age of seventy" — for he was then still alive — "and that he can be killed only by God, that is, can die only by natural means, not by violence."⁷² Brother Hugh answered, "Gladly, but you must promise to listen patiently, restraining your doubts and retorts for the moment. For it is necessary to keep an open mind about this doctrine if one is to believe it. Abbot Joachim was a holy man, and he says that these future events were revealed to him by God for mankind's benefit, according to the words of the Scripture: 'Thou hast given a warning to them that fear thee: that they may flee from before the bow' [Psalms 59.6]. Thus I am myself not doubtful of these divine revelations, for if I believe that future tribulations are to descend on man on account of his sins, that is no problem for me. Rather, it can be a great benefit, for Gregory says: 'Fewer shafts strike the man who is forewarned, and we can bear up better under the evils of this world if we are provided with a shield by foreknowledge.'⁷³ Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.14]: 'Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil,' and Ecclesiasticus 18 [.27]: 'A wise man will fear in every thing.' Jerome also says, 'It is wise to fear whatever may happen.'⁷⁴ See also Ecclesiasticus 1 [.27-28]: 'The fear of the Lord driveth out sin: For he that is without fear, cannot be justified,' and later in that same chapter [.36]: 'Be not incredulous to the fear of the Lord,' and also Ecclesiasticus 33 [.1]: 'No evils shall happen to him that feareth the Lord, but in temptation God will keep him, and deliver him from evils.'"

The exemplum of the young man who was spirited across a river as a result of his prayer.

"There was a young man who was being enticed into sin by a young woman, and so he poured out prayers to God, and found himself transported to the other side of the river. Thus the Lord says in Apocalypse 3 [.10]: 'Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon the whole world to try them that dwell upon the earth.'"

The patience and holiness of Abbot Joachim.

"We can show by a single example (in addition to the many recorded in his legend) the holiness of Joachim's life, an example which illustrates his patience in the most graphic way. Once, before Joachim became abbot, while he was still a subordinate, he incurred the wrath of the monk in charge of the refectory, who then gave him only water to drink for an entire year, seeking to 'feed him with the bread of affliction, and water of distress' [III Kings 22.27]. Yet Joachim accepted this without complaint, in accordance with the words:

Neither murmur nor complaint arises:
A quiet heart and a good conscience
preserve patience.⁷⁵

At the end of the year, however, Joachim found himself seated beside the abbot at the table, and the abbot said to him, 'Why are you drinking white wine and offer none to me? Where are your manners?' And St. Joachim answered, 'I was ashamed to offer it to you, father, for "my secret to myself" [Isaiah 24.16]. Then the abbot took his cup, tasted of it, and saw that his 'traffic is' not 'good' [Proverbs 31.18]. And when he had tasted water *not* turned into wine, he said, 'What is water if not water?' and added, 'By whose permission do you have this drink?' Joachim replied, 'Father, water is a temperate drink, which neither inebriates nor loosens the tongue.' When, however, the abbot discovered that this had been done through the rancor and malice of the refector, he wanted to expel him from the Order. But Joachim prostrated himself at the feet of the abbot and begged so hard that he relented. Yet the abbot rebuked the refector harshly and mordantly, saying, 'The Lord commands in the Law, Leviticus 19 [.17-18]: "Thou shalt not hate thy brother in thy heart, but reprove him openly, lest thou incur sin through him. Seek not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.6]: "Remember not any injury done thee by thy neighbour, and do thou nothing by deeds of injury." You have broken these commandments, and so as your penance you are to drink nothing but water for one full year. That burden which you have laid so maliciously on your neighbor and your brother you shall endure yourself, that the words of the Lord in Luke 6 [.38] may be fulfilled: "For with the same measure that you shall mete withal, it shall be measured to you again." And if someone again does an injury to you, do not yourself take vengeance. Have recourse to your prelate, and he will do justice.'

"The passage in Isaiah, however, which speaks of the end of the Emperor Frederick's life is the one where the 'burden of Tyre' is recorded, Isaiah 23 [.13]: 'Behold the land of the Chaldeans, there was not such a people, the Assyrian founded it,' and a little below [.15]: 'And it shall come to pass in that day that thou, O Tyre, shalt be forgotten, seventy years, according to the days of one king.' Note that in this passage Joachim understands the 'land of the Chaldeans' as a figure for the Roman Empire, 'Assyrian' for the Emperor Frederick himself, 'Tyre' for Sicily, the 'days of one king' for the entire life of Frederick, 'seventy years' for the end of his life as estimated by Merlin."

That the Emperor must not be killed by the hand of man but by God alone — as was fulfilled.

"Isaiah 31 [.8-9] records that Frederick may not die by the hand of man, but by God alone: 'And the Assyrian shall fall by the sword not of a man, and the sword not of a man shall devour him, and he shall flee not at the face of the sword: and his young men shall be tributaries. And his strength shall pass away with dread, and his princes fleeing shall be afraid: The Lord hath said it, whose fire

is in Sion, and his furnace in Jerusalem.'"⁷⁶ And, Brother Hugh continued, "These things were fulfilled in Frederick, especially at Parma when he was put to flight, and his city Victoria destroyed. Yet many princes and barons of Frederick's own kingdom have sought to kill him and could not." When he heard these things, Brother Peter smiled and said, "You can say such things to people who believe you, but you can never persuade me to do so." Brother Hugh answered, "Why not? Do you not believe in prophets?" And Brother Peter answered, "Surely, I believe in prophets. But tell me whether this verse you have cited is to be taken as a primary prophecy or merely a secondary one, whether it was distorted by being taken out of context, and whether it was a prophecy adapted to a particular event." Brother Hugh responded, "You ask the proper questions, and thus I answer you: here is a primary prophecy [Matthew 21.15-16]: 'And the chief priests and scribes, seeing the wonderful things that he did, and the children crying in the temple, and saying: Hosanna to the son of David; were moved with indignation, And said to him: Hearest thou what these say? And Jesus said to them: Yea, have you never read: Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise?' Here the Lord himself uses prophecy in a primary sense. The use that the Church makes of this passage in the Introit of the Mass of the Holy Innocents, however, is a secondary one, for these same words are used there, because they are appropriate for that occasion. These passages are to be found in Psalms [8.3] and Matthew 21 [.16]. An example of distorting the words by removing them from the context is seen in the fact that the Church makes use of the following words to describe the coming of the Son of God in the flesh: 'Her time is near at hand, and her days shall not be prolonged.' For it is evident there, Isaiah 14 [.1], that the prophet is speaking of the destruction of Babylon. An example of the adaptation of a prophecy may be seen in the fact that on the feast of St. Margarita that passage from the Gospel is read that refers to the margarita, Matthew 13 [.45-46], or on the feast of St. Gervase and Prothasius the following Introit is sung [Psalms 84.9]: 'The Lord . . . will speak peace unto his people,' etc. For it was on the feast day of those martyrs that peace was concluded between the Church and the Longobards, a fact which makes that Scripture highly appropriate."⁷⁷

Just as there are many skills in the left hand, so in Holy Scripture there are a multitude of meanings.

"We can add further evidence to the aforesaid: we see that beyond common use and custom the left hand has a multitude of uses, as even the peasants and unlettered know. For therein are found the skills of ciphering and music-making, of the calendar and the golden number,⁷⁸ as well as the calculation of the date of Easter. Similarly, in Holy Scripture there is a sense beyond the literal or historical, for one must take into account the allegorical, the anagogical, the tropological, the moral, and the mystical⁷⁹—from which fact the Scripture is judged to be far more useful and noble than if it were restricted to the one sense

alone. Do you believe these things to be true or do you doubt even this much?" Brother Hugh asked. And Peter responded, "I believe it, and I have frequently taught it, because it is a matter of authority. But I want you to show me more clearly how Isaiah figures forth the Emperor Frederick in the seventy years, Tyre, and the days of one king."

The life of Frederick II, sometime Emperor, which ended as predicted by Isaiah and Merlin, as Brother Hugh maintained.

Brother Hugh answered, "Those things that Merlin, the English magician, foretold of Frederick I, of his son Henry, and of Frederick II, the Emperor Henry's son appear to be true. But let us put aside such matters and return to the original question at hand. Let us put forward the four terminal numbers that Merlin uses in speaking of Frederick II.⁸⁰ First, he says, 'In thirty-two years he shall fall.' This can be understood as representing the time from the Emperor's coronation to the last day of his life, for he reigned thirty years and eleven days, and even then he was not believed dead, in fulfillment of the Sibyl's prophecy: 'It shall sound among the people: "he lives" and "he lives not."' The second terminus that Merlin set is, 'He shall live in his prosperity for seventy-two years.' Since Frederick is still alive, how that will be fulfilled, they will be able to see who are living at that time. Merlin's third terminus is, 'And the twice fifty shall be treated gently.' This 'twice fifty' must be understood not as one hundred, but as fifty plus two, that is, fifty-two years. This number can be obtained by calculating from the year of his mother's marriage to the eighteenth year of his reign as Emperor, a total of fifty-two years. It is recorded about this subject that the Emperor Frederick I married his son King Henry to Constance, daughter of the King of Sicily. At that time Constance was thirty years old and still a virgin, while King Henry was only twenty-one. And the nuptials were celebrated in Milan in the year of Christ 1185, in the seventeenth year of Henry's reign, for he had been crowned king at the age of four, and he became Emperor in 1191. Henry's son Frederick, however, was not crowned as Emperor until the year 1220. Merlin's fourth terminus with respect to Frederick is, 'And after eighteen years from his coronation, he shall hold the Empire in the face of many enemies.' This was fulfilled in Pope Gregory IX with whom he clashed up to the time that Gregory excommunicated him. And it was from this year of 1237 forward that he ruled the Empire against the will of the Pope, the Cardinals, and the princes of the realm." When Brother Peter heard this explanation, he began to become evasive in his tactics, saying, "'Much food is in the tillage of fathers' [Proverbs 13.23]; 'yet one [food] is better than another'" [Ecclesiasticus 36.20].

In this place it is shown that Biblical texts should not be misused and also that one should not abstain from the food that God has created.

Brother Hugh answered, "Do not corrupt the Scripture, but quote the text precisely. For you have dropped off the end of the quotation and followed it up immediately with the beginning of the following verse. Therefore, cite the first

passage precisely, just as the Wise Man said it in Proverbs 13 [.23]: 'Much food is in the tillage of fathers: but for others it is gathered without judgment.' Because, truly, there are many who do not have understanding, for 'The senseless man shall not know: nor will the fool understand these things.' [Psalms 91.7]. Whence Daniel 12 [.10]: 'none of the wicked shall understand, but the learned shall understand,' and the last chapter of Hosea [14.10]: 'Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know these things? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them: but the transgressors shall fall in them.' Also, the Apostle speaks of those who do not have understanding, II Corinthians 4 [.3-4]: 'And if our gospel be also hid, it is hid to them that are lost, In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine unto them,' and Isaiah 29 [.14]: 'wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.' Of good men, however, Baruch 4 [.4] says: 'We are happy, O Israel: because the things that are pleasing to God, are made known to us.'

"But you ought to have cited a second text, Ecclesiasticus 36 [.20]: 'The belly will devour all meat,' that is, bodily food, which, however, is edible and human and natural and not prohibited. For as the Apostle testifies in I Timothy 4 [.3-4], one should not abstain 'from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving by the faithful, and by them that have known the truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be rejected that is received with thanksgiving.' Thus the Scripture in Ecclesiasticus [36.20]: 'yet one [food] is better than another.' That passage is true literally, as even experience teaches, for wheat bread is better than barley. But in the spiritual sense it is most true, for the food of the Eucharist is better than any worldly food. Whence the Lord says in John 6 [.56]: 'For my flesh is meat indeed.' The Lord said to Augustine about this food: 'I am the food of the great; grow, and you shall eat me.'⁸¹ We can also explain the above citation in the sense of intellectual food, for 'the belly will devour all meat,' because our theology or Holy Scripture accepts every other scripture to its own nourishment, as long as it is not contrary to good morals and the Catholic faith. 'Yet one [food] is better than another,' because the words of the prophets are better than those of the poets, and those of Christ and the evangelists better than Aristotle's or the philosophers'." When Brother Peter heard these words he did as many do who are losing a debate; he had recourse to insult: "You have spoken heretically by citing Merlin, for you have used the words of infidels as evidence."

Proof that we can cite the words of infidels to sustain the faith: six reasons.

In anger, Brother Hugh retorted, "You lie, and I will prove that you are an egregious liar. First, by the testimony of the Lord, to whom John said, Luke 9 [.49-50] 'Master, we saw a certain man casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he followeth not with us. And Jesus said to him: Forbid

him not; for he that is not against you, is for you.' Second, because the Apostle in Romans 15 [.4] neither specifies nor excludes any writing, but says generally: 'For what things soever were written, were written for our learning.' Third, because in the first Epistle to Titus [1. 12-13] the Apostle himself cites a gentile prophet as witness: 'One of them a prophet of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slothful bellies. This testimony is true.' Fourth, because in the eighteenth book of the *City of God* Augustine cites the words of the Sybil in the verse 'Sign of the Judgment' as proof of Christ. Moreover, in that same book he cites Virgil as witness, in the section on 'The quarrels of Codrus.' Fifth, because St. Basil says that 'the testimony of enemies is most worthy of faith.'⁸² This is very true, especially when it is given in praise or treats of goodness. Sixth, by the example of the Church, for the Church does not scorn the prophecies of Balaam or Caiphas, the first of whom prophesied of the Nativity of Christ; the second, of the Passion. For Balaam foretold the Nativity when he said, Numbers 24 [.17]: 'A star shall rise out of Jacob and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel.' And this prophecy was more profitable to the three kings of the East than the prophecy of Micah to the chief priests, the scribes, and the Pharisees, for the magi worshipped Christ, but the chief priests and the scribes conspired with Herod against him, as recorded in Matthew 2 [.4]. Thus the Lord complains of them in Jeremiah 11 [.9], saying: 'A conspiracy is found among the men of Juda, and among the inhabitants of Jerusalem.' Caiphas prophesied of Christ's Passion in the words, John 11 [.50-52]: 'it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. And this he spoke not of himself: but being the high priest of that year, he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation. And not only for the nation, but to gather together in one the children of God, that were dispersed.' Note that the evangelist commends Caiphas' prophecy when he says: 'And this he spoke not of himself,' because as St. Ambrose says, 'By whomever spoken, truth comes from the Holy Spirit.'⁸³ And Caiphas' prophecy was more profitable to the centurion than it was to himself, for when he saw it fulfilled, the centurion said, Matthew 27 [.54]: 'Indeed this was the Son of God.' And Moses' warning can be applied to Caiphas, Deuteronomy 28 [.66]: 'And thy life shall be as it were hanging before thee. Thou shalt fear night and day, neither shalt thou trust thy life.'"

Brother Peter seeks to defend himself by delay tactics and by opposing Scripture to Scripture.

When he heard all these things, Brother Peter said, "In II Timothy 3 [.16-17] the Apostle said that 'All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, That the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work.'" 'And Brother Hugh replied, "I admit it, but what is the purpose of your words?"

Balaam was rightly scorned by God, both because of his loquaciousness and because this was done in figure.

Brother Peter answered, "Because the Apostle says: 'All scripture, inspired of God.' But Balaam whom you have brought forth as an example was a magician and soothsayer, who was killed by the sword of the children of Israel, as recorded in Joshua 13 [.22]: 'Balaam also the son of Beor the soothsayer, the children of Israel slew with the sword among the rest that were slain.' The same is recorded in Numbers 31 [.8]. But the Lord despised him above all men when he rose up against his servant Job, saying, Job 38 [.2]: 'Who is this that wrappeth up sentences in unskilful words?'" But Brother Hugh answered, "Although Balaam was an evil man, his words were nevertheless divinely inspired. Whence Numbers speaks of him, Numbers 24 [.3-4, 16]: 'Balaam the son of Beor hath said: The man hath said, whose eye is stopped up: The hearer of the words of God hath said, he that ... knoweth the doctrine of the Highest.' When you say that he was despised by God in Job, this was true not because he spoke good words but because he was younger than all those who heard him and because he spoke against Scripture. Besides, he spoke interminably, giving place to no man, not even God himself. Of the first it is recorded in Job 32 [.6]: 'I am younger in days, and you are more ancient.' Thus he ought to know that 'In the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days prudence,' as it says in Job 12 [.12]. Of other men it is written in Ecclesiasticus 32 [.10-11]: 'Young man, scarcely speak in thy own cause,' that is, only when necessary. 'If thou be asked twice, let thy answer be short [*caput*].' Note that 'head' (*caput*) is used here for 'end.' The passage continues [.12-13]: 'In many things be as if thou wert ignorant, and hear in silence and withal seeking,' and to speak 'in the company of great men take not upon thee: and when the ancients are present, speak not much.' Balaam did not follow these Scriptures, and so rightly did the Lord despise him, imposing silence on him, for as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.10]: 'He that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger.' The Lord rightly despised him also because he sought to show himself off and to demonstrate his wisdom by holding the blessed Job in contempt and showing him to be contemptible. But the blessed Job was 'the lamp despised' at that time 'in the thoughts of the rich ... ready for the time appointed,' Job [12.5].

"The boasting of Elihu is recorded in Job 32 [.17-18]: 'I also will answer my part, and will shew my knowledge. For I am full of matter to speak of, and the spirit of my bowels straiteneth me,' and later, 33 [.31-33]: 'Attend, Job, and hearken to me: and hold thy peace, whilst I speak. But if thou hast any thing to say, answer me, speak: for I would have thee to appear just. And if thou have not, hear me: hold thy peace, and I will teach thee wisdom,' and further, 34 [.7-8]: 'What man is there like Job, who drinketh up scorning like water? Who goeth in company with them that work iniquity, and walketh with wicked men?' and further, 35 [.16]: 'Therefore Job openeth his mouth in vain, and multiplieth words without knowledge.' Rightly, therefore, was this man cast off by God, not only

for his excessive speaking but also because this was done in figure. For in him was prefigured that just as God the Father imposed silence on him who 'hath' not 'regarded the tyrant, when he contended against the poor man' [Job 34.19], so God the Son imposed silence on the Pharisees and Sadducees, who asked him questions 'to ensnare him in his speech,' Matthew 22 [.15]. And just as after the silence of the Sadducees, 'one of them, a doctor of the law, asked him, tempting him: Master, which is the great commandment in the law?' as if demonstrating in these words that he sought to honor God, the Lord answered, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart' [Matthew 22.35-37], so this Elihu believed he honored God by saying, Job 32 [.21]: 'I will not accept the person of man, and I will not level God with man,' and below in Job 36 [.22]: 'Behold, God is high in his strength, and none is like him among the lawgivers,' and also 'Behold, God is great, exceeding our knowledge: the number of his years is inestimable' [.26]. But the words of Jeremiah 2 [.33] could be applied to him: 'Why dost thou endeavour to shew thy way good to seek my love.' Thus Elihu's life was contrary to the good words that he spoke, because he was a magician and a soothsayer, and because he taught 'Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat, and to commit fornication,' Apocalypse 2 [.14] and Numbers 23. And so the words that he spoke [Numbers 23.10] were not profitable to him: 'Let my soul die the death of the just, and my last end be like to them,' and also Job 32 [.22]: 'For I know not how long I shall continue, and whether after a while my Maker may take me away.'

"Similarly, there are some men who profess to know God, but deny it by their deeds, as the Apostle says in Titus 1 [.16]: 'being abominable, and incredulous, and to every good work reprobate.' Such were the Jews, of whom the Lord said, Isaiah 29 [.13] and Matthew 15 [.7-8]: 'Hypocrites, well hath Isaias prophesied of you, saying: *This people honoureth me with their lips: but their heart is far from me,*' and again in Luke 16 [.15]: 'You are they who justify yourselves before men, but God knoweth your hearts; for that which is high to men, is an abomination before God.'

"Therefore, for these reasons Balaam was cast off and despised by God, because he was a great prattler, just as you are, and because he spoke in riddles, just as you do. But it is written in Ecclesiastes 6 [.11]: 'There are many words that have much vanity in disputing,' because as Ecclesiastes 10 [.14] says, 'A fool multiplieth words.' And so 'he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger,' Proverbs 26 [.10], and Proverbs 26 [.12]: 'Hast thou seen a man wise in his own conceit? there shall be more hope of a fool than of him,' and Proverbs 29 [.20]: 'Hast thou seen a man hasty to speak? folly is rather to be looked for, than his amendment,' and also Ecclesiasticus 22 [.7]: 'He that teacheth a fool, is like one that glueth a potsherd together.' Why? John Chrysostom gives a reason: 'Just as you cannot put out a fire by adding wood to it, so you cannot please an evil man by giving him reasons.'⁸⁴ Why? because, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 18 [.2]: 'A fool receiveth not the words of prudence: unless thou say those things which are in his heart.'

"Therefore, the words of Balaam and Elihu and Caiphas and the Sibyl and Merlin and Joachim and Methodius are not scorned by the Church but received gladly, in so far as they were good, useful, and true words. For as St. Ambrose says, 'By whomever spoken, truth comes from the Holy Spirit.'⁸⁵ Also, the Lord said in Matthew 23 [2-3]: 'The scribes and the Pharisees have sitten on the chair of Moses. All things therefore whatsoever they shall say to you, observe and do; but according to their works do ye not; for they say, and do not.' The words of the poet apply to the same subject.

The rose does not give thorns,
Although it is the daughter of thorns,
And violets do not sting,
Nor does Paradise injure.⁸⁶

Both the Lord and the poet mean to say that good, useful, and true things are not to be scorned, although they may be said by an evil teacher. Solomon is a good example, for he taught many good things which he himself did not take properly to heart. Yet his teaching is still not scorned on that account. Thus the poet says:

I made these verses; another took the honor.
You, like sheep, bear wool for others, not for yourselves;
You, like oxen, pull plows for others, not for yourselves;
You, like bees, make honey for others, not for yourselves;
You, like birds, build nests, but not for yourselves.⁸⁷

Balaam and Elihu were the same man.

When Brother Peter heard these things, he said, "I wish to know whether Balaam was the same man as Elihu, or different." And Brother Hugh answered, "Some men believe them to be different because this one is called Balaam; that one, Elihu. This one, the son of Beor; that one, the son of Barachel. This one, from Bosor; that one, from Ram. But some men say that they were one and the same man, and that they were indeed the same can be proved in a number of ways. They both, for example, were contemporaneous with Job, and both were great orators. Besides, not only the Jews but also Jerome says that they were the same. And so the master of the *Histories* writes: 'The next day Abraham returned and went into Bersabee,' that is, after Isaac was freed whom he was to have sacrificed, Genesis 22. 'And it was announced to him that Melcha had brought forth eight sons to his brother Nachor. The first-born was Hus, from whose lineage Job descended, as it is written: "There was a man in the land of Hus, whose name was Job" [Job 1.1]. His brother was Buz, from whose lineage Balaam descended, who according to the Jews is called Elihu the Buzite in the book of Job. Therefore, those men are in error who say that Job was of Esau's lineage. For that passage at the end of the book of Job which places him fourth in the lineage of Esau is

not found in the Hebrew and may have been translated from Syrian.'"⁸⁸

The Jews say that Melchisedech and Shem were the same man, and they say the same of Phinees, son of Eleazar, and the prophet Elijah.

"The Jews also say that Melchisedech and Shem, the son of Noah, were the same man.⁸⁹ They say the same of Phinees, the son of Eleazar, and of the prophet Elijah, that they too were the same man. Yet Ecclesiasticus [45.28] makes a distinction between the two, and Mathathias [I Machabees 2.54-58] seems to do the same. Whatever the case, God knows. I prefer to believe that they were two different men, for the Wise Man witnesses in Ecclesiastes 4 [.9]: 'It is better therefore that two should be together, than one: for they have the advantage of their society.'"

Explanation of the words of the Apostle, "All scripture, inspired of God," etc.

Then Brother Peter said, "I want to hear a brief explanation of the passage from the Apostle that I used before, II Timothy 3 [.16-17]: 'All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice, That the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work.'" Brother Hugh answered, "When the Apostle says, 'All scripture,' he excludes none. And when he says, 'inspired of God,' it must be understood that those writings which are divinely inspired are better, nobler, and more useful than those from human hands, for the revelation of secrets is a sign of special friendship with God. Whence the Lord said to his disciples, John 15 [.15]: 'But I have called you friends: because all things whatsoever I have heard of my Father, I have made known to you,' and also Amos 3 [.7]: 'For the Lord God doth nothing without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets.' Thus Peter says in the second Epistle 1 [.20-21]: 'Understanding this first, that no prophecy of scripture is made by private interpretation. For prophecy came not by the will of man at any time: but the holy men of God spoke, inspired by the Holy Ghost.' Thus in his Homily on Pentecost Gregory writes about the Holy Spirit: 'It fills the boy harp-player and makes the Psalmist; it fills the keeper of flocks and the plucker of wild figs and makes the Prophet; it fills the abstaining boy and makes the wise judge; it fills the fisherman and makes the preacher; it fills the persecutor and makes the teacher of the gentiles; it fills the tax collector and makes the evangelist.'⁹⁰ Comparing human learning to divine knowledge, Jerome says in the prologue to the Bible: 'The Pharisees are astounded at the Lord's wisdom and marvel at Peter's and John's knowledge of the law, since they were unlettered men. For what by other men is gained by exercise and daily meditation on the law was given to them by the Holy Spirit, and they were, as the Scripture says, taught by God, Δεοδίδακτοι. The Savior was only twelve years old when he sat in the temple asking questions about the law, teaching his elders by his wise questions. We call not only Peter but also John a rustic, of both of whom it could be said: "although . . . rude in speech, yet not in knowledge" [II Corinthians 11.6]. John the rustic, Peter the

ignorant fisherman. And whence, I pray, comes that voice: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God" [John 1.1] ΛΟΓΟΣ? The Greek *Logos* means many things. For it is "word" and "reason" and "cause of everything" — through which every entity has its being. And all of these we correctly understand as Christ. Of this even the learned Plato was ignorant; this even eloquent Demosthenes did not know. "I shall confound," he said, "the wisdom of the wise, and I shall reprove the prudence of the prudent" [Cf. Isaiah 29.14]. True wisdom shall confound false wisdom.⁹¹

"The words 'is profitable' follow in the citation from the Apostle. Thus a certain poet, wishing to commend his work, began:

This book will be useful to the ignorant,
And will open the way to learning for children.⁹²

The Apostle means by his words 'is profitable' that Holy Scripture is given for the utility of men. And it would have clearly been given in vain if it had not been understood by someone at some time. But the ignorant say, 'The Lord did not wish to give the meaning to the Apostles, for he said to them: "It is not for you to know the times or moments, which the Father hath put in his own power" [Acts 1.7] when they inquired. Are we, therefore, worthier than the Apostles?' The Abbot Joachim responds to such men in these words:

We are not for this reason worthier or more holy than the Apostles. But why should the Lord have made these things clear to the Apostles when they were so far in the future and when the Apostles had to be concerning themselves with so many other things during that time? To us, however, these are very useful things to know, for it is written to us: 'When you shall see these things come to pass, know that the kingdom of God is at hand'⁹³ [Luke 21.31].

The fourfold meaning of the Holy Scripture.

"The next words of the Apostle are 'to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct in justice.' Therefore, when the Apostle lists the quadruple use of Holy Scripture here, it is clear that those men are in error who attempt to restrict it to the literal sense only. If read in a literal sense only, for example, the following verse would mean that some people ate a man [Psalms 78.7]: 'Because they have devoured Jacob; and have laid waste his place.' And again: 'In the morning I put to death all the wicked of the land: that I might cut off all the workers of iniquity from the city of the Lord' [Psalms 100.8], and 'With my lips I have pronounced all the judgments of thy mouth,' says the Psalmist [Psalms 118.13]. And he says again that the 'judgments' of God 'are a great deep' [Psalms 35.7]. Even the Apostle says that 'incomprehensible' are the 'judgments of God,' Romans 11 [.33]. The preceding examples make clear that Holy Scripture requires another sense beyond the literal. And although the Apostle assigns here a fourfold use to Holy Scrip-

ture, he does not on that account exclude other uses. Of these we may perhaps speak, but for the present let us discuss these four.

"Thus the Apostle says 'All scripture, inspired of God, is profitable to teach.' Note that some are taught by men; some, by God. Of the first Job 27 [.11] speaks: 'I will teach you by the hand of God, what the Almighty hath, and I will not conceal it,' and also II Timothy 2 [.2]: 'And the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also.' Note that that doctrine is good which converts a sinner, edifies a just man, and glorifies God. Of the first it is written [Psalms 50.15]: 'I will teach the unjust thy ways: and the wicked shall be converted to thee.' Of the second, Proverbs 9 [.9]: 'Teach a just man, and he shall make haste to receive it.' Of the third, Isaiah 24 [.15]: 'Therefore glorify ye the Lord in instruction: the name of the Lord God of Israel in the islands of the sea.' But the Lord complains of certain men, saying, Matthew 15 [.9]: 'And in vain do they worship me, teaching doctrines and commandments of men.' Of those who are taught by God, it is written, John 6 [.45]: 'It is written in the prophets: *And they shall all be taught of God.*' Of this Isaiah 54 [.12-13] speaks: 'I will make . . . all thy children . . . taught of the Lord,' and also the Apostle, Hebrews 8 [.11-13]: 'And they shall not teach every man his neighbor and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me from the least to the greatest of them: Because I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins I will remember no more. Now in saying a new, he hath made the former old. And that which decayeth and groweth old, is near its end.' In these words the Apostle proves that the Old Testament is deficient and lacking in certain respects, and that the New Testament has vigor. He takes this citation from Jeremiah 31 [.34]. And earlier in both of these passages—that is, in both Jeremiah and in the words of the Apostle—the basis for testing the two Testaments was established. Whence the Lord says in Isaiah 43 [.18-19]: 'Remember not former things, and look not on things of old. Behold I do new things, and now they shall spring forth, verily you shall know them,' and the Apostle in II Corinthians 5 [.17]: 'If then any be in Christ a new creature, the old things are passed away, behold all things are made new.' Thus it is recorded in Leviticus 26 [.10]: 'new coming on, you shall cast away the old.' Of the doctrine which comes from God, our principal subject, the Prophet speaks [Psalms 93.12]: 'Blessed is the man whom thou shalt instruct, O Lord: and shalt teach him out of thy law,' and again [Psalms 118.12]: 'Blessed art thou, O Lord: teach me thy justifications.'"

Reproof and correction.

"The next words of the Apostle are 'is profitable to reprove.' This is what he commands, II Timothy 4 [.2]: 'reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.' Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 9 [.8]: 'Rebuke a wise man, and he will love thee,' and II Kings 7 [.14]: 'I will correct him with the rod of men,' etc., and Psalms [49.21]: 'I will reprove thee, and set before thy face.' But what is the usefulness in reproof? Hear Proverbs 24 [.25]: 'They that rebuke him, shall

be praised: and a blessing shall come upon them.'

"The next words of the Apostle are 'to correct.' Jeremiah 10 [.24]: 'Correct me, O Lord, but yet with judgment: and not in thy fury, lest thou bring me to nothing,' and the Prophet says [Psalms 37.2]: 'Rebuke me not, O Lord, in thy indignation; nor chastise me in thy wrath,' and Proverbs 17 [.10]: 'A reproof availeth more with a wise man, than a hundred stripes with a fool.' That was made clear in Joshua, whom Moses corrected, Numbers 11 [.29]: 'But he said: Why hast thou emulation for me? O that all the people might prophesy, and that the Lord would give them his spirit!' What the Wise Man said in Wisdom 6 [.25] was fulfilled in Moses: 'Neither will I go with consuming envy: for such a man shall not be partaker of wisdom.' Also what was said above [Proverbs 17.10] was fulfilled in Herod: 'Than a hundred stripes with a fool.' For Luke 3 [.19-20] says of Herod: 'But Herod the tetrarch, when he was reprov'd by John 'for Herodias, his brother's wife, and for all the evils which Herod had done; He added this also above all, and shut up John in prison.' Why did he do so? because as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 15 [.12]: 'A corrupt man loveth not one that reproveth him: nor will he go to the wise.' For as Amos 5 [.10] says: 'They have hated him that rebuketh in the gate: and have abhorred him that speaketh perfectly,' that is, Herod and Herodias. But it is written in Ecclesiasticus 21 [.7]: 'He that hateth to be reprov'd walketh in the trace of a sinner: and he that feareth God will turn to his own heart,' and Ecclesiasticus 19 [.5]: 'He that hateth chastisement, shall have less life,' and also Ecclesiasticus 20 [.4]: 'How good is it, when thou art reprov'd, to shew repentance! for so thou shalt escape wilful sin.' Many things about correction are recorded in Ecclesiasticus 19. See also Ecclesiasticus 32 [.21]: 'A sinful man will flee reproof, and will find an excuse according to his will.' All these things were fulfilled in Herod who, along with Herodias, maliciously contrived the death of John the Baptist. It is also written of John, Proverbs 21 [.12]: 'The just considereth seriously the house of the wicked, that he may withdraw the wicked from evil.' And it is written of Herod, Proverbs 29 [.1]: 'The man that with a stiff neck despiseth him that reproveth him, shall suddenly be destroyed: and health shall not follow him.'

"The next words of the Apostle are 'to instruct,' Proverbs 16 [.20]: 'The learned in word shall find good things: and he that trusteth in the Lord is blessed.' Thus Proverbs 19 [.18] says: 'Chastise thy son, despair not: but to the killing of him set not thy soul.' Wherefore the Apostle says, Hebrews 12 [.9-10]: 'Moreover we have had fathers of our flesh, for instructors, and we revered them: shall we not much more obey the Father of spirits, and live? And they indeed for a few days, according to their own pleasure, instructed us: but he, for our profit, that we might receive his sanctification.' It is written of learning in Jeremiah 6 [.8]: 'Be thou instructed, O Jerusalem, lest my soul depart from thee, lest I make thee desolate, a land uninhabited.' Thus Isaiah 8 [.11] says: 'As he hath taught me, with a strong arm, that I should not walk in the way of this people.'

"The next words of the Apostle are 'in justice.' He speaks well by saying 'in

justice,' for 'The Lord is just, and hath loved justice' [Psalms 10.8]. Of which Jacob says, Genesis 30 [.33]: 'And my justice shall answer for me tomorrow.' Whoever is wise does this, as Exodus 35 [.10] says: 'Whosoever of you is wise, let him come, and make that which the Lord hath commanded.' Thus the Lord says, Exodus 31 [.6]: 'I have put wisdom in the heart of every skilful man, that they may make all things which I have commanded thee.' But sinners will repeat the words of Isaiah 26 [.18]: 'we have not wrought salvation on the earth, therefore the inhabitants of the earth have not fallen.'

"The next words of the Apostle are: 'That the man of God may be perfect, furnished to every good work' [II Timothy 3.17]. What kind of man was Paul himself, who says of himself, I Corinthians 9 [.22]: 'I became all things to all men, that I might save all.' Of perfection the Lord has this to say, Luke 6 [.40]: 'But every one shall be perfect, if he be as his master.' In order for a man to be able to attain perfection of doctrine, however, it is necessary for him to take on the form of a disciple and learn with humility and hear obediently. For there are some men who wish to learn while at the same time kicking against the teacher, so as to appear learned to other men. Of these Augustine says: 'Many men have lost knowledge by their love of contradicting.'⁹⁴ Thus Ecclesiasticus 4 [.30] gives useful counsel: 'In nowise speak against the truth,' and Ecclesiasticus 5 [.13]: 'Be meek to hear the word, that thou mayst understand: and return a true answer with wisdom,' and James 1 [.21]: 'with meekness receive the ingrafted word, which is able to save your souls.' Thus Augustine says in the second book of *On Christian Doctrine*: 'It is necessary for us to grow continually in piety, never contradicting Holy Scripture, nor reading it with the feeling that we ourselves have a better insight into the subject matter. Rather, we should believe that what is contained therein is better and truer than any of our own imaginings.'⁹⁵

When Brother Peter could not contradict Biblical authority, he turned to the lives of the saints and the words of the philosophers, in which, however, he was quickly trapped by Brother Hugh.

When he had heard these things, Brother Peter turned to the lives of the saints and the words of the philosophers. In these, however, Brother Hugh was an authority, and he quickly overwhelmed Peter and routed him. Seeing this, Peter's companion, who was a priest, an old and good man, began to help him. But Brother Peter said to him, "Keep quiet, keep quiet!" as if he would say with Job 26 [.2]: "Whose helper art thou? is it of him that is weak? and dost thou hold up the arm of him that has no strength?" as if to say, "If I am no match for him what can *you* do?"

After Brother Peter acknowledged himself conquered, he began to praise Brother Hugh for his great wisdom.

Then Brother Peter said, "It is written in Proverbs 9 [.9]: 'Give an occasion to a wise man, and wisdom shall be added to him. Teach a just man, and he shall make haste to receive it.' I have given you occasion of speaking many good

things and I readily receive them, and now I shall no longer contradict your words of truth."⁹⁶ And Brother Hugh replied, "Behold, this is even so, as we have searched out: which thou having heard, consider it thoroughly in thy mind,' Job 5 [.27]." Then Brother Peter answered, "It is written in Ecclesiasticus 22 [.24]: 'He that pricketh the eye, bringeth out tears: and he that pricketh the heart, bringeth forth resentment.' I rejoice that I provoked you, because you have said many good things. For 'Good things that are hidden in a mouth that is shut, are as messes of meat set about a grave,' Ecclesiasticus 30 [.18]. Thus Ecclesiasticus 4 [.28] says: 'Hide not thy wisdom in her beauty,' because it is written in Ecclesiasticus 20 [.32-33]: 'Wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is not seen: what profit is there in them both? Better is he that hideth his folly, than the man that hideth his wisdom.' Whence the words of Proverbs 17 [.28]: 'Even a fool, if he will hold his peace shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips, a man of understanding.' I see fulfilled in you what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 14 [.33]: 'In the heart of the prudent resteth wisdom, and it shall instruct all the ignorant.' Truly, you are the kind of man described in Ecclesiasticus 37 [.22]: 'A skilful man hath taught many, and is sweet to his own soul,' and again [Ecclesiasticus 37.26-27, 29]: 'A wise man instructeth his own people, and the fruits of his understanding are faithful. A wise man shall be filled with blessings, and they that see shall praise him. A wise man shall inherit honour among his people, and his name shall live for ever.'" Just as this conversation ended, however, the messenger from the captain suddenly came for the Dominicans, saying that they should hasten to the ship.

Brother Hugh set a good example for the men in secular life.

After the departure of these two, Brother Hugh said to the remaining learned men who had heard the disputation: "Do not take it as a bad example if we have said some things that ought not to have been said, for men who are debating are accustomed to run through the field with a certain accepted and licensed audacity." Then he added, "These good men always boast of their learning and say that their Order is the fountain of wisdom, although Ecclesiasticus 1 [.5] says: 'The word of God on high is the fountain of wisdom.' They also say that they go among a bunch of ignorant men when they visit a convent of the Friars Minor, to whom they minister sedulously out of love. But now by the grace of God they can no longer say that they go among ignorant men, for I did what the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 26 [.5]: 'Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise,' and again, 27 [.11]: 'Study wisdom, my son, and make my heart joyful, that thou mayst give an answer to him that reproacheth,' and Proverbs 15 [.23]: 'A man rejoiceth in the sentence of his mouth and a word in due time is best,' and also Jeremiah 51 [.20]: 'Thou dashest together for me the weapons of war, and with thee I will dash nations together, and with thee I will destroy kingdoms.'"

After these words, the secular audience left greatly edified and consoled, saying, "We have heard marvels today [cf. Luke 5.26]. But on the next feast day, we want to hear more of the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ." And Brother

Hugh answered, "If life accompany [IV Kings 4.16], I will gladly obey you, and you will be welcome!" Moreover, that same day the Dominicans returned to us because the weather for sailing was not, after all, suitable; yet they returned gladly. And after dinner Brother Hugh was very friendly with them. And Brother Peter took his place and seated himself at Brother Hugh's feet, and nobody could make him rise and sit on the same level with Hugh, not even Brother Hugh himself, although he besought him to do so repeatedly. For Brother Peter said, "It is written in Proverbs 16 [.19]: 'It is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud,' and so I have 'brought down my life to the earth' [Psalms 142.3]. For [Luke 14.11]: 'every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted,' and 'they that approach to his feet, shall receive of his doctrine,' Deuteronomy 33" [.3]. Therefore, no longer disputing and contradicting but listening humbly, Brother Peter heard the mellifluous words spoken by Brother Hugh — words which were indeed worthy of record, but for the sake of brevity I keep silent and hasten on to other matters. Then Brother Peter's companion took me aside and said, "For the love of God, Brother Salimbene, tell me who this Brother is. Is he a prelate, a Guardian, a Custodian, or a Minister?" And I said to him, "He has no office, because he does not wish to have one. Once, he was a Provincial Minister; now, however, he is simply a man without office. But he is one of the greatest scholars in the world and is acknowledged to be so by all who know him." Then he said to me, "In truth, I believe it well, for I have never seen a man so eloquent and so accomplished in all things which appertain to learning. But I wonder why he does not live in one of the large convents." And I answered, "Because of his humility and sanctity, he prefers the smaller convents." Then he said, "Bless him, for he seems to be totally heavenly." Thus the Dominicans were with us at Hyères until the weather became suitable for sailing. And at their departure Brother Peter said to Hugh, "In truth, I tell you that I would like to always live with you so that we could talk of Holy Scripture." Then after many mutual farewells, the Dominicans left consoled and greatly edified.

On the next feast day after their departure, the learned men from the town of Hyères gathered again in Brother Hugh's room to hear him teaching. And he gave them a marvellous sermon, useful, and beautiful, and delightful — which I will not report for the sake of brevity, but will hasten to other matters. After the sermon had ended, however, a certain man of secular life with whom I was acquainted asked Brother Hugh to receive him into the Order of the Friars Minor for the love of God. For because he was so holy and spiritual a man and so great a scholar, as well as because he had himself once been a Minister, Brother Hugh had license of the Minister to receive Brothers.

The beginning and end of the Order of the Sack.

Now, this man who sought entry into the order of the Friars Minor was the beginning of the Order of the Sack,⁹⁷ and he had a companion who also wanted to enter. They had been inspired by the holy kernel of Brother Hugh's sermon: "Go ye to the wood and learn to eat roots, for tribulations are at hand."

The Dominicans and our Order set the example of mendicancy for many men, and taught how to regulate their orders.

Then they went and made multicolored robes for themselves, like those worn in the old days by the servants of the Order of St. Clare, and they began to beg bread throughout the town in which the Friars Minor were living. And the people gave abundantly to them, for we and the Dominicans taught mendicancy to all men, so that at the slightest whim a man will put on a hood and start a mendicant order. These are suddenly greatly multiplied, and the Friars Minor of Provence jokingly and ironically call them wild men of the wood [*Boscarìoli*].

Brother Hugh had many critics for two reasons, which are given in the book.

Brother Hugh had many critics and opponents in the Order, especially in Provence, both because he adhered to the teachings of Joachim and because, they asserted, he had founded the Order of the Sack—although he had done so only incidentally by saying, "Go ye to the woods and learn to eat roots, for tribulations are at hand"—and because he would not receive them into the Order when he could easily have done so. Later on, however, these Brothers of the Sack made their "sackcloth" out of fine linen—not of goathair—and underneath they wore the best kind of garments, with only the cloak being made of sackcloth—whence the name. And they made sandals for themselves, such as the Minorites have. For whoever wishes to start some new order always takes something from the Order of St. Francis—either the sandals, or the cord, or the robe.

The diversity of the Hermits, and their amalgamation under one head.

Now, however, the Order of the Friars Minor has a Papal privilege which forbids anyone to wear that particular robe by which a Friar Minor is easily recognized. This happened because those Brothers in the March of Ancona who called themselves Britti had completely taken over this robe for themselves. But Pope Alexander IV reassigned this group into a single order with all other hermits. Before, however, there were five separate orders of hermits, as I saw with my own eyes: St. Augustine's, St. William's, the Favali, the Britti, and the Jambonitani. For there was a certain man named John Bono, a contemporary of St. Francis, and he founded an order of hermits. His body was buried in my days at Mantua, and I was acquainted with his son, a fat Brother of Modena named Matthew. To this last Order all the others were reduced, so that in that union for the first time there was a single head over them all. Thus was fulfilled the

Scripture which says, Jeremiah 15 [.12]: "Shall iron be allied with the iron from the north, and the brass?" For

The new head contains what the old head knows.⁹⁸

These Brothers of the Sack, however, poured out into the cities of Italy and took up residence, and they employed every custom of the Friars Minor and the Preachers—in preaching, in hearing confession, in begging, because, as I have said, we and the Dominicans taught all men how to beg. As a result, men of the secular world were heavily burdened. Thus, once, in Modena when Lady Giulitta de Adelardi, a spiritual daughter of the Friars Minor, saw these men of the sack begging for bread from door to door, she said to the Friars Minor, "In truth, Brothers, I say to you that we already had so many sacks and srips emptying our barns that we had no need of these Brothers of the Sack."

Finally, Pope Gregory X,⁹⁹ a Piacenzan, completely cut off this Order through divine inspiration in full council at Lyons. For he wished to diminish the proliferation of mendicant orders to avoid overburdening the Christian people, so that only those who preach "the gospel, should live by the gospel," as the Apostle Paul says was ordained by the Lord, I Corinthians 9 [.14]. Pope Gregory also wanted to cut off and destroy the Order of Hermits, but it was saved by the intervention of Cardinal Richard, who was the governor of the Order. Cardinal Richard, in fact, declared that he wished to remain their governor so that he could ensure their proper regulation, but his intention was frustrated by death. The first man of the Order of the Sack was called Raymond Attanulfi, a native of Provence, of Hyères, where salt was produced. He was a knight in the secular world; and he was once a Friar Minor, but during his novitiate he was cast out of the Order because he was ill. He had a son in the Order of the Sack, who was later archbishop of Arles. Brother Bertrand of Manara was Raymond's first companion. Manara is a region near Hyères, and in that place there is a convent of the White Ladies, who were devoted to the Friars Minor, and are even more so in the present day.

The congregation — rather, the dispersion — of those rascals who "say they are" Apostles "and are not" [Apocalypse 2.9].

Take note that this section extends to the place in this chronicle that reads "In the year of the Lord 1248," and the events here recorded took place the year before.

Pope Gregory also completely annihilated¹ that group of rascally and swinish men, those fools and base creatures who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan" [Apocalypse 2.9]. For "they were not of the seed of those men by whom salvation was brought to Israel," I Machabees 5 [.62]. This order was rightly destroyed because these men served no function for the Church: they were useless for preaching or singing the Church offices; they could not celebrate Mass, nor hear confession, nor teach in the schools, nor give counsel, nor even seek out benefactors. Rather, they spent every day running through the

cities seeking out women. What good they were, therefore, for the Church or for the Christian people, I find it impossible to understand. "All the day idle" [Matthew 20.6], all the day vagabonds. For they neither work nor pray.

This group got its start in Parma. For when I was living in the convent at Parma, a priest and preacher, there came a young citizen of Parma to the convent beseeching the Friars Minor to receive him into the Order. And he was a man of base family, an illiterate layman, ignorant and foolish, by the name of Gerard Segarello.² But because they would not accept him, he used to spend the whole day in the church of the Brothers, where he thought out what he later performed in his foolish way. For there was a painting on the lamp-cover in that church, on which were depicted the Apostles with sandals on their feet and mantles around their shoulders, as they have traditionally been painted from ancient times down to the present day. There, this man sat in contemplation and, having thought out his plan, he let his hair and beard grow long, and put on the sandals and cord of the Friars Minor, because, as I said above, whoever wishes to start a new order always steals something from our Order. Moreover, he had a garment made for himself of rough gray cloth and a white cloak of coarse woolen fabric, which he wore thrown over his shoulders, thinking in this way to imitate the dress of the Apostles. And having sold his little house, he took the money which he received for it and stood on the stone which had been used by the podestà of Parma from ancient times as a rostrum for proclamations. Then holding his sack of money in his hand he did not "disperse" and "give to the poor" [II Corinthians 9.9], and he did not make himself "affable to the congregation of the poor" [Ecclesiasticus 4.7]. But he called out to the rascals who were there gambling in the square, and threw his money among them, crying out in a loud voice: "Whoever wants it may have it!" And so these rascals hurriedly picked up the money and began shooting craps and blaspheming the living God right in front of this man who had given them the money. Yet this Gerard thought that he was fulfilling very well the Lord's counsel in Matthew 19 [.21]: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come follow me." Note that the passage says "give to the poor," not to rascals, give to those who praise God, not to those who blaspheme him and the Holy Virgin, the mother of Christ, who made us brothers of the Son of God. Thus Ecclesiasticus 12 [.1-2] says: "If thou do good, know to whom thou dost it, and there shall be much thanks for thy good deeds. Do good to the just, and thou shalt find great recompense: and if not of him, assuredly of the Lord," and Ecclesiasticus 14 [.15-16]: "divide by lot thy sorrows and labours? Give and take, and justify thy soul." This Gerard gave, but he received nothing, for he gave evilly to evil men. Thus Ecclesiasticus 12 [.5-6] says: "Give to the good, and receive not a sinner. Do good to the humble, and give not to the ungodly."

Therefore, this man had an evil beginning, an evil middle, and an evil end, since his group was condemned in full council at Lyons by Pope Gregory X, and this was justly done, because the Gabaonites, who deceived the children of Israel

with their tricks, were condemned to perpetual slavery [Joshua 9]. Just so, did these herders of swine and cattle seek to deceive, and to live at ease without labor on the alms of those whom the Minorites and the Preachers had taught for a long time with great labor and example. Thus the words of Isaiah can be rightly applied to this Gerard, their leader, Isaiah 9 [.3]: "Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy." We say this just as the Apostle said, Galatians 2 [.4-5]: "because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privately to spy our liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into servitude. To whom we yielded not by subjection, no not for an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue with you."

Gerard Segarello, who sought to be like the Son of God, and his many foolish acts.

This Gerard Segarello, their leader, sought to be like the Son of God. For this reason he had himself circumcised, which is against the teaching of the Apostle, who says, Galatians 5 [.2-3]: "Behold, I Paul tell you, that if you be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. And I testify again to every man circumcising himself, that he is a debtor to do the whole law." He also lay in a cradle, wrapped in swaddling clothes, and sucked milk from the breasts of a certain young woman. Later, he went to a town called Culliculo or Collecchio, so called because there beyond the plain the hills [*colli*] first begin, which run from Parma to Fornovo (of which town we shall speak when occasion arises). And standing there in the middle of the road, he said in his simplicity to the passersby in a clear voice: "Go you also into my vineyard" [Matthew 20. 4, 7]. And those who knew him simply recognized his foolishness, knowing that he had no vineyard there. The people from the nearby mountains, however, who did not know him, went into the vineyard toward which he stretched out his hand and ate the grapes that were not his, since they believed they had received the permission of the owner.

Later, when he was living with a certain little widow woman, who had a handsome, nubile daughter, he told her that it had been revealed to him by God that he should sleep all night nude with her daughter in order to test whether or not he could preserve his chastity. And thinking herself blessed, the mother consented, and the daughter did not refuse. The blessed Job did not teach this, who says in chapter 31 [.1]: "I made a covenant with my eyes, that I would not so much as think upon a virgin." See also Ecclesiasticus 9 [.5]: "Gaze not upon a maiden, lest her beauty be a stumblingblock to thee," and Ecclesiasticus 32 [.25]: "Go not in the way of ruin, and thou shalt not stumble against the stones: trust not thyself to a rugged way, lest thou set a stumblingblock to thy soul," and Ecclesiasticus 3 [.27]: "A hard heart shall fear evil at the last: and he that loveth danger shall perish in it," and Proverbs 19 [.16]: "He that keepeth the commandment keepeth his own soul: but he that neglecteth his own way, shall die." The Lord also commanded, Luke 12 [.35]: "Let your loins be girt." St. Gregory also: "We gird up our loins and restrict fleshly lechery by means of continence."³ But the man of whom the Wise Man speaks in Proverbs 6 [.29] neglects this advice: "So he that

goeth in to his neighbor's wife, shall not be clean when he shall touch her." This is the woman of whom Ecclesiastes speaks, 7 [.27]: "I have found a woman more bitter than death, who is the hunter's snare, and her heart is a net." But here is the remedy: "He that pleaseth God shall escape from her: but he that is a sinner, shall be caught by her" [Ecclesiastes 7.27], and Proverbs 11 [.15]: "he that is aware of the snares, shall be secure." For "They prepared a snare for my feet; and they bowed down my soul" [Psalms 56.7]. This is what the demons do, of whom the Lord says, Isaiah 51 [.23]: "They have said to thy soul: Bow down, that we may go over." But they are not to be believed.

Moreover, Gerard Segarello went alone for many days through the streets of Parma without any companion, and he wore his mantle about his shoulders, neither speaking to nor greeting anyone, for he thought he was fulfilling the Lord's commandment, Luke 10 [.4]: "Salute no man by the way." And he frequently repeated the words of the Lord, "Doyepenance!" [*Penitencágite*] For he was ignorant of the proper words, "Do ye penance." So it was that for a long time thereafter his followers used these words, because they were unlearned country people. Moreover, whenever Gerard was invited as a guest to lunch or to dinner, he would always answer, "Either I will come or I will not come." And this is against the word of the Lord, Matthew 5 [.37]: "But let your speech be yea, yea: no, no: and that which is over and above these, is of evil." Thus James says, 1 [.8]: "A double minded man is inconstant in all his ways." Once, therefore, when this Brother Gerard Segarello asked whether another Brother were in a convent of the Friars Minor, the doorkeeper answered wittily and derisively, "Either he is in the convent or he is not." And this is what the grammarian teaches, "One should answer a question in the manner that it is asked."

Brother Robert, who was at first a companion of Brother Gerard Segarello, but who later became apostate and took a wife.

In the days when these things took place, the Friars Minor of Parma had a certain servant named Robert, a disobedient and shameless young man, to whom the words of the Wise Man in Proverbs 29 [.19] could be applied: "A slave will not be corrected by words: because he understandeth what thou sayest, and will not answer." The words of a certain tyrant are also appropriate: "Servants cannot be kept in line without the whip."⁴ See also Proverbs 29 [.21]: "He that nourisheth his servant delicately from his childhood, afterwards shall find him stubborn," a passage which was made clear in Jereboam, Solomon's servant, III Kings 11. And this Robert, the servant of the Brothers, was, as we shall show below, in some ways like Judas Iscariot, who betrayed Christ to the Jews. Gerard Segarello persuaded this man to leave the Brothers and become his companion. Yet we benefited as a result, for, afterward, we had another servant who was very good, in accordance with Isaiah 55 [.13]: "Instead of the shrub, shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the nettle, shall come up the myrtle tree." Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 22[.10]: "Cast out the scoffer, and contention shall

go out with him, and quarrels and reproaches shall cease." Moreover, he left the Brothers as a thief carrying off with him a cup, knife, and table cloth, which were entrusted to him as servant.

The foolishness of those rascals who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan."

Then these two went day after day sauntering throughout the city in their apostolic garb to the amazement of the citizens of Parma. And, behold, suddenly, their numbers multiplied to thirty, and they gathered together into a single house, eating and sleeping together. And this Robert, the former servant of the Friars Minor, was their purchaser. And the Parmese, my own fellow citizens, men and women, gave more, more liberally, to these men than they did to the Minorites and the Preachers. Yet these men neither pray for their benefactors, nor celebrate Mass, nor preach, nor sing the Church offices, nor hear confession; they give neither good counsel nor set a good example. For, as I said above, they were totally ignorant in every way and completely inept, "without skill in the art of" spiritual "war" [Judith 5.27]. And therefore their Order could not develop like the Minorites and the Preachers, since they were too ignorant. For [I Machabees 5.62]: "they were not of the seed of those men by whom salvation was brought to Israel," but they were like herders of swine and cattle.

The Apostle describes the life, form, and rule of those who seek to live piously and religiously in Christ Jesus, our Lord.

Truly, they were like this, because all day long they ran through the city looking for women, and the remainder of their time they spent in idleness, doing nothing, although the Apostle says in II Thessalonians 3 [.6-12]:

And we charge you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking disorderly, and not according to the tradition which they have received of us. For yourselves know how you ought to imitate us: for we were not disorderly among you; Neither did we eat any man's bread for nothing, but in labour and in toil we worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you. Not as if we had not power: but that we might give ourselves a pattern unto you, to imitate us. For also when we were with you, this we declared to you: that, if any man will not work, neither let him eat. For we have heard there are some among you who walk disorderly, working not at all, but curiously meddling. Now we charge them that are such, and beseech them by the Lord Jesus Christ, that, working with silence, they would eat their own bread.

In this passage the Apostle describes the life and form which those men ought to observe who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan" — a swarm of base and foolish men, like disciples of the Antichrist. John

speaks of these, I John 4 [.1]: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world." What kind of men are these who "say they are" Apostles, and yet are "all the day idle" [Matthew 20.6] and wander all day long like vagabonds through the cities of the world, scorning work and preferring to live on the sweat and labor of others, although the Prophet says; "For thou shalt eat the labours of thy hands: blessed art thou, and it shall be well with thee " [Psalms 127.2]. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 16 [.26]: "The soul of him that laboureth, laboureth for himself, because his mouth hath obliged him to it," and the Apostle in Ephesians 4 [.28]: "He that stole, let him now steal no more; but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have something to give to him that suffereth need." This is also what that same Apostle reports the Lord as saying, Acts 20 [.33-35]: "I have not coveted any man's silver, gold, or apparel, as You yourselves know: for such things as were needful for me and them that are with me, these hands have furnished. I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring you ought to support the weak, and to remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive."

Moreover, Brother Robert, their purchaser, "was a thief, and having the purse, carried the things that were put therein" [John 12.6], that is, he was a common pilferer. Later, when I was living at Faenza, this Robert was living in the house of a certain penitentiary Brother, named Brother Glutto. And on Good Friday, at the very hour when the Son of God was crucified, he became apostate: he had his hair cut and his beard shaved, and he took a certain hermitess as his wife. I heard these things, but I could not believe they were true, until I asked the man himself. Thus it is that concerning Genesis 18 [.21]: "I will go down and see whether they have done according to the cry that is come to me; or whether it be not so, that I may know," the gloss says: "Do not believe evil of men until you have tested,"⁵ and, further, Ecclesiasticus 11 [.7]: "Before thou inquire, blame no man: and when thou hast inquired, reprove justly." Few are found who have the wisdom of this Scripture, not even David himself, who says: "I have had understanding above ancients" [Psalms 118.100]. Thus because he heard the bell ringing only on the one side and not on the other, that is, because he heard only Siba accusing and not Miphiboseth excusing [See II Kings 19], he made a bad judgment. And because he decided badly, he was punished, for Solomon's servant divided the kingdom with his grandson Roboam, although Gregory lightly excuses him in the first book of the *Dialogues*. For it is the custom of prelates to excuse one another mutually.

An apostate man is useless to God, to himself, and to his neighbor.

When I questioned Robert about the truth of these matters, "he confessed, and did not deny" [John 1.20] that they were all true. Then I rebuked him, saying, "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 6 [.12]: 'A man that is an apostate, an unprofitable

man,' because he is useless to God, to himself, and to his neighbor. Useless to God, because 'he forsook God who made him, and departed from God his saviour,' [Deuteronomy 32.15], and again 'Thou hast forsaken the God that begot thee, and hast forgotten the Lord that created thee,' [Deuteronomy 32.18]. Useless to himself, because as Ecclesiasticus 10 [.32] says: 'Who will justify him that sinneth against his own soul? and who will honour him that dishonoureth his own soul?' Useless to his neighbor, whom he scandalizes by a bad example. Thus Ecclesiasticus 14 [.5] says: 'He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?' and Ecclesiasticus 19 [.3]: 'and he shall be lifted up for a greater example, and his soul shall be taken away out of the number.' And after Robert had heard my words, he was like the man described in Ecclesiasticus 21 [.7]: "He that hateth to be reprov'd walketh in the trace of a sinner," and Ecclesiasticus 32 [.21]: "A sinful man will flee reproof, and will find an excuse according to his will."

After he left those rascals who "say they are" Apostles "and are not," Robert recounted their many misdeeds.

Thus it was that Robert, by way of excusing himself, recounted the many misdeeds of those who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are of the synagogue of Satan." First, he said that Brother Gerard Segarello, who was the first among them, would never take upon himself the governance of his congregation, although they asked him to. Rather, he told them that whoever was doing well "The soul of him that laboureth, laboureth for himself" [Proverbs 16.26] and that "every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour" [I Corinthians 3.8] and that "every one shall bear his own burden" [Galatians 6.5] and that "every one of us shall render account to God for himself" [Romans 14.12]. And it was because they had no leader that they were dispersed, because "Where there is no governor, the people shall fall," Proverbs 11 [.14], and "Where there is no hedge, the possession shall be spoiled," Ecclesiasticus 36 [.27]. Thus the words of I Machabees 12 [.54] can be understood as the voice of demons: "They have no prince, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away the memory of them from amongst men." Second, he said that when they consulted with Master Albert of Parma, one of seven notaries at the Papal court, about whom they should have for a Corrector, he committed this duty to the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Parma, called Fontevivo. But he relieved himself of this burden quickly, laying down the rule that they should have no convents whatsoever, but that they should travel through the world with their long hair and beards, bareheaded, with their cloaks over their shoulders, simply seeking hospitality at whatever convent happened to be at hand. And this rule was the cause of their destruction, for as Ecclesiasticus 29 [.30] witnesses: "It is a miserable life to go as a guest from house to house." Also, the Lord says, Luke 10 [.7]: "Remove not from house to house." Third, Robert said that Guido Putagio, a fellow citizen, companion, and a friend of mine, entered their Order, and when he saw that Gerard Segarello would not concern himself with governance of the

Order, he assumed the authority himself, and he retained control for many years. As a result, the words of Ecclesiasticus 20 [.8] fittingly describe what happened to him: "He that taketh authority to himself unjustly shall be hated."

The division which took place among these Apostles.

Now, because this Brother Guido travelled about with a large number of horsemen, spent huge amounts of money, and gave lavish banquets, as Papal legates or Cardinals are accustomed to do, he offended his followers. And so the group in the March of Ancona chose a new leader, a certain Brother Matthew. Thus there was a split in their ranks, because each man sought the preeminent position over the followers. Brother Guido Putagio, for example, said, "Solomon writes in Ecclesiastes 10 [.4]: 'If the spirit of him that hath power, ascend upon thee, leave not thy place: because care will make the greatest sins to cease,'" and he added, "I have assumed the care of these men as it was conceded to me, and so I ought not to give it up." Thus began a lengthy battle between the two of them. Once, in the city of Faenza, the two groups — the Apostles of Brother Matthew and those of Brother Guido Putagio — came to blows with one another, and, therefore, set a bad example to the citizens of Faenza. And I was living there at that time and can witness to the truth of this event. Thus was fulfilled what the Lord says, Luke 11 [.17]: "Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to desolation, and house upon house shall fall." And another Scripture says, Hosea 10 [.2]: "Their heart is divided: now they shall perish." The cause of this battle between the two was as follows: Brother Guido Putagio with a few of his followers were living in Faenza in a small church situated in a garden which belonged to the Albrighetti and the Accharisi, and Brother Gerard Segarello was living with them. And the Apostles of the March of Ancona thought that if they could have Gerard Segarello, the first of the Order, with them, they would have won the victory. And so they sought to carry him off by force and take him with them into the March of Ancona, but they failed in their attempt. Hence the battle.

At that time Guido Putagio came to me, threw himself at my feet, and recounted to me the events mentioned above, as well as all the details about his Order that he had seen and known from the beginning. And he asked me to help get him out of Faenza, because he was afraid that the aroused citizens would lift angry hands against him, both because of the abovementioned battle, and because of the many critics and enemies he had in the Order. Moreover, his brother, Lord Roland Putagio, who was podestà of Bologna, had come with Bolognese troops to lay siege to Faenza. And Guido promised me that if he could escape the citizens of Faenza without harm, he would become a Templar, because Pope Gregory X had already abolished his Order in full council at Lyons. And he later fulfilled to the letter what he promised.

But to return to Robert, the former servant of the Friars Minor. He had never, he said in excusing his exit from the Order and his sin of apostacy, taken an oath either of obedience or of chastity, and so he was free, as he maintained, to take

a wife. But I told him that he had worn the religious habit publicly for many years, and, therefore, should by no means take a hermitess dedicated to God as his wife, and I cited a host of Biblical passages and examples to illustrate his foolishness and malice.

It is shown here by many examples that no man should marry a woman dedicated to God.

First, the Lord himself says of the bride dedicated to himself, Hosea 2 [.14]: "Therefore, behold I will allure her, and will lead her into the wilderness: and I will speak to her heart." And he also speaks to her in intimate terms, saying [Hosea 2.19–20]: "And I will espouse thee to me for ever: and I will espouse thee to me in justice, and judgment, and in mercy, and in commiserations. And I will espouse thee to me in faith: and thou shalt know that I am the Lord." Second, I gave him the example of King Hyrtacius, who sought to have Iphegenia, daughter of the preceding king, as his wife, despite the fact that she had been dedicated to God by Matthew the Apostle and had been made abbess over more than two hundred virgins. But on account of his evil deeds, King Hyrtacius suffered the ensuing vengeance. For because the Apostle would not consent to his marriage to Iphegenia, he had him killed; and round about Iphegenia's convent he had a huge fire built in which he planned to burn her and all her virgins. The Apostle, however, appeared and caused the fire to leave the convent and engulf the king's palace, where it burned furiously, killing everyone — save the king and his only son. And immediately the son was seized by a demon and ran to the Apostle's tomb, confessing his father's sins. That terrible father, however, became a leper, and, seeing that he could not be cured, killed himself with his own sword. But for the further confusion of Robert, let us hear the very words the Apostle Matthew used in his attempt to dissuade King Hyrtacius from marrying Iphegenia. Before the entire court, the Apostle said in a loud voice: "All of you here present know that if some servant had presumed to take the king's wife, he would have merited not only the king's disfavor but death itself — not, of course, because he sought to marry, but in seeking to take his lord's wife he stood convicted of violating his marriage. Just so, you, O King, how could you seek to take in marriage the wife of one more powerful than you, when you knew that she was the wife of the eternal King, consecrated by taking the holy veil?"⁶

The second example is Ruben, who violated the wife of his father Jacob, as recorded in Genesis 35 [.22]. And so "his first birthright was given to the sons of Joseph the son of Israel, and he was not accounted for the firstborn," I Paralipomenon 5 [.1].

The third example is that of Adonias, whom Solomon had killed because he desired his wife, Abisach, as recorded in III Kings 2.

The fourth example is about the man whom the Apostle excommunicated and "delivered such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh" [I Corinthians 5.5], because he married his step-mother, as recorded in I Corinthians 5 [.1]: "It is absolutely heard, that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as

the like is not among the heathens; that one should have his father's wife." See also the Law in Deuteronomy 27 [.20]: "Cursed be he that lieth with his father's wife, and uncovereth his bed: and all the people shall say: Amen."

The fifth example concerns the monk, Menna, of whom St. Gregory writes in the third book of the *Dialogues*:

Once, there was a certain landowner named Carterius, who, overwhelmed by carnal desire, carried off a nun and illegally married her. And as soon as Menna found out about this, he sent word to him that this matter required a hearing. And aware of his guilt, Carterius hesitated to come into the presence of the man of God, fearful that he would rebuke him severely as he was accustomed to do with delinquents. So he sent gifts to the man of God mingled with the gifts of other people, hoping thereby that Menna would accept his gifts unwittingly. Yet when all of these gifts were placed before the man of God, he examined them carefully one by one, accepting all the others but putting to one side those sent by Carterius, which he had detected by the power of the Holy Spirit. Then he cast them aside in scorn and said, "Go and say to that man: 'You have carried off the gift of Almighty God himself, and now you send gifts to me? I reject your gift, because you have taken God's.'" This thing was done that the fear of God might strike those present, since the man of God could judge so well those absent.⁷

Those who become apostate and leave God die a wretched death.

Sixth and finally, I demonstrated to Robert that all those who become apostate and leave God die a wretched death. And I proved this not only through my own experience—of things that I myself had seen or others had reported to me—but also through the authority of the Holy Scripture. Such men die by fire or sword; or they are decapitated or hanged on the gallows; or suffer some more shameful and cruel death. Thus it is recorded in Job 20 [.4–9]:

This I know from the beginning, since man was placed upon the earth, That the praise of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment. If his pride mount up even to heaven, and his head touch the clouds: In the end he shall be destroyed like a dunghill, and they that had seen him, shall say: Where is he? As a dream that fleeth away he shall not be found, he shall pass as a vision of the night: The eyes that had seen him, shall see him no more, neither shall his place any more behold him,

and Job 18 [.17–18]: "Let the memory of him perish from the earth, and let not his name be renowned in the streets. He shall drive him out of light into darkness, and shall remove him out of the world." Solomon similarly condemns the impious man, Ecclesiastes 8 [.13]: "But let it not be well with the wicked, neither let his days be prolonged, but as a shadow let them pass away that fear not the face of the Lord." And this is what Proverbs 14 [.32] says: "The wicked man shall be

driven out in his wickedness: but the just hath hope in his death." The Lord also says in Ezechiel 3 [.20]: "if the just man shall turn away from his justice, and shall commit iniquity: I will lay a stumblingblock before him," and Ecclesiasticus 26 [.27]: "he that passeth over from justice to sin, God hath prepared such an one for the sword." Whence the Psalmist said [Psalms 72.27-28]: "For behold they that go far from thee shall perish: thou hast destroyed all them that are disloyal to thee. But it is good for me to adhere to my God, to put my hope in the Lord God." This is also what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 19 [.25]: "The wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be wiser: but if thou rebuke a wise man he will understand discipline." Proverbs 21 speaks of the same matter.

Hearing these things, Robert began to belittle the advice, because, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 18 [.3]: "The wicked man when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth: but ignominy and reproach follow him," and Proverbs 19 [.16]: "he that neglecteth his own way, shall die," and Proverbs 15 [.10]: "He that hateth reproof shall die." This Robert was just such a man, and so let us put him aside, for the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 22 [.14]: "Talk not much with a fool." Why? because the Wise Man says again in Proverbs 27 [.22]: "Though thou shouldst bray a fool in the mortar, as when a pestle striketh upon sodden barley, his folly would not be taken from him."

The horrible and dishonorable foolishness of these rascals. Brother Gerard Segarello, who used low, scurrilous words, later changed his dress and took up another.

Let us return to Gerard Segarello, the first of those who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are" a congregation of fools and low-down beasts, who seek to live by the sweat and labor of other men but who do nothing for the alms that they receive. These Brothers used to come from many and various places to see Brother Gerard Segarello (since he was the first of their Order), and they showered on him such praises that he himself marvelled greatly at such applause. And when they were gathered around him in some convent, they would cry out at least a hundred times in a loud voice, "Father, father, father." Then after a short time, "Father, father, father." And they sounded like young school boys, repeating after the grammar master the words that he had just said. But he repaid such honor in the following way: he undressed himself and had the others undress so completely that not even their genitals were covered by the slightest veil, and they stood leaning against the wall like an army in disarray with neither decency nor honor. For he wanted to strip them so that, nude, they might follow a nude Christ. And at his master's command, one of the group had placed their clothing in a bundle in the middle of the room. Then while they were standing in such a fashion, Segarello ordered a woman to be brought in — "the beginning of sin, the devil's arms, the expulsion from Paradise, the mother of evil, the corruption of ancient law."⁸ Then Gerard Segarello, their master, commanded her to distribute whatever clothing she wished to such paupers stripped and denuded by their own will. And after they were all dressed again, they all cried out, "Father, father,

father!" Such was their recompense for the honor paid him, for he made himself a fool in front of them and also made fools of them. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.8]: "As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury: so is he that giveth honour to a fool," and Ecclesiasticus 29 [.9]: "Instead of honour and good turn [he] will repay him injuries," and also Hosea 9 [.13]: "Ephraim shall bring out his children to the murderer."

After this, he sent them forth to show themselves to the world. And some of them went to the Papal court, some to the shrine of St. James, some to the shrine of St. Michael the Archangel, and some to the Holy Land. But he himself remained in Parma, his native city, and continued in his great foolishness. Moreover, he cast aside the cloak that he had been accustomed to wear, and had a sleeveless vest made of coarse white cloth—which made him look more like a jongleur [*ioculator*] than a religious man. And he wore shoes on his feet and gloves on his hands. Furthermore, his words were scurrilous, shameful, empty, dishonorable, and idle, words which evoked a smile more for their foolishness than for their malice. Thus the Wise Man says, Ecclesiastes 10 [.12-13]: "the lips of a fool shall throw him down headlong. The beginning of his words is folly, and the end of his talk is a mischievous error."

The bishop of Parma once put this Gerard in chains in prison because of his foolish tricks.

Thus because of Gerard's foolish tricks and because of his shameful, carnal, and fatuous words, and because he would lie nude with women in bed in order to test his chastity, Lord Obizzo, bishop of Parma and nephew of the late Pope Innocent IV, had him captured, placed in chains, and cast into prison, where he fed "him with bread of affliction, and water of distress" [III Kings 22.27]. Finally, however, he drew him forth and kept him in his own palace. And when the bishop dined, this Gerard also ate in the palace at a lower table with the others, and he would drink exquisite wines and eat dainty food. And when the bishop drank his fine wine, Gerard would cry out before them all to have some of that wine, and the bishop would immediately send it to him. And when he was full of such dainty food and fine wine, he would babble foolishly, in fulfillment of the words of Isaiah, 32 [.5-6]: "The fool shall no more be called prince: neither shall the deceitful be called great: For the fool will speak foolish things, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypocrisy, and speak to the Lord deceitfully." But since he was a very funny, foolish man, the bishop of Parma merely laughed at him because he considered him more a silly entertainer than a religious man.

The young boy that these Apostles sent out to preach in churches. The words of Brother Bonaventure de Iseo to the people of Ferrara.

In those days there was a certain Friar Minor who had a nephew, who had not yet reached the age of the crossroads of the Pythagorean letter, and he had this young man taught, so that when he came of age he might enter the Order of the Friars Minor. This young man used to copy sermons for his uncle, and

he learned four or five of these by heart. But when he was not received immediately into the Order of the Friars Minor as he desired, he turned and joined the congregation (nay, rather, the dispersion) of those who "say they are" Apostles "and are not," and these Apostles sent him into cathedrals to preach those sermons that he had memorized. A large number of the Apostles would go into the church and call for silence; then the boy would preach to the people.

Once in Ferrara when Brother Bonaventure de Iseo⁹ was preaching in a convent of the Friars Minor, he suddenly noticed his audience rising hurriedly and rushing out. Brother Bonaventure was astonished, for he was a fine and pleasing preacher, who always had a very receptive audience, and nobody ever left until he was finished. And so he inquired why the people had rushed out, and he was told, "because there is a young boy, one of the Apostles, who is getting ready to preach in the cathedral of St. George, and the people are gathering there, and everybody is running to get a seat." And Brother Bonaventure answered, "I see that your spirits yearn for novelties, and so you are free to go; any further preaching on my part is merely wasted effort, because the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 32 [.6]: 'Where there is no hearing, pour not out words, and be not lifted up out of season with thy wisdom,' and again, Job 12 [.12]: 'In the ancient is wisdom, and in length of days prudence.' But to teach what one does not know himself or, to speak more bluntly, not even to be aware that one does not know is childish, like peddlers with their spiels."¹⁰

The foolishness of the Christian people.

"Certainly, we have no need for the Antichrist to come with his princes, because he already has a host of followers among the Christian people. For the Lord said of the Antichrist to the Jewish people, John 5 [.43]: 'I am come in the name of my Father, and you receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive.' And again the Apostle says of the Antichrist in II Thessalonians 2 [.10-11]: 'because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, to believe lying: That all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity.'"

And Brother Bonaventure continued: "St. John in the person of the Lord says in Apocalypse 11 [.3]: 'I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred . . . days, clothed in sackcloth.'¹¹ Although that passage speaks principally of Enoch and Elijah, it may also be understood to refer to the two Orders, that is, the Minorites and the Preachers (as Joachim has clearly explained in his work), against whom, as Joachim says, the Christian people shall rise up in the time of the Antichrist.¹² For the Scripture says [Apocalypse 11.10]: 'And they that dwell upon the earth shall rejoice over them, and make merry: and shall send gifts one to another, because these two prophets tormented them that dwelt upon the earth.' Joachim interprets that passage with reference to the two aforementioned Orders, that is, the Minorites and the Preachers. All these things, he says are to be fulfilled in the time of the Antichrist."

And Brother Bonaventure continued: "Truly, the words of Seneca are fulfilled in you: 'Flies seek out honey; wolves, corpses; ants, wheat: this mob is led by a desire for prey, not by a man.'¹³ Truly, Solomon's curse is fulfilled in you, Ecclesiasticus 10 [.16]: 'Woe to thee, O land, when thy King is a child.' And because Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2] says: 'what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein,' the Apostle teaches [I Corinthians 14.20]: 'Do not become children in sense.' Why? because Isaiah says, 65 [.20]: 'for the child shall die a hundred years old, and the sinner being a hundred years old shall be accursed.' Go, therefore, to your boy, whom you desire to hear, and let him hear the confession of your sins. For today is the day that the words of the Lord were fulfilled, John 16 [.32]: 'Behold, the hour cometh, and it is now come, that you shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone; and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.'" So, set free by Bonaventure, they all rushed off headlong, and not one waited for another.

Another time when I was living in Ravenna, these Apostles had this boy preach in Ursiana Church, the church of the archbishop in Ravenna. And both men and women hurried there so quickly that one scarcely waited for another. On this occasion, for example, a certain great and noble lady of that country, Lady Giulietta, complained to the Brothers that she could hardly find a female companion to go there with her. (This lady was the wife of Lord Guido Rizuti de Polenta, and she was a spiritual daughter [*devota*] of the Friars Minor.) And Ursiana Church was so full when she got there that she could find a place only outside the door. Yet that cathedral is so large that it has four wings, not to mention the nave. And so it was that these Apostles took this boy to city after city and had him preach in the cathedrals. And there were always huge crowds of people of both sexes, of those who "take joy in modern novelties."

Joachim's writings about boy evangelists.

The words of Jeremiah 1 [.7]: "Say not: I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee: and whatsoever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak," are explained by Joachim in the following way: "I believe that just as God once chose ancient fathers to reveal his mysteries to and, afterward, younger Apostles, whom he called friends, so now in the third age he literally chooses children to preach the gospel of the kingdom, for the sake of those who have contempt for old things."¹⁴ And so it is no mystery that during the Feast of the Innocents a chosen boy is allowed to sit in church in the bishop's seat. But this is most appropriate to the Order of the Minorites and Preachers. For learned, honorable, and noble children enter these Orders, and it is of them that the Lord speaks in Isaiah 8 [.18]: "Behold I and my children, whom the Lord hath given me for a sign, and for a wonder in Israel from the Lord of hosts, who dwelleth in mount Sion." Wisdom is also given to the boys by God, as Daniel 1 [.17] says: "to these children God gave knowledge, and understanding in every book, and wisdom." But [Psalms 91.7]: "The senseless man shall not know: nor will the fool under-

stand these things," what kind of men are these fools, who are ignorant, crude, and bestial who "say they are" Apostles "and are not." Yet Daniel 12 [.10] says: "But the learned shall understand" what kind of men the Friars Minor and the Preachers are.

Here it is demonstrated by many reasons that these Apostles are not in a state of salvation.

We can, moreover, demonstrate by many reasons that these Apostles are not in a state of salvation. The first and most important reason—and the more dangerous the more the need to take note of it—is that they "fear not God, nor regard man" [Luke 18.4]. For it is manifest to all Christians and even to the whole world that the High Pontiff, who is called the apostolic Pope, is the vicar not only of the Apostle Peter but even of Christ himself, and that obedience is owed to him in all things and through all things, especially in those that are not against Catholic faith and the good of eternal salvation. And it was Pope Gregory X, in full council in Lyons, who completely cut off, destroyed, and extirpated this congregation and religious Order that they had started, and he did the same with the Order of the Sack. For he did not want so many mendicant orders, lest the Christian people be burdened down with these men, so that those whom "the Lord ordained" to "live by the gospel" should "preach the gospel," in order "to live" freely "by the gospel" [I Corinthians 9.14]. The Brothers of the Sack were obedient to the High Pontiff, and, therefore, they are to be especially praised and commended. For they can work out their own salvation in other Orders, or even in their own—for this was granted to them—as long as they accept no new members. Thus will this Order eventually die out on its own. But these fools, these beasts, these ignoramuses who "say they are" Apostles do not plan to obey at all, but they continue making their robes, and they show them in secret to those who might wish to enter the Order, saying, "We dare not accept you, for it is forbidden us. But it is not forbidden you, and so do what you think is best." And so they grew and "multiplied above number" [Psalms 29.6], and they will not keep quiet and will not "cease from" their "folly" [II Machabees 4.6], until some High Pontiff grows indignant against them and "destroys" their "memory . . . from under heaven" [Exodus 17.14]. For the High Pontiffs of the curia must be obeyed, since the Lord says, Luke 10 [.16]: "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me despiseth him that sent me." Whence the Apostle said, I Thessalonians 4 [.8]: "Therefore, he that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God." The sin of disobedience, therefore, is not a light sin, because on account of disobedience Adam lost paradise; Saul, the kingdom; Solomon, divine love. And so it was that Samuel said to Saul, I Kings 15 [.22-23]: "Doth the Lord desire holocausts and victims, and not rather that the voice of the Lord should be obeyed? For obedience is better than sacrifices: and to hearken rather than to offer the fat of rams. Because it is like the sin of witchcraft, to rebel: and like the crime of idolatry, to refuse to obey."

The second reason is that some of them do not preserve chastity, to which every

religious Order is bound, and which the Lord taught by word and example. He taught it verbally when he said, Luke 12 [.13]: "Let your loins be girt, and lamps burning." On this passage Gregory writes: "We gird up the loins when we restrain the lust of the flesh by continence."¹⁵ He taught it by example when he had himself circumcized, for St. Augustine says: "What is Christ's circumcision if not our chastity, in which God delights in these very last days? For in the first age it was commanded, 'Increase and multiply, and fill the earth' [Genesis 1.28]. And since that has been fulfilled, it is now commanded 'that they also who have wives, be as if they had none' [I Corinthians 7.29] and 'there are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven. He that can take, let him take it,' Matthew 19 [.12]. This is as if to say, 'He who cannot take it and does not wish to castrate himself will not possess the kingdom of heaven.' And so it is necessary for us to be circumcized, not in the body, but in the spirit — necessary that our foreskins, that is, every vice, be cut off, so that we may be holy and immaculate in the midst of a wicked and perverse nation, among whom we who contain the word of life may shine like a lamp in the world."¹⁶ But the Apostles — not Christ's, but Gerard Segarello's — fail to preserve chastity. For, as they themselves told me, when they travel through the world, they turn aside to whores, or if lascivious women attempt to seduce them in the houses where they are dwelling, they consent to them with slight resistance, for as Ecclesiasticus 23 [.24] says: "To a man that is a fornicator all bread is sweet," and Ecclesiasticus 19 [.25]: "And if he be hindered from sinning for want of power, if he shall find opportunity to do evil, he will do it." Thus Hosea 4 [.14–15] says: "Because themselves conversed with harlots, and offered sacrifice with the effeminate, and the people that doth not understand shall be beaten. If thou play the harlot, O Israel, at least let not Juda offend." And people of this kind easily recognize one another through certain mutual signs. Thus Ecclesiasticus 19 [.26–7] adds: "A man is known by his look, and a wise man, when thou meetest him, is known by his countenance. The attire of the body, and the laughter of the teeth, and the gait of the man, shew what he is." Of woman, however, it is said, 26 [.12]: "The fornication of a woman shall be known by the haughtiness of her eyes, and by her eyelids." Thus Ecclesiasticus 42 [.12–13]: "tarry not among women. For from garments cometh a moth, and from a woman the iniquity of a man."

But these fools who call themselves Apostles run throughout the day seeking out women. And this is against the Scripture which says, Ecclesiasticus 9 [.7–8]: "Look not round about thee in the ways of the city, nor wander up and down in the streets thereof. Turn away thy face from a woman dressed up, and gaze not about upon another's beauty." St. Gregory: "It is not permitted to look because it is not permitted to lust after."¹⁷ For "The lust of an eunuch shall deflower a young maiden," Ecclesiasticus 20 [.2]. For when she is looked upon by a eunuch, a virgin or a young girl thinks, "If these men of religion who ought to be eunuchs according to the word of the Lord, 'There are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven,' take no account of the sin of lechery, why

should I?" And so men like this give her an excuse for sinning, even when they do not commit the act themselves. Thus Ecclesiasticus 9 [.5] says: "Gaze not upon a maiden, lest her beauty be a stumblingblock to thee." Job followed that well when he said, 31 [.1]: "I made a covenant with my eyes, that I would not so much as think upon a virgin." Let these fools who gladly look upon women hear what Ecclesiasticus 9 [.9] has to say: "For many have perished by the beauty of a woman, and hereby lust is enkindled as a fire." Thus Jeremiah in the person of a certain fool complains, Lamentations 3 [.51]: "My eye hath wasted my soul because of all the daughters of my city." Whence Augustine: "A shameless eye is the messenger of a shameless heart."¹⁸ Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 4 [.25]: "Let thy eyes look straight on, and let thy eyelids go before thy steps," and Ecclesiastes 2 [.14]: "The eyes of a wise man are in his head: the fool walketh in darkness." Also the Apostles of Gerard Segarello, as they told me, were "men with men working that which is filthy" [Romans 1.27], especially "the old with the younger" [Psalms 148.12]. Therefore, they deserve either to be burned or cast into prison. Whence Isaiah 42 [.22]: "they are all the snare of young men, and they are hid in the houses of prisons." And the Apostle says, I Corinthians 6 [.9–10]: "Know you not that the unjust shall not possess the kingdom of God? Do not err: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, Nor the effeminate, nor liars with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor railers, nor extortioners, shall possess the kingdom of God." Thus the Lord commanded in the Law, Leviticus 20 [.13]: "If any one lie with a man as with a woman, both have committed an abomination, let them be put to death: their blood be upon them."

Praise of chastity and many examples from the lives of the saints.

See on the same subject folio 264.

These Apostles also believe that they can do what the Apostle says in I Corinthians 9 [.5–6]: "Have we not power to carry about a woman, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to do this?" Being confident in this Scripture and believing themselves truly to be Apostles, they took with them Lady Tripia, the sister of Brother Guido Putagio (who was their leader for many years), as well as many other women, who were the occasion of their ruin. Thus the Apostle says [I Thessalonians 5.22]: "From all appearance of evil refrain yourselves." Moses also commanded women to be killed, Numbers 31 [.15–17]. For he said: "Why have you saved the women? Are not these they, that deceived the children of Israel by the counsel of Balaam, and made you transgress against the Lord by the sin of Phogor, for which also the people was punished...? Therefore, put to death the women, that have carnally known men." On this subject St. Jerome says, "Believe me, the man who concerns himself wholly with women cannot be in total accord with God,"¹⁹ and also "With a flaming fire, woman sears the conscience of every man alike,"²⁰ and again "Whenever a woman is with a man, the limed twig of Satan is not far off,"²¹ and "The woman whose face you look

on so frequently and who takes care of your needs is dangerous."²² Also St. Augustine: "The hardest battles that Christians have to fight are battles to preserve chastity: a continuous battle and a rare victory,"²³ and "Do you command chastity? Do what you command, and command what you wish."²⁴

What St. Chrysanthus said when he was tempted by certain young virgins pertains to this subject: "'Rise up . . . O Lord' [Psalms 58.6], 'come to my assistance' [Psalms 69.2], 'say to my soul: I am thy salvation' [Psalms 34.3]. For if your hand is not extended, who shall be able to prevail in this war instigated by the devil? The man who thinks he will be able to keep himself perfectly chaste through his own efforts is terribly wrong. For if the flame of libido is not extinguished by your rain, the spirit cannot reach its goal."²⁵ Thus he spoke to those young girls as if they were vipers. Therefore, he lay immobile in prayer and, warding off their embraces and kisses like arrows off the shield of his faith, he called out to the Lord: "Rise up, Lord," etc. What, therefore, shall the miserable Apostles of Gerard Segarello do, who all day long run through the cities seeking out women? Let them hear what the poet says:

Take away the wood if you want to put out a fire:
From lust's fire, take away leisure, wine, and feasts.²⁶

Also the Apostle commands, I Corinthians 6 [.18]: "Fly fornication." See also the poem:

If you follow, she follows; if you flee, she is put to flight;
If you give in, she gives in; if you flee, she flees.²⁷

Solomon speaks on the same subject, III Kings 11 [.4]: "when he was now old, his heart was turned away by women." Also the poet:

If Lot and Samson, David and Solomon
By women were depraved, who then can hope to be saved.²⁸

The third reason why these Apostles are not in a state of salvation is that they seem to have forgotten the Apostolic life with respect to their dress. For the Lord commanded the Apostles, Matthew 10 [.9]: "Do not possess gold, nor silver, nor money in your purses." But these Apostles—or some of them—sell their little houses, gardens, fields, and vineyards; and they do not give to the poor but hoard up their golden florins, reserved for their private use to the scandal of their convent. Also the Lord commanded thus, Luke 12 [.33]: "Sell what you possess and give alms." Wherefore, Augustine says, "having sold all things, we receive no better price than ourselves, for bound up with such things we lose our essence."²⁹

Our Lord Jesus Christ had in himself those three things which are the foundation of all religious orders, that is, obedience, poverty, and chastity, without which there can be no salvation.

Take note that the three things mentioned above are the foundation of all religious orders, without which there can be no salvation. If an order is lacking in any one of them, clearly, it cannot properly be called a religious order. Thus

St. James says, 2 [.10]: "And whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all," and Ecclesiastes 9 [.18]: "he that shall offend in one, shall lose many good things." The Lord, however, had all of these summed up in himself, as is written in Acts 1 [.1]: "Jesus began to do and to teach." For, first, he performed and then he taught. The Apostle speaks of his obedience, Philipians 2 [.8]: "He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross." And of his poverty he says, II Corinthians 8 [.9]: "For you know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that being rich he became poor, for your sakes; that through his poverty you might be rich." See also Matthew 8 [.20]: "The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests: but the son of man hath not where to lay his head." With respect to his chastity, let the above suffice. And just as Augustine says when speaking of Christ's mother, "Whenever it is a question of sin,"³⁰ etc., one must speak of her son.

The foolish acts of the Apostles of Brother Gerard Segarello, which are many, but twelve will be sufficient for now.

Also see below, folio 474.

Finally, it should be said that the foolish acts of the Apostles of Gerard Segarello were multitudinous. First of all, because they are acephalous, that is, headless, which is a great foolishness, because, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 11 [.14]: "Where there is no governor, the people shall fall." Therefore, the words of I Machabees 12 [.54] can be understood as the voice of the devil: "They have no prince, nor any to help them: now therefore let us make war upon them, and take away the memory of them from amongst men."

Their second foolish act is that they travel alone, because this is against Christ's teaching, as Luke 10 [.1] records: "he sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself was to come." Whence the Wise Man says, Ecclesiastes 4 [.9-12]:

It is better therefore that two should be together, than one: for they have the advantage of their society: If one fall he shall be supported by the other: woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth, he hath none to lift him up. And if two lie together they shall warm one another: how shall one alone be warmed? And if a man prevail against one, two shall withstand him.

Their third foolish act is that every day they are at leisure, like vagabonds, running through the world without usefulness. The Lord complains of such men in Jeremiah 14 [.10]: "Thus saith the Lord to this people, that have loved to move their feet, and have not rested, and have not pleased the Lord: He will now remember their iniquities, and visit their sins," and also in Hosea 12 [.1]: "Ephraim feedeth on the wind, and followeth the burning heat: all the day long he multiplied lies and desolation: and he hath made a covenant with the Assyrians, and carried oil into Egypt."

Their fourth foolishness is that they have no rule. And the Apostle speaks of this in Hebrews 12 [.5-8]:

My son, neglect not the discipline of the Lord; neither be thou wearied whilst thou art rebuked by him. For whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth; and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Persevere under discipline. God dealeth with you as with his sons; for what son is there, whom the father doth not correct? But if you be without chastisement, whereof all are made partakers, then are you bastards, and not sons.

Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 8 [.10]: "Receive my instruction, and not money: choose knowledge rather than gold," and Proverbs 5 [.22-23]: "His own iniquities catch the wicked, and he is fast bound with the ropes of his own sins. He shall die, because he hath not received instruction, and in the multitude of his folly he shall be deceived." And the Prophet says [Psalms 17.36]: "Thy discipline hath corrected me unto the end: and thy discipline, the same shall teach me," and also Wisdom 12 [.22]: "whereas thou chastisest us, thou scourgest our enemies very many ways."

Novices and untrained men have the greater need of a teacher, as the Apostle points out.

Their fifth foolishness is that although other religious orders supply instructors and teachers for the new entrants, that is, the novices, so that they may be properly instructed in good morals and in the normal statutes and observances of the Order, this Order does not do so at all. And this is a great foolishness, because although beasts and birds are born with a kind of natural knowledge, the spirit of man is created by God as a *tabula rasa*, which requires an instructor. For as Jerome says, "Farmers, masons, metal workers, woodcutters, fullers, weavers, etc. — all those who supply the necessary and lowly things of life cannot fit themselves for their chosen occupation without a teacher."³¹ Thus the words of Judges [17.6] are fitting for these Apostles, not of Christ, but of Gerard Segarello, who have no teachers: "In those days there was no king in Israel, but every one did that which seemed right to himself." And this passage is repeated in the book of Judges four times: once in the seventeenth chapter, twice in the succeeding one (at the beginning and the end), and again at the end of the book. Thus in a certain town in Apulia, when certain farmers said, "We are all captains and good men," they were put to flight by a French baron who was on his way to the Emperor. For they had tried to exact a toll from him, which he would have paid if he had found a captain.

The Apostle points out in Hebrews 12 [.9-11] that it is highly necessary for novices and untrained men to have an instructor:

Moreover we have had fathers of our flesh, for instructors, and we revered them: shall we not much more obey the Father of spirits, and live? And they indeed for a few days, according to their own pleasure, in-

structed us: but he, for our profit, that we might receive his sanctification. Now all chastisement for the present indeed seemeth not to bring with it joy, but sorrow: but afterwards it will yield, to them that are exercised by it, the most peaceable fruit of justice.

If, however, someone were to cite the Lord's words in John 6 [.45]: "It is written in the prophets: *And they shall all be taught of God,*" saying that no teacher other than God is necessary, we answer that what the Lord says here is to be fulfilled principally in the eternal life, as Isaiah 54 [.12-13] says: "All thy children shall be taught of the Lord." Whence the Apostle in Hebrews 8 [.11-12]: "And they shall not teach every man his neighbour and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for all shall know me from the least to the greatest of them: Because I will be merciful to their iniquities, and their sins I will remember no more." And this is cited from Jeremiah 31 [.34].

Their sixth foolishness is that they go "as a guest from house to house," which is "a miserable life," as Ecclesiasticus 29 [.30] teaches. The Lord also said, Luke 10 [.7]: "Remove not from house to house." These men, however, can be compared to those the Lord curses, Matthew 23 [.14]: "Woe to you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites: because you devour the houses of widows, praying long prayers. For this you shall receive the greater judgment." The words of the Apostle, II Timothy 3 [.6-7], are also fitting for them: "For of these sort are they who creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, who are led away with divers desires: Ever learning, and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth."

Their seventh foolishness is that they lay aside those occupations most fitting for them, that is to say, herding cows, keeping pigs, and farming. They ought, certainly, to take up the hoe and dig the earth, "which being large and wide wanteth men to till it," as it says in Genesis 34 [.21].

Their eighth foolishness is that they meddle in business which is not their own, for which they are completely unfit: they want to teach and preach. For that office requires two things: knowledge and ordination by the properly constituted authority.

Here it is shown that those who want to teach others must have knowledge, either infused by God or acquired; if both, so much the better.

Of the knowledge that men who wish to teach others ought to have Ecclesiasticus 18 [.19] speaks: "Learn before thou speak." But those who call themselves Apostles say, "The Lord who said [Psalms 80.11]: 'Open thy mouth wide, and I will fill it, [Psalms 67.12] shall give the word to them that preach good tidings with great power,' and [Psalms 67.34] 'will give to his voice the voice of power.' For 'he opened' the 'understanding' of the Apostles 'that they might understand the scriptures,' as recorded in the last chapter of Luke [24.45]. Whence the Apostle Paul said, Galatians 1 [.11-12]: 'For I give you to understand, brethren, that the gospel which

was preached by me is not according to man. For neither did I receive it of man, nor did I learn it; but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.' He who gave to the Apostles, therefore, will give to us likewise, because 'the hand of the Lord is not shortened,' as Isaiah 59 [.1] says, nor become weak, as recorded in Numbers 11 [.23]. Thus Joel 2 [.23] said: 'O children of Sion, rejoice, and be joyful in the Lord your God: because he hath given you a teacher of justice, and he will make the early and the latter rain to come down to you as in the beginning.'"

To these men we say that such things were done in the primitive Church when Christ himself taught the Apostles and had them taught through the Holy Spirit. Matthew 5 [.2-3] speaks of the first: "opening his mouth, he taught them, saying: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," and Luke 21 [.15]: "For I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which all your adversaries shall not be able to resist and gainsay," and Luke, the last chapter [24.45]: "Then he opened their understanding, that they might understand the scriptures." John 16 [.13] speaks of the second: "But when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will teach you all truth."

Also, we say that the privileges of a few do not make a law for a community. For Solomon and the Apostles had wisdom infused by special grace. But others must study in order to learn, as Job 28 [.12-13] says: "Neither is it found in the land of them that live in delights," and much is said in the following passages concerning the difficulty of acquiring wisdom. See also the seventh chapter of Wisdom, where much is written on wisdom. Moreover, Baruch persuades man to acquire wisdom, Baruch 3 [.14]: "Learn where is wisdom, where is strength, where is understanding: that thou mayst know also where is length of days and life, where is the light of the eyes, and peace." And although God had instructed Moses, saying to him, Exodus 25 [.40]: "Look and make it according to the pattern, that was shewn thee in the mount," it nevertheless did not harm Moses that he "was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians" and that "he was mighty in his words and in his deeds," Acts 7 [.22]. Similarly, although Paul received the gospel through revelation, it was nevertheless good that he had Gamaliel as a teacher, as he himself says, Acts 22 [.3]. Whence Jerome says; "The Apostle Paul boasted that since he had learned the law of Moses and the prophets at the feet of Gamaliel he could thereafter teach with assurance, armed with such spiritual weapons."³²

Also, we learn from the Apostle that those who teach others have need first of an instructor themselves, II Timothy 2 [.2]: "And the things which thou hast heard of me by many witnesses, the same commend to faithful men, who shall be fit to teach others also." Even Paul himself, who was instructed by the Lord, made use of books and Holy Scripture. Thus in II Timothy 4 [.13] he commanded: "The cloak that I left at Troas, with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments." Moreover, although Moses had God's help with him — the column of clouds by day, the column of fire by night, through which signs he travelled or set up camp — nevertheless he did not refuse

the help of man, like, for example, Obab's, his brother-in-law, to whom he said, Numbers 10 [.29-32]:

We are going towards the place which the Lord will give us: come with us, that we may do thee good: for the Lord hath promised good things to Israel. But he answered him: I will not go with thee, but I will return to my country, wherein I was born. And he said: Do not leave us: for thou knowest in what places we should encamp in the wilderness, and thou shalt be our guide. And if thou comest with us, we will give thee what is the best of the riches which the Lord shall deliver to us.

It seems marvellous that the Lord was not angry at Moses because he sought a man's advice when he had God's, as recorded in Isaiah 63 [.14]: "the spirit of the Lord was their leader: so didst thou lead thy people to make thyself a glorious name." The last chapter of Exodus [40.32-36] speaks of this divine leadership. See also the *Histories*: "Therefore, in the first month of the second year, on the first day of the month, Moses erected a tabernacle, and that tabernacle was covered by a cloud, although there was still a serene light there, not as in a storm, but clear. Yet one could not see through it, as befitted the presence of God there. And at the rising of that cloud, the children of Israel broke camp, and when it stood over the tabernacle, they stopped. And it was a fire by night."³³

Note that the first king of the Hebrews was not of the tribe of Juda, nor was the last. In this light must be read the Scripture [Genesis 49.10]: "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda," that is, from the Jewish people. For before Herod the Jews had their king from the lineage of Mattathias, who was of the tribe of Levi.

In the first book of Kings 8 the Lord shows that he was dissatisfied with the Jews for asking for a king. Whence "the Lord said to Samuel: Harken to the voice of the people in all that they say to thee. For they have not rejected thee, but me, that I should not reign over them" [I Kings 8.7]. And, therefore, the Lord spoke in two different places of the kings that the children of Israel were to have in the future. First, in Genesis 17 [.6], where the Lord said to Abraham: "And I will make thee increase, exceedingly, and I will make nations of thee, and kings shall come out of thee." Also in Deuteronomy 17 [.15] he speaks of a king, saying: "Thou mayst not make a man of another nation king, that is not thy brother." Also the patriarch Jacob appears to have known that the children of Israel would have a king in the future, Genesis 49 [.10]: "The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till he come that is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of nations." And you will note that neither the first king that the Jews had was of the tribe of Juda—that is, Saul, son of Cys of the tribe of Benjamin—nor the last—that is, Herod of Ascalon, at the time of Christ, who was a gentile, of a foreign tribe. And through these facts, the Jews should have been able to clearly recognize the time of Christ's advent.

Why the Lord was more disturbed by the children of Israel's petitioning for a king than by Moses' asking the help of a man.

The question arises, therefore, why the Lord was more disturbed by the children of Israel's petitioning for a king than by Moses' seeking the help of a man when he had the guidance of the cloud by day and the fire by night, as recorded in Nehemiah 9 [.12]. The answer: we say the Lord had no reason to be disturbed with Moses for seeking the help of a man, because he always held the leadership of God in special reverence. When the children of Israel asked for a king, however, they were placing all their hope in the man they were to have as king and failing to trust God, who had often liberated them, as recorded throughout the book of Judges and in the beginning of I Kings. Thus the Psalmist says [Psalms 105.42-43]: "And their enemies afflicted them: and they were humbled under their hands: many times did he deliver them. But they provoked him with their counsel: and they were brought low by their iniquities." Therefore, Jeremiah curses such men, saying, 17 [.5]: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord." Thus the Psalmist [Psalms 43.21-22]: "If we have forgotten the name of our God, and if we have spread forth our hands to a strange god: Shall not God search out these things: for he knoweth the secrets of the heart." For,

"Whatever men do what matters is the intention."³⁴

Whence Jeremiah said, 16 [.17]: "they are not hid from my face, and their iniquity hath not been hid from my eyes." and Ecclesiasticus, 23 [.27-29]: "His eye seeth all things, for . . . the eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun, beholding round about all the ways of men, and the bottom of the deep, and looking into the hearts of men into the most hidden parts. For all things were known to the Lord God, before they were created: so also after they were perfected he beholdeth all things." And the Apostle says, Hebrews 4 [.13]: "Neither is there any creature invisible in his sight: but all things are naked and open to his eyes, to whom our speech is."

It is shown here by a number of examples that the help of man is not to be spurned, although God's help is available.

Therefore, Moses did not displease God by asking help of a man, despite the fact that he already had God's help, nor did he displease him by taking Jethro's advice and acting accordingly, for the Lord says [Luke 9.50]: "he that is not against you, is for you." Esdras also, who, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, restored the law burned by the Chaldeans, was not ashamed to correct it by resort to old books that had remained among the Samaritans. Similarly, the Lord obviously knew how to teach Paul when at his conversion Paul asked [Acts 9.6]: "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" but the Lord did not wish to teach him then. Rather, he sent him to a man, Ananias, who instructed him: "Arise, and go into the city, and there it shall be told thee what thou must do," Acts 9 [.7].

These men, however, who “say they are” Apostles “and are not” do not have acquired knowledge nor wisdom infused from God. And their seeking to preach without knowledge of the Scripture is like disputing about the wool of goats or the fifth wheel of a wagon, because they are speaking lies and sowing heresies, “understanding neither the things they say, nor whereof they affirm” [I Timothy 1.7]. And—for shame!—they learn from women what they teach men. This is no small matter: that they give forth to others what they themselves do not understand, yet with such great eloquence, nay rather, audacity. Thus the words of Proverbs 26 [.9] are appropriate for them: “As if a thorn should grow in the hand of a drunkard: so is a parable in the mouth of fools,” and also Ecclesiasticus 20 [.22]: “A parable coming out of a fool’s mouth shall be rejected: for he doth not speak it in due season,” and Ecclesiasticus 21 [.19–20]: “The talking of a fool is like a burden in the way: but in the lips of the wise, grace shall be found. The mouth of the prudent is sought after in the church, and they will think upon his words in their hearts.” Note that the passage says, “The mouth of the prudent is sought after in the church,” not the “mouth of the fool.” To these the words of Micah 6 [.15] are appropriate: “Thou shalt sow, but shalt not reap: thou shalt tread the olives, but shalt not be anointed with the oil: and the new wine, but shalt not drink the wine,” that is to say, that these rascals of Gerard Segarello, who call themselves Apostles, will receive no reward for their preaching, because they do not know what they are saying. Thus Hosea 8 [.7] says: “they shall sow wind, and reap a whirlwind,” and Hosea 10 [.13]: “You have ploughed wickedness, you have reaped iniquity.”

There are some whose prayers are answered but who nevertheless are later punished.

Take note that when the children of Israel prayed for meat, their prayers were heard; yet they were punished later, as the Prophet says [Psalms 77.30–31]: “As yet their meat was in their mouth: and the wrath of God came upon them.” The same is true of their prayers for a king, as the Lord says in Hosea 13 [.11]: “I will give thee a king in my wrath, and will take him away in my indignation.” Of this punishment, both of the king and the people, see I Kings 28 [.19]: “Tomorrow thou and thy sons shall be with me,” that is, among the dead, as I am, or in hell, “and the Lord will also deliver the army of Israel into the hands of the Philistines.” The outcome of this is recorded at the end of the book: “So Saul died, and his three sons, and his armourbearer, and all his men that same day together,” I Kings 31 [.6]

The three men who failed to take fair warning when it would have been better for them to have done so.

Take note that just as Adam was punished because he refused to heed the words of the Lord: “For in what day soever thou shalt eat of it, thou shalt die the death,” Genesis 2 [.17], so Saul was justly punished, because he failed to heed the prediction in Numbers 24 [.7]: “For Agag his king shall be removed, and his kingdom shall be taken away.” It is recorded of this Agag in I Kings 15 [.32]: “And Samuel

said: Bring hither to me Agag the king of Amalec," etc. Similarly, Hiel of Bethel was justly punished, because he did not beware, but rather went against the prohibition of Joshua's son, Nun, against rebuilding Jericho, as recorded in III Kings 16 [.34] and Joshua 6 [.25-26]. At the end of both these chapters, you will find this subject, that is, the prohibition and the rebuilding. Let us return to our proper subject.

Here learning is praised and proof is offered of the great labor and study necessary for acquiring it.

When I had arrived at the crossroads of the Pythagorean letter, having completed fifteen years, that is, one cycle of an indiction, and having studied grammar from the very cradle, I entered the Order of the Friars Minor. And, from the very beginning, even in my novitiate in the convent at Fano in the March of Ancona, I was assigned Brother Humile of Milan as my teacher in theology. And Brother Humile had studied under Brother Haymo, who later, in his old age, was elected Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, and he served in this capacity until the day of his death, that is, for three years. And thus during my first year in the Order, I was given lectures in Isaiah and Matthew just as they are taught in the schools of theology, for Brother Humile had studied there. And since that time I have never ceased in my studies and I still attend lectures in the schools.

Therefore, just as the Jews said to Christ, John 2 [.20]: "Six and forty years was this temple in building," so I can also say that it has been forty six years to-day, Friday, on the feast of St. Gilbert³⁵ when I am now writing, the year of the Lord 1284, since I entered the Order of the Friars Minor. And I have never ceased in my studies; yet I have never attained the wisdom of my teachers. I can indeed truly repeat that Socratic saying, "I know this much, that I know nothing."³⁶ I can, however, continue to learn those things I am ignorant of, for I have "a great way to go" [III Kings 19.7] in learning, "if life accompany" [IV Kings 4.16]. And great ignorance is inherent in mortal man, a fact that even the most learned lament. Thus Job 37 [.19] says: "For we are wrapped up in darkness," and Ecclesiastes 1 [.8]: "All things are hard: man cannot explain them by word." St. Augustine teaches: "Instruct a man about the human condition, lest he be destroyed by the inevitable problems of life."³⁷ See also Ecclesiastes 7 [.24-25]: "I have tried all things in wisdom. I have said: I will be wise: and it departed farther from me. Much more than it was," and Ecclesiastes 8 [.17]: "And I understood that man can find no reason of all those works of God that are done under the sun: and the more he shall labour to seek, so much the less shall he find: yea, though the wise man shall say, that he knoweth it, he shall not be able to find it."

A good example may be seen in Gerard de Roxe, who said that the invaders of Colorno had prospered because they invaded under the sign of Scorpio. But he was incorrect, for they invaded on the feast of St. Dominic,³⁸ when Scorpio is not in the ascendent. And they were immediately repulsed. If, however, one refers this not to the sun but to the moon, then Gerard de Roxe may have been

correct in saying that the invasion of Colorno was under the sign of Scorpio, because every month the moon passes through every sign and remains in each for two days and slightly more. Nevertheless, it can still be proved that Gerard de Roxe was incorrect, for three reasons. First, by the outcome, because they were so quickly repulsed. Second, because Scorpio is a retrograde animal that can only forecast evil. Third, because the Lord says, Isaiah 44 [.24-25]: "I am the Lord . . . That make void the tokens of diviners, and make the soothsayers mad," and Ecclesiastes 8 [.17]: "yea, though the wise man shall say, that he knoweth it, he shall not be able to find it," and also Wisdom 9 [.16-17]: "And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon the earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out? And who shall know thy thought, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above."

Therefore, it is clear that in order to gain wisdom we must study and learn from the teachers. Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 1 [.5-6]: "A wise man shall hear and shall be wiser: and he that understandeth, shall possess governments. He shall understand a parable, and the interpretation, the words of the wise, and their mysterious sayings," and Proverbs 19 [.27]: "Cease not, O my son, to hear instruction, and be not ignorant of the words of knowledge," and Proverbs 27 [.11]: "Study wisdom, my son, and make my heart joyful, that thou mayst give an answer to him that reproacheth," and Proverbs 9 [.12]: "If thou be wise, thou shalt be so to thyself: and if a scorner, thou alone shalt bear the evil." Whence the passage in Proverbs 17 [.16]: "he that refuseth to learn, shall fall into evils," and Proverbs 23 [.15-16]: "My son, if thy mind be wise, my heart shall rejoice with thee: And my reins shall rejoice, when thy lips shall speak what is right," and Ecclesiasticus 1 [.33]: "Son, if thou desire wisdom, keep justice, and God will give her to thee," and Ecclesiasticus 4 [.12]: "Wisdom inspireth life into her children, and protecteth them that seek after her," and Ecclesiasticus 6 [.18]: "My son, from thy youth up receive instruction, and even to thy grey hairs thou shalt find wisdom," and Ecclesiasticus 6 [.34]: "and if thou love to hear, thou shalt be wise."

We have said all this about wisdom on account of those rascally and untaught fools who call themselves Apostles, because they seek to preach without knowledge. And they have neither Scripture nor good morals nor good lives, but they travel through the world acting foolishly and sowing heresies. And the words of Isaiah 32 [.6] are appropriate for that fool who seeks to preach without knowledge of Scripture: "For the fool will speak foolish things, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypocrisy, and speak to the Lord deceitfully, and to make empty the soul of the hungry," for he gives his audience only useless, lying words and takes "away drink from the thirsty," since he will not give water, that is, doctrine, which leads to eternal life, John 4 [.14]. And the next words of that same passage are [Isaiah 32.7] "The vessels of the deceitful are most wicked." Such a fool, therefore, would do better if he held his tongue, for, as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17

[.28]: "Even a fool, if he will hold his peace shall be counted wise: and if he close his lips, a man of understanding." Also, in that same chapter [.7]: "Eloquent words do not become a fool, nor lying lips a prince," and Proverbs 24 [.7]: "Wisdom is too high for a fool, in the gate he shall not open his mouth," and Ecclesiastes 10 [.12-14]: "the lips of a fool shall throw him down headlong. The beginning of his words is folly, and the end of his talk is a mischievous error. A fool multiplieth words." And thus "he that putteth a fool to silence, appeaseth anger," as Proverbs 26 [.10] says. That is precisely what Pope Gregory X sought to do, for in full council at Lyons he cut off and rebuked the sect of these fools, who "say they are" Apostles "and are not." But the wretchedness and sloth of the bishops permit them to run throughout the world fruitlessly.

The office of preaching.

No one should presume to take on the office of preaching unless it has been committed to him by a man who has the authority. Thus the Apostle says, Romans 10 [.15]: "How shall they preach unless they be sent?" This mission of preaching is spoken of in many places in Holy Scripture. Thus the Lord said to Moses, Exodus 3 [.10]: "come, and I will send thee to Pharaoh, that thou mayst bring forth my people, the children of Israel out of Egypt." See also Isaiah 6 [.8-9]: "I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: Whom shall I send? and who shall go for us? And I said: Lo, here am I, send me. And he said: Go, and thou shalt say to this people," etc., and Jeremiah 1 [.7]: "And the Lord said to me: Say not: I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee: and whatsoever I shall command thee, thou shalt speak," and Ezechiel 2 [.3-4]: "Son of man, I send thee to the children of Israel, to a rebellious people, that hath revolted from me, they, and their fathers, have transgressed my covenant even unto this day. And they to whom I send thee are children of a hard face, and of an obstinate heart."

Some are sent to preach by God; some take it upon themselves, but the Lord Jesus Christ does not want them unless they are sent.

The Lord complains of those who are not sent by God but take the office upon themselves. To such men the prophecy of Ezechiel 13 [.3, 18, 6]: "Woe to the foolish prophets that follow their own spirit" and "say, Thus saith the Lord God" and "the Lord hath not sent them," can rightly be applied. And the Savior speaks of them in the gospel, John 10 [.8]: "All others, as many as have come, are thieves and robbers: and the sheep heard them not." Those who "have come," he says, not those who "were sent." For he himself said, "They came; I did not send them" [Cf. Jeremiah 23.21]. What is presumption and temerity in those who come of themselves is obedience in those who are sent.

These rascals, therefore, who "say they are" Apostles "and are not" have been sent neither by God nor the High Pontiff. And they do not have knowledge of a holy life. Nor has the office of preaching been conferred upon them by anyone who has the power, and, therefore, I do not see by what authority they presume

to preach. Thus, truly, they show themselves to be fools. To such men the passage in Ecclesiastes 10 [.15] is highly appropriate: "The labour of fools shall afflict them that know not how to go to the city."

Take note also that our Lord Jesus Christ did not want to come unless sent. Thus Jacob the patriarch said, Genesis 49 [.10]: "Till he come that is to be sent." Also, Moses said, Exodus 4 [.13]: "I beseech thee, Lord, send whom thou wilt send." Also, the Man who was to be sent was prefigured in Joseph, whose father Jacob said of him, Genesis 37 [.13]: "Thy brethren feed the sheep in Sichem: come, I will send thee to them," and later [.14]: "So being sent from the vale of Hebron, he came to Sichem." Also, He himself says the same thing about his mission, Isaiah 48 [.16]: "from the time before it was done, I was there, and now the Lord God hath sent me, and his spirit." See also Matthew 21 [.37]: "And last of all he sent to them his son." Similarly, it was said of John the Baptist that he "was a man sent from God," John 1 [.6].

To these rascals who call themselves Apostles, however, can be applied what the Lord says, Ezechiel 13 [.4]: "Thy prophets, O Israel, were like foxes in the deserts." Thus John teaches, I John 4 [.1]: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God: because many false prophets are gone out into the world." These are the prophets of whom the Lord speaks in Jeremiah 23 [.21]: "I did not send prophets, yet they ran: I have not spoken to them, yet they prophesied," and Jeremiah 14 [.14]: "I sent them not, neither have I commanded them, nor have I spoken to them: they prophesy unto you a lying vision, and divination and deceit, and the seduction of their own heart." Jeremiah laments over all these things in Lamentations 2 [.14], where he says of Jerusalem: "Thy prophets have seen false and foolish things for thee: and they have not laid open thy iniquity, to excite thee to penance: but they have seen for thee false revelations and banishments."

Therefore, the eighth foolishness of these Apostles is that they take upon themselves the office of preaching, and they have neither the knowledge of the Scripture required nor the common sense. They are, therefore, like featherless birds who try to fly, or a lame man who tries to run without feet. Also, there are men in the congregation (nay, the dispersion) of Gerard Segarello who preach and "multiply the nation," but not "the joy" [Isaiah 9.3]. If these men were in the Order of the Friars Minor, they would scarcely be allowed to wait on the tables or wash dishes or go out begging for bread.

Their ninth foolishness is that they wish to preach without having the office of preaching conferred on them by anyone in authority, and so they take it upon themselves. And that is against the command of the Apostle, Hebrews 5 [.4-5]: "Neither doth any man take the honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as Aaron was. So Christ also did not glorify himself." Thus the Apostle says, Romans 10 [.15]: "How shall they preach unless they be sent." It should be clear, therefore, that those who preach must be sent by others, and not come of themselves and usurp the office of preaching.

Here it is proved by a number of ways that the Lord did not literally prohibit two robes.

Their tenth foolishness is that they work studiously in all ways against the Apostle, who says, Romans 12 [.1]: "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercy of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, pleasing unto God, your reasonable service." For their practice of being content with a single robe is not reasonable, although they believe this to have been commanded by the Lord himself, because he said to his Apostles, Matthew 10 [.10]: "nor two coats" (supply "have"). And so out of such a faulty understanding proceeds the inconvenience that they act against what the Apostle says in Romans 12 [.3]: "not to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety." For they take the Scripture in a sense different from the way it was intended by the Lord. The Lord said to certain men, Matthew 22 [.29]: "You err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God." The Lord said this to the Sadducees, who denied the Resurrection.

So, too, do these Apostles go astray, because when the Lord said, "nor two coats" ("have"), he proscribed superfluity; he did not forbid or deny necessity—a fact which can be proved in many ways. First, Solomon speaks in the plural number when he says, Ecclesiastes 9 [.8]: "At all times let thy garments be white." Second, in addition to other garments, the Lord had a seamless robe. The Psalm [21.19] speaks of these garments: "They parted my garments amongst them: and upon my vesture they cast lots." The same thing is recorded in all the gospels, but John's witness will be sufficient here, John 19 [.23–24]:

The soldiers therefore, when they had crucified him, took his garments, (and they made four parts, to every soldier a part,) and also his coat. Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout. They said then one to another: Let us not cut it, but let us cast lots for it, whose it shall be; that the scripture might be fulfilled, saying: *They have parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they have cast lot.* And the soldiers indeed did these things.

Therefore, it is clear from this evidence that when the Lord said, "nor two coats" ("have"), he did not intend literally for a poor man not to have extra robes, both for the convenience of washing the soiled garments and for warding off the chill of the weather. Third, the Apostle speaks in the plural number when he says in I Timothy 6 [.8]: "But having food, and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content." Fourth, the Lord witnesses in Acts 20 [.35]: "It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive." Thus it is good to have possessions, so that the Scripture may be fulfilled by works of mercy. Thus John the Baptist said, Luke 3 [.11]: "He that hath two coats, let him give to him that hath none; and he that hath meat, let him do in like manner." And so it is that Jerome says: "If you keep more than what is sufficient for the body and human frailty, you have two cloaks."³⁹

Concerning the lack of these, that is, food and clothing, the Apostle says, I Corinthians 4 [.11]: "Even unto this hour we both hunger and thirst, and are naked," and again in II Corinthians 11 [.27]. "in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness." And, therefore, he said, Philippians 4 [.11-13]: "For I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, to be content therewith. I know both how to be brought low, and I know how to abound: (everywhere, and in all things I am instructed) both to be full, and to be hungry; both to abound, and to suffer need. I can do all things in him who strengthened me," and also a little lower [.18]: "I have all, and abound." Why? Here is why. Because [Psalms 36.16]: "Better is a little to the just, than the great riches of the wicked." So the Wise Man in Proverbs 10 [.3] says: "The Lord will not afflict the soul of the just with famine." Thus the Apostle says, Romans 8 [.35]: "Who then shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation? or distress? or famine? or nakedness? or danger? or persecution? or the sword?" etc.

The superfluity of food and clothing.

Of the superfluity of these two, that is, of food and clothing, there is a good example. It is said and it is a true report — and a terrible and extravagant superfluity it is — that on the first day of Lent the Patriarch of Aquileia has a table spread with forty varieties of food, and each day up to the day of Easter one dish is taken away from the table. And he says he observes this custom for the honor and glory of that patriarchate. Certainly, these patriarchs of Aquileia did not take this example from Christ, who fasted forty days and forty nights in the desert. But the Lord warned such men, Hosea 4 [.7]: "I will change their glory into shame." This will be when, as the same chapter says [.10]: "They shall eat and shall not be filled." For nobody can be filled of himself. Thus Isaiah 9 [.20] says: And he "shall eat on the left hand." Also see Job 20 [.15]: "The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly," concerning the change of this glory into shame.

Naaman can be excused for the superfluity of his clothes for a number of reasons.

The splendid furnishings of noble tables.

IV Kings speaks of a superfluity of clothes, for when Naaman, prince of the king of Syria, sought out Elisha in order to be cleansed of leprosy, he took with him ten changes of clothes. But he can be excused for a number of reasons. First, because he was a prince. For many more things are conceded to the noble, both in food and clothing, than to private citizens, because of their high positions. Thus the Wise Man said, Ecclesiastes 5 [.10]: "Where there are great riches, there are also many to eat them." Whence Nehemiah said, 5 [.18]: "And there was prepared for me day by day one ox, and six choice rams, besides fowls, and once in ten days I gave store of divers wines." Also of Solomon's food it is recorded, III Kings 4 [.22-23]: "And the provision of Solomon, for each day, was thirty measures of fine flour, and threescore measures of meal, Ten fat oxen and twenty out of

the pastures, and a hundred rams, besides venison of harts, roes, and buffles, and fatted fowls." And fish was also brought in daily from foreign places. Also, you will find a record of splendid table settings in the beginning of the book of Esther, which Assuerus prepared when [.1-5]: "he invited all the people that were found in Susan, from the greatest to the least: and commanded a feast to be made seven days in the court of the garden, and of the wood, which was planted by the care and the hand of the king," etc. See in the book.

Naaman the Syrian, who took ten changes of clothes to the prophet and washed himself seven times in the Jordan river.

Second, Naaman can be excused for the multiplicity of his garments, because he took them to give to the prophet. For he wanted to ask a great favor (to be cleansed from leprosy), and so he brought a great gift. Besides, there is perhaps a mystery in the fact that he bore with him ten changes of clothes (since they correspond to the number of the Commandments), just as there is no lack of mystery in the fact that he washed himself seven times in the river Jordan. And take note that after his cleansing from leprosy, Naaman was, in a miraculous manner, devoted to God, so that he was worthy of divine praise, Luke 4 [.27]: "there were many lepers in Israel in the time of Eliseus the prophet: and none of them was cleansed but Naaman the Syrian." Truly, he was worthy of divine praise, for Elisha said after he saw him cleansed, IV Kings 5 [.17]: "for thy servant will not henceforth offer holocaust, or victim, to other gods, but to the Lord." Similarly, the man whom the Lord cleansed of leprosy and later praised for his recognition of the good done him was a foreigner, Luke 17 [.17-18]: "Were not ten made clean? and where are the nine? There is no one found to return and give glory to God, but this stranger." Also, Naaman was praised before he was cleansed of leprosy, because God worked a miracle through him, IV Kings 5 [.1]: "Naaman, general of the army of the king of Syria, was a great man with his master, and honourable: for by him the Lord gave deliverance to Syria: and he was a valiant man and rich, but a leper."

Third, Naaman can be excused for his superfluity of clothes, because he was not bound by any law like the Jews, of whom it is written [Psalms 19.9]: "They are bound, and have fallen." Whence it is that the Lord said to them when [Psalms 105.19-20]: "They made also a calf in Horeb: and they adored the graven thing. And they changed their glory into the likeness of a calf that eateth grass," Exodus 33 [.5-6]: "Now presently lay aside thy ornaments, that I may know what to do to thee. So the children of Israel laid aside their ornaments by mount Horeb."

Women's superfluity in ornaments and some men's lack of clothes.

Of superfluous ornament it is written in Isaiah 3 [.16-24]:

Because the daughters of Sion are haughty, and have walked with stretched out necks, and wanton glances of their eyes, and made a noise as they walked with their feet and moved in a set pace: The Lord will make bald the crown

of the head of the daughters of Sion, and the Lord will discover their hair. In that day the Lord will take away the ornaments of shoes, and little moons, And chains and necklaces, and bracelets, and bonnets, And bodkins, and ornaments of the legs, and tablets, and sweet balls, and earrings, And rings, and jewels hanging on the forehead, And changes of apparel, and short cloaks, and fine linen, and crimping pins, And looking-glasses, and lawns, and headbands, and fine veils. And instead of a sweet smell there shall be stench, and instead of a girdle, a cord, and instead of curled hair, baldness, and instead of a stomacher, haircloth.

Of the lack of clothes it is recorded in Isaiah 20 [.2-4]:

At that same time the Lord spoke by the hand of Isaias the son of Amos, saying: Go, and loose the sackcloth from off thy loins, and take off thy shoes from thy feet. And he did so, and went naked, and barefoot. And the Lord said: As my servant Isaias hath walked, naked and barefoot, it shall be a sign and a wonder of three years upon Egypt, and upon Ethiopia, So shall the king of the Assyrians lead away the prisoners of Egypt, and the captivity of Ethiopia, young and old, naked and barefoot, with their buttocks uncovered to the shame of Egypt.

Also IV Kings 1 [.7-8] when the king of Israel questioned the messengers he had sent to Elijah, saying: "What manner of man was he who met you, and spoke these words? But they said: A hairy man with a girdle of leather about his loins. And he said: It is Elias the Thesbite." Also it is recorded of John the Baptist, Matthew 3 [.4]: "And the same John had his garment of camels' hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins: and his meat was locusts and wild honey." And so he deserved to be praised by the Lord, Matthew 11 [.7-8]: "What went you out into the desert to see? . . . a man clothed in soft garments? Behold they that are clothed in soft garments, are in the houses of kings." And the Scripture was fulfilled which says, II Corinthians 10 [.18]: "For not he who commendeth himself, is approved, but he, whom God commendeth." That man praised himself who said, I Machabees 10 [.72]: "Ask, and learn who I am, and the rest that help me."

Fourth and last, Naaman can be excused for his superfluity of clothes, because the gentiles were more courtly and liberal than the Jews, who were very avaricious. That can be shown by words and examples. For in Luke 16 [.14] it is said that when the Lord condemned avariciousness, "Now the Pharisees, who were covetous, heard all these things: and they derided him."

Jereboam's gift was not a noble one for four reasons, although it may be excused because of its figural meaning.

In III Kings 14 [.2-3] it is recorded that Jereboam, king of Israel, told his wife to take in her hand ten loaves of bread and carry them to Ahias and give them to him. Then she was to consult with him about their son, who was sick "of the illness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.14], concerning whether he would live or die. You who read this may judge whether this was a noble gift or not. But we

say that it was not, for four reasons. First, because of the giver, for just as the best people attract the best things, so is it noble to give noble things. And this was a king and, therefore, it would have been fitting for him to send a regal gift. Thus King Alexander said to a certain man who was disinclined to take the king's gift because it so far exceeded his humble condition: "I do not consider," he said, "what is fitting for you to receive but what is proper for me to give."⁴⁰ Second, because of the messenger, because it was the queen who bore it to him. Third, because of the person to whom the gift was sent, for he was a prophet, to whom Jereboam was already much beholden, since it was he who had granted him the kingdom. Fourth, because of Jereboam's request, that is, that Ahias should pray to the Lord for his son's life. But it is no marvel that he sent a mean gift, not only because he was avaricious (after the nature of the Jews) but also because although he was at that time king, he had formerly been Solomon's servant. Yet perhaps it may be said that there is a mystery in the fact that he sent ten loaves of bread, either because of the ten commandments, which give life to those who observe them, or because of the ten tribes of the Jewish people over whom he ruled with God's consent after Solomon had brought the divine wrath upon himself. These ten tribes were signified by the ten pieces of the prophetic garment, III Kings 11.

Naaman, a prince in Syria, on the other hand, brought a gift to the man of God, that is, the prophet Elisha, of ten talents of silver and six thousand gold pieces and ten changes of raiment — although Elisha did not accept them. For he knew that the Son of God was soon to come who would teach, Matthew 10 [.8]: "freely have you received, freely give."

The noble gift that Hazael gave to Elisha.

Also, when Hazael, another prince of Syria, came to consult the man of God, the prophet Elisha, on behalf of his king Benadad, who was sick unto death, he brought with him by the king's command [IV Kings 8.9]: "presents, and all the good things of Damascus, the burdens of forty camels."

You the reader may decide the depth of wretchedness which befell a certain fool on account of an erroneous judgment.

All these facts show, therefore, how very foolish the Apostles of Gerard Segarello are, because they do not have a reasonable practice when they desire to be content with a single robe, believing themselves thereby to be following the Lord's command. But the Lord did not literally command this. Moreover, they expose themselves to the hazard of colds or greater sicknesses, and even death, which can come upon one very easily and quickly. And no man has the right to kill himself. Thus the Wise Man says, Ecclesiastes 7 [.18]: "be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time." Also, it is recorded about certain fools in Job that they "were taken away before their time," Job 22 [.16]. Moreover, since they have the one robe alone, they expose themselves to many miseries, such as lice which they cannot

get rid of, as well as the discomforts of sweat and dirt and stench, because they cannot take off the robe to wash it without being completely nude. Thus, once, a certain woman said to two Friars Minor in derision, "Do you know, I have a nude Apostle naked in my bed, and he will have to stay there until his robe has dried, which I have washed for him." When they heard this, the Friars Minor began to laugh, both at the woman's silliness and the foolish Apostle's. Thus St. Jerome says: "Let those who would please God affect neither filthiness nor delights."⁴¹ Ezechiel 22 [.5] speaks of filth: "filthy one, infamous, great in destruction," and Jeremiah in Lamentations 1 [.9]: "Her filthiness is on her feet, and she hath not remembered her end," and the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.11]: "he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." Proverbs 8 [.31] speaks of delights: "My delights were to be with the children of men": thus speaks uncreated Wisdom. But "Delicacies are not seemly for a fool: nor for a servant to have rule over princes," Proverbs 19 [.10]. Therefore, the Apostle says, I Timothy 5 [.6]: A widow "that liveth in pleasures, is dead while she is living."

It can be proved in various ways that "the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel, should live by the gospel" [I Corinthians 9.14].

The eleventh foolishness of these Apostles is that they wish to live by alms and give nothing in return for them. Yet Solomon witnesses in Proverbs 22 [.7] that just as "the borrower is servant to him that lendeth," so he who receives a benefit is obligated to return it. But these men are unlettered and ignorant, and, therefore, can neither preach nor celebrate Mass. Thus they cheat those from whom they receive alms, as well as those to whom the alms properly belong, that is to say, the Friars Minor and the Preachers, because as the Apostle says, I Corinthians 9 [.14]: "The Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel, should live by the gospel." That can be shown in a number of ways. First, because the Prophet says [Psalms 80.3]: "Take a psalm, and bring hither the timbrel," that is, as the gloss says, "Take up spiritualities and give temporalities."⁴² Second, because the Apostle says, I Corinthians 9 [.11]: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?" as if he intended, "It is not a great thing, because spiritualities are better than temporalities." Wherefore, he says [I Corinthians 9.12]: "If others be partakers of this power over you, why not we rather?" Third, because he says in Romans 15 [.27]: "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, they ought also in carnal things to minister to them." Fourth, that same Apostle says in Galatians 6 [.6]: "let him that is instructed in the word, communicate to him that instructeth him, in all good things," which is to say: "he who is taught ought to give to his instructor all his goods." That is well fulfilled in France, for when I was living there the priests told me that they received a tenth of all the goods of their parish, even of the lambs and the chickens. Fifth, because the Lord said, Luke 10 [.7]: "in the same house, remain, eating and drinking such things as they have: for the labourer is worthy

of his hire." The Apostle proves it also by many examples, as recorded in I Corinthians 9 [7-10]:

Who serveth as a soldier at any time, at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who feedeth the flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Speak I these things according to man? Or doth not the law also say these things? For it is written in the law of Moses: *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn.* Doth God take care for oxen? Or doth he say this indeed for our sakes? For these things are written for our sakes: that he that plougheth, should plough in hope; and he that thrasheth, in hope to receive fruit.

By receiving alms and returning no benefits, the Apostles of Gerard Segarello sin gravely, for four reasons.

By receiving alms and returning no benefits, these Apostles of Gerard Segarello do four evils. First, because of their uselessness, they are a burden on the Church. And so what the Apostle said of widows can be adapted to them, I Timothy 5 [16]: "If any of the faithful have widows, let him minister to them, and let not the church be charged: that there may be sufficient for them that are widows indeed." Second, they cheat those to whom alms are conceded by law, because "the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel, should live by the gospel," I Corinthians 9 [14]. Third, they deceive those whose alms they consume. Thus the Lord says of them, Hosea 4 [8]: "They shall eat the sins of my people, and shall lift up their souls to their iniquity." Their fourth sin is that they place themselves under an obligation and fail to fulfill it. Thus the Psalm [19.9] says: "They are bound, and have fallen." Wherefore, the Wise Man says, Proverbs 6 [1-2]: "My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, thou hast engaged fast thy hand [or "soul"] to a stranger. Thou art ensnared with the words of thy mouth, and caught with thy own words," and also Ecclesiasticus 8 [16]: "Be not surety above thy power: and if thou be surety, think as if thou wert to pay it."

Brother Boncompagno, who gave a reason why he wished to be content with one robe.

Yet Brother Boncompagno of Prato,⁴³ a Friar Minor, acted wisely. This man was a priest and a preacher, a good and learned scholar and a spiritual man. I lived in the convent at Pisa with him for four years, and in that place every year two new woolen robes were given to each of the Brothers, but Brother Boncompagno would accept only one, and an old one at that. When I asked him why he did so, he answered me, saying, "Brother Salimbene, the Apostle says that [I Corinthians 3.8]: 'every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour,' and that [Romans 14.12]: 'every one of us shall render account to God for himself,' which God also requires when he says [Luke 16.2]: 'Give an account of thy stewardship' when [Wisdom 6.4]: he 'will examine your works.' And Augustine also says that 'If there is not enough time for the petty things of

daily life, how can there possibly be enough time for everything.⁴⁴ For I can hardly give satisfaction to God for those things that I do receive."

Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 22 [.27]: "For if thou have not wherewith to restore, what cause is there, that he should take the covering from thy bed?" Truly, he does not have the wherewithal to repay who receives temporal goods like a pauper but does not repay the almsgivers by returning spiritual goods, for, in that case, he is like a greedy collector who takes the covering from the bed of the receiver, who had given it out of love; and [I Peter 4.8]: "Charity covereth a multitude of sins." Thus St. Bernard says: "Those who receive alms without making satisfaction for the sins of their benefactors stand in danger of the Judgment."⁴⁵ Certainly, the Apostle, who was a great preacher and teacher, could have freely received his expenses from those to whom he preached, and yet he refused to do so, as he himself says in I Corinthians 9 [.11-12]: "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things? If others be partakers of this power over you, why not we rather? Nevertheless, we have not used this power: but we bear all things, lest we should give any hindrance to the gospel of Christ." See also II Thessalonians 3 [.7-9], where he says: "For yourselves know how you ought to imitate us: for we were not disorderly among you; Neither did we eat any man's bread for nothing, but in labour and in toil we worked night and day, lest we should be chargeable to any of you. Not as if we had not power: but that we might give ourselves a pattern unto you, to imitate us," and I Thessalonians 4 [.10-11]: "But we entreat you, brethren, that you abound more: And that you use your endeavour to be quiet, and that you do your own business, and work with your own hands, as we commanded you: and that you walk honestly towards them that are without; and that you want nothing of any man's," and II Corinthians 12 [.13-14]: "For what is there that you have had less than the other churches, but that I myself was not burthensome to you? Pardon me this injury. Behold now the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burthensome unto you. For I seek not the things that are yours, but you," and II Corinthians 11 [.6-15]:

But in all things we have been made manifest to you. Or did I commit a fault, humbling myself, that you might be exalted? Because I preached unto you the gospel of God freely? I have taken from other churches, receiving wages of them for your ministry. And, when I was present with you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was wanting to me, the brethren supplied who came from Macedonia; and in all things I have kept myself from being burthensome to you, and so I will keep myself. The truth of Christ is in me, that this glorying shall not be broken off in me in the regions of Achaia. Wherefore? Because I love you not? God knoweth it. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off the occasion from them that desire occasion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we. For such false apostles are deceitful workmen, transforming

themselves into the apostles of Christ. And no wonder: for Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light. Therefore it is no great thing if his ministers be transformed as the ministers of justice, whose end shall be according to their works.

Many rascals and seducers joined Segarello's Order so as to do evil the more easily.

Many men joined the Order of the Apostles of Gerard Segarello, who were rascals, seducers, deceivers, thieves, and fornicators. And they perform many shameful acts with women and even with young boys, continuing always in their evil. Thus Jeremiah 9 [.3] says: "they have proceeded from evil to evil," and II John [1.7]: "many seducers are gone out into the world." Also, what the Apostle says in Acts 20 [.33-35] pertains to this subject:

I have not coveted any man's silver, gold, or apparel, as You yourselves know: for such things as were needful for me and them that are with me, these hands have furnished. I have shewed you all things, how that so labouring you ought to support the weak, and to remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said: It is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive.

Thus St. Bernard says: "The Apostle, the teacher of the people, the preacher of truth, did not choose to earn his bread by preaching the gospel,"⁴⁶ as it is also said in II Thessalonians 3 [.8]: "Neither did we eat any man's bread for nothing, but in labour and in toil," although the Lord himself did ordain that one might earn his living by preaching the gospel when he said [Luke 10.7]: "The labourer is worthy of his hire." What kind of judgment, therefore, will be made of those clerks of our time, "who do not preach the gospel and yet eat the bread from an idle altar? They do not labor like farmers, they do not fight like soldiers, nor yet do they preach the gospel like clerks. Therefore, since they follow no order, they will end up there where there will be 'no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth'" [Job 10.22].⁴⁷

These facts, therefore, make it clear that these Apostles of Gerard Segarello are great fools when they seek to live on alms and yet return no spiritual benefits. And this is made clear by many examples. First, the example of the aforementioned clerks, who, when they are proper prelates in the Church, have certain duties to perform: preaching, saying Mass, hearing confession of sins, giving good counsel, saying prayers for the living and the dead; they must have a holy life, and show it forth to all the world in their holy and honorable conversation, as the Apostle Peter teaches in his first Epistle, 2 [.12]: "Having your conversation good among the Gentiles: that whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may, by the good works, which they shall behold in you, glorify God in the day of visitation." And this is exactly what these men do not do, either because they do not wish to, being caught up wholly in worldly and fleshly comforts, or, more certainly, because they do not have the knowledge, whatever they might wish. Second, by the example of Moses, to whom Jethro said, Exodus 18 [.17-19]: "The

thing thou dost is not good. Thou art spent with foolish labour, both thou and this people that is with thee: the business is above thy strength, thou alone canst not bear it. But hear my words and counsels, and God shall be with thee." Moses heard and obeyed, and though steeped in the learning of the gentiles, did not blush before God. And if Gerard Segarello had done so, that is, if he had listened to words of good counsel, he would have gone back to the hoe with his rustics and looked after the pigs and cows, and that would have been better for him than running about the world making a fool of himself and cheating people out of their alms and laying a heavy burden on the Christian people, who are already heavily burdened with a great multitude of mendicants. But we are speaking uselessly, because "A corrupt man loveth not one that reproveth him: nor will he go to the wise" [Proverbs 15.12], and also Proverbs 21 [.2]: "Every way of a man seemeth right to himself: but the Lord weigheth the hearts," and Proverbs 12 [.15]: "The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsels."

The two Orders, the Preachers and the Minorites, who were prefigured in the Old Testament.

It should be clear, therefore, from the aforementioned facts that these two Orders, that is to say, the Friars Minor and the Preachers, who have holy lives and are learned, should be the ones to "bear the iniquity of the sanctuary," according to what the Lord said to Aaron, Numbers 18 [.1-4]:

Thou, and thy sons, and thy father's house with thee shall bear the iniquity of the sanctuary: and thou and thy sons with thee shall bear the sins of your priesthood. And take with thee thy brethren also of the tribe of Levi, and the sceptre of thy father, and let them be ready in hand, and minister to thee: but thou and thy sons shall minister in the tabernacle of the testimony. And the Levites shall watch to do thy commands, and about all the works of the tabernacle: only they shall not come nigh the vessels of the sanctuary nor the altar, lest both they die, and you also perish with them. But let them be with thee, and watch in the charge of the tabernacle, and in all the ceremonies thereof.

In this passage, it is made clear that these two Orders ought to have servants attending who are not equal to the clerks. Through what follows, however, "A stranger shall not join himself with you," etc. [Numbers 18.4] up to the place where it says [.7] "If any stranger shall approach, he shall be slain," it is made clear that Gerard Segarello and his Apostles ought not to take upon themselves the office of these two Orders, for these are the two Orders which were prefigured in Jeremiah [16.16] under the names of fishers and hunters, as Abbot Joachim has abundantly made clear.⁴⁸

Note that the fishermen are figures of the Friars Minor; the hunters, of the Preachers.

The Lord says through Jeremiah 16 [.16]: "Behold I will send many fishers, saith the Lord, and they shall fish them." Literally, when Christ came into the

world born of a Virgin, he chose fishermen, whom he sent. Matthew 4 [.18-19] speaks of these: "for they were fishers. And he saith to them: Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men." Immediately afterward in that same chapter is given the vocation of those two other brothers, James and John, sons of Zebedee, who were likewise fishermen. The following passage in Jeremiah records [16.16-17]: "and after this I will send them many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks. For my eyes are upon all their ways." I think it does no injustice to Joachim's interpretation — although I must confess that I have not read it for many years — to say that this last verse about hunters pertains more to St. Dominic's Order than to St. Francis'. This is true not only because Esau, who was a hunter and took as wives the daughters of Heth, that is, secular learning (as Joachim explains),⁴⁹ was a figure of that Order, but also because the Dominicans are more concerned with going forth to hunt the souls of men "from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks" [Jeremiah 16.16], especially in the sections beyond the mountains (although it is, of course, true that the other Order does not neglect to do this). Yet the Preachers excuse themselves for not going forth so much in Italy, for the knights and powerful nobles of Italy live in the cities, and there are religious communities in the towns and villages where the Friars Minor live, who are able to meet the spiritual needs of the people.

Note that the writer speaks further here of the Order of the Blessed Francis, which is his Order.

On the same subject, see below, folio 487 etc., where he speaks even more fully.

Furthermore, "Jacob a plain man dwelt in tents" [Genesis 25.27], because the Order of the Minorites is given more to the quiet of contemplation, prayer, and devotion than the other Order figured in Esau. Indeed, what is written in Zachariah 13 [.7-8]: "I will turn my hand to the little ones. And there shall be in all the earth, saith the Lord," seems especially to pertain to the Order of the Friars Minor. And further "two parts in it shall be scattered, and shall perish: but the third part shall be left therein. And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined: and I will try them as gold is tried. They shall call on my name," that is, the Order of the Friars Minor or the little ones, "and I will hear them. I will say: Thou art my people: and they shall say: The Lord is my God" [Zachariah 13.8-9]. These little ones were prefigured in the little ones that Esau questioned his brother, Jacob, about, Genesis 33 [.5]: "What mean these? And do they belong to thee? He answered: They are the children which God hath given to me thy servant." Also, these are the little ones of whom it is recorded in Matthew 19 [.13-14]: "Then were little children presented to him, that he should impose hands upon them and pray. And the disciples rebuked them," because, once, in the early days of the Order, some of the Cardinals did not favor its rise, "but Jesus said to them," because the High Pontiff, that is, Innocent III said to the cardinals, "Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me: for the kingdom of heaven is for such." Pope Innocent III said these things after a

divinely inspired vision in which he saw the Church of the Lateran crumbling from old age, save that a poor little man of humble and despised mien was holding it up and keeping it from falling into ruins. The Scripture continues [Matthew 19.15]: "And when he had imposed hands upon them, he departed from thence," because at that time Pope Innocent III gave the tonsure to St. Francis and the twelve companions he had brought with him to the Pope to gain confirmation of his Order, and Innocent conferred on them the office of preaching and confirmed the Rule and Order. This was the year 1207. And since that time both Cardinals and Popes have greatly loved the Order of St. Francis, having recognized and seen with the eye of faith that the Friars Minor are useful to the Church and that they had been sent for the salvation of the world. On this subject of little ones, it is written in Mark 10 [.15-16] in agreement with the passage in Matthew: "Amen I say to you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall not enter into it. And embracing them, and laying his hands upon them, he blessed them." This suffices for the little ones.

The Apostles of Christ, who were prefigured in various types in the Old Testament.

The twelfth foolishness of the Apostles of Brother Gerard Segarello was, and is, that they chose too high and noble a name for themselves. It is scarcely fitting for rascals to be called Apostles, because it is written of the Lord, Luke 6 [.13], that "he called his disciples; and he chose twelve of them whom also he named apostles."

These Apostles of the Lord were prefigured in the twelve patriarchs, the sons of Jacob. At the time of his death Jacob gathered these sons together, blessed them, and predicted many future things, as recorded in Genesis 49. And Christ did the same when he fulfilled the prophecy in Sophonias 1 [.7]: "the Lord hath prepared a victim, he hath sanctified his guests." Thus with his disciples gathered at the Last Supper, the Lord said, Luke 22 [.15]: "With desire I have desired to eat this pasch with you, before I suffer." The Apostles were also prefigured in the twelve princes of the Synagogue or of the Israelites, who are spoken of in many places. And it was said of the Apostles, Psalms [44.17]: "thou shalt make them princes over all the earth." The words of Sennacherib about his princes can be adapted to the Apostles, Isaiah 10 [.9]: "Are not my princes as so many kings?" Christ said the same when he said, Luke 22 [.29]: "I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom." But the Father so disposed that he made him king, as he himself says, Psalms [2.6]: "But I am appointed king by him over Sion his holy mountain." The Apostles, therefore, were like kings. Also, they are foreshadowed in the twelve fountains found in Elim, which are spoken of in Exodus 15 [.27]. They are also figured in the twelve oxen which sustained the copper sea of the Lord in the temple, described in III Kings 7 [.23-25]; and also in the twelve little lions of Solomon's throne, recorded in III Kings 10 [.20]; and in the twelve loaves of bread which on the Sabbath were placed hot on the table which stood in the presence of the Lord, described in Exodus 25 and on to the

end of the book. They were also prefigured in the twelve princes who were sent by God's command to explore the earth, recorded in Numbers 13.

Barnabas and Paul were added to these twelve Apostles as prefigured in the Old Testament. The figure of the seventy-two disciples.

The fact that two Apostles — Barnabas and Paul — were added to the original twelve, as recorded in Acts 13 [.2]: "as they were ministering to the Lord, and fasting the Holy Ghost said to them: Separate me Saul and Barnabas, for the work whereunto I have taken them," was completely prefigured in the Old Testament, when Jacob the patriarch, who had twelve sons, said to his son Joseph, Genesis 48 [.5-6]: "Thy two sons who were born to thee in the land of Egypt before I came hither to thee, shall be mine: Ephraim and Manasses shall be reputed to me as Ruben and Simeon. But the rest whom thou shalt have after them, shall be thine, and shall be called by the name of their brethren in their possessions." These two Apostles were also prefigured in Moses and Aaron, because just as these two brothers brought the synagogue out of Egypt, so Barnabas and Saul brought the gentiles out of idolatry and led them into the Promised Land, that is, caused them to believe in the Catholic faith and, having left their idols, build the Roman Church. Such is Joachim's explanation.⁵⁰

Moreover, what St. Luke says, 10 [.1]: "And after these things the Lord appointed also other seventy-two," is not lacking in its mysterious meaning. For these were prefigured in Exodus 15, where it is recorded that the children of Israel went into Elim where there were twelve fountains of water and seventy palm trees. See also Numbers 11 [.16-17], where the Lord said to Moses:

Gather unto me seventy men of the ancients of Israel, whom thou knowest to be ancients and masters of the people: and thou shalt bring them to the door of the tabernacle of the covenant, and shalt make them stand there with thee, That I may come down and speak with thee: and I will take of thy spirit, and will give to them, that they may bear with thee the burden of the people, and thou mayest not be burthened alone.

But the Apostles of Gerard Segarello were never twelve in number and were not prefigured in the Septuagint, save perhaps in the passage [Psalms 138.18]: "I will number them, and they shall be multiplied above the sand," and [Psalms 39.6]: "They are multiplied above number." Also, the Apostles are understood to have been sent, but these men were never sent. Rather, they came of themselves, and their Order was proscribed by the Roman Pontiff, that is, Pope Gregory X in full council at Lyons. Nobody ought to come, as shown above, unless sent by God or his vicar on earth. Whence the Lord says, Jeremiah 7 [.25]: "I have sent to you all my servants the prophets from day to day, rising up early and sending," and [Psalms 106.20]: "He sent his word, and healed them." Of which word it is written [Psalms 118.89]: "For ever, O Lord, thy word standeth." But the word that comes of itself is not sent and does not last forever.

It is shown by a number of examples that these rascals should not be called Apostles.

It is, therefore, clear that these rascals who call themselves Apostles are great fools, especially since the Apostle says, I Corinthians 15 [.9]: "I am . . . not worthy to be called an apostle." Moreover, there are three reasons why these men ought not to call themselves Apostles. First, because the Son of God ordained only a certain number of Apostles and disciples. Second, because Christ's Apostles were prefigured in the Old Testament before they were sent. Third, because the Apostle himself felt himself unworthy of this name. Fourth, because the man who has exalted himself so has evilly given way to the devil. Whence Isaiah 14 [.12-15]:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? how art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations? And thou saidst in thy heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit in the mountains of the covenant, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the height of the clouds, I will be like the most High. But yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit,

etc., and Ezechiel 28 [.12-13]: "Thou wast the seal of resemblance, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou wast in the pleasures of the paradise of God: every precious stone was thy covering," etc., to the place where it continues [.16-19]:

and thou hast sinned: and I cast thee out from the mountain of God, and destroyed thee, O covering cherub, out of the midst of the stones of fire. And thy heart was lifted up with thy beauty: thou hast lost thy wisdom in thy beauty, I have cast thee to the ground: I have set thee before the face of kings, that they might behold thee. Thou hast defiled thy sanctuaries by the multitude of thy iniquities, and by the iniquity of thy traffic: therefore I will bring forth a fire from the midst of thee, to devour thee, and I will make thee as ashes upon the earth in the sight of all that see thee. All that shall see thee among the nations, shall be astonished at thee: thou art brought to nothing, and thou shalt never be any more.

Hence the Apostle says to that man who exalts himself higher than is proper, Romans 11 [.20-21]: "be not highminded, but fear. For if God hath not spared the natural branches, fear lest perhaps he also spare not thee." See also II Peter 2 [.4]: "For if God spared not the angels that sinned," etc. Fifth, because he has evilly given way to our first parents. Thus on the passage [Psalms 68.5]: "Then did I pay that which I took not away," the gloss says: "Because Adam wished to take on divinity, he lost his felicity."⁵¹ Thus Zachariah says, 13 [.5]: "Adam is my example from my youth." Also, a certain poet wrote:

Alas and woe is me, that ever,
Like Adam in the Garden of Delight,
I held myself so wise, so clever,

For I too fell from my height.

So, now, to every lover I cry,
 "Heave not your heart up too high,
 Lest you fall to earth and be damned forever."⁵²

And another:

O Adam, Adam, fool in your pride,
 For a mere fruit, damned, God denied,
 In one brief moment of time
 Damned for sin, stained with crime.

O Adam, Adam, what did you do?
 Cast off what properly belonged to you,
 Immortal, to the angels akin,
 All now lost, lost through your sin.

O Adam, Adam, what is your lot?
 You were like unto God, though you knew it not,
 Foolishly contemptuous of your high place,
 You fell, plunged, and lost God's grace.

Responsio:

By the serpent betrayed and sin so blind,
 I have destroyed myself and all of mankind.
 Oh God, my God, have mercy on me;
 It is Adam, the sinner, who calls on thee.⁵³

Also another poet:

Of the humble things in life take keep:
 Asparagus, mushrooms, sheep.
 Aspire not too high, climb not too steep,
 Lest, headlong, you fall, plunge into the deep.⁵⁴

Truly, thus it was with these Apostles of Gerard Segarello, who call themselves Apostles although they are really rascals and deceivers, who shun the hoe and refuse labor. They are more suited to keeping pigs or cows, or tilling soil, or, perhaps, some other base occupation like scouring latrines than serving in a religious order.

The two good qualities that these Apostles appear to have.

I see no good in these men, save the outward appearance of their garments in which they imitate the dress of the Apostles as it has been handed down in the pictorial tradition from Christ's time to our own, in which the Apostles of Nazarus are depicted with long hair and flowing beards with a mantle thrown over their shoulders. The other good that can be observed of them is that they

began to appear about the year 1260, when the flagellant movement began in Italy.⁵⁵ And in that year, as the Joachites say, the age of the Holy Spirit started which would work in men of religion in a mysterious way in the third age of the world, as we shall explain more clearly in what follows.

Joachim predicted nothing about these Apostles as he did predict about the Friars Minor and the Preachers, as well as of the seven orders which would appear after the ruin of the Antichrist.

It is a great wonder that Abbot Joachim in his works made no mention whatsoever of these Apostles. For he did speak of the Orders of the Minorites and the Preachers, which, by reference to many figures in the Old Testament, he predicted would arise before they ever made their appearance in the world, as I have shown frequently and clearly both in this chronicle and three others which I wrote, as well as in my treatise on Elisha. By this fact the existence of these Apostles is rendered completely suspect to me and absolutely contemptible, for if they were of God, Joachim would never have passed over them in silence. For in the *Book of the Figures*, as I have read frequently, he describes the seven orders that will appear after the ruin of the Antichrist.⁵⁶ None of these, however, has yet appeared in the world, for they would have been recognized, since Joachim describes their form of living, both their mode of dress and their mode of conversation and fasting. Therefore, in these Apostles will be fulfilled what the Lord said to his Apostles about the Pharisees, Matthew 15 [.13-14]: "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up. Let them alone: they are blind, and leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both fall into the pit."

Gamaliel and his counsel.

Gamaliel the Pharisee, "doctor of the law, respected by all the people" [Acts 5.34], Paul's teacher, gave useful counsel to the chief priests and to the others gathered together in council. This Gamaliel, as Clement says in a letter, was a disciple of the Apostles like Nichodemus, and was of the council of the Apostles, although he lived among the Jews in order to mitigate their ire and furor against the Christians.⁵⁷ And Gamaliel spoke in the following manner in the Council [Acts 5.35]: "Ye men of Israel, take heed to yourselves what you intend to do, as touching these men," as if to say, "Do not judge hastily, but wait. If their work is just the work of man, it will die of itself; if, however, it is the work of God, it will last and will never die." And he shows this by the example of two men, that is, Theodas and Judas of Galilee, of whom Josephus has spoken fully in the *Histories*.⁵⁸ In Acts, however, it is recorded, Acts 5 [.38-39]: "refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it, lest perhaps you be found even to fight against God." Thus St. Bernard says: "It is a Herodian maliciousness and a Babylonian cruelty to wish to kill off a nascent religion and crush the little

ones of Israel. For if anyone resists or fights against what pertains to salvation or a rising religion, clearly he seeks, with the Egyptians, to kill the sons of Israelite seed; nay rather, with Herod, he persecutes the newly born Savior."⁵⁹

Now, let us return to Hugh of Digne, the Brother Minor, who was one of the greatest scholars of the world, a spiritual man, a great preacher, and a great Joachite.

In the year of the Lord 1248 when I was with Brother Hugh in Provence at Hyères, where the Brothers of the Sack took their beginning and where Brother Hugh lived, I received from him the book that he had by Joachim commenting on the four gospels.⁶⁰ Then I went to live in the convent of the Friars Minor in Aix, where with my companion I made a copy of Joachim's commentary for the Minister General, John of Parma, who was also a great Joachite.

The city of Aix and St. Maximinius, Mary, Martha, Lazarus, St. Cedonius, and St. Marcilla.

Aix is an archepiscopal city and it is a most salubrious place with an abundance of grain, located about fifteen miles below Marseilles. St. Maximinius, one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, was the first archbishop of this city. He was cast out of the Holy Land by the Jews on account of their hatred of Christ and placed in a ship without sails or oars, and Martha and Mary Magdalene and Lazarus were with him. But by the divine will they landed at Marseilles. In the process of time, Lazarus, whom the Lord had raised from the dead, became bishop of this city, and he wrote a book on the punishments of hell, which he had seen with his own eyes. But when I was in Marseilles and inquired about this book, I learned that it had burned up because of the negligence of the custodian of the church. Also with St. Maximinius was St. Cedonius, who had been blind until the Lord healed him. The disciples said to the Lord about this man [John 9.2]: "Rabbi, who hath sinned, this man, or his parents, that he should be born blind?" Furthermore, Marcilla, Martha's handmaiden, was also with Maximinius. This is the woman who, when the Lord was preaching, cried out in the crowd [Luke 11.27]: "Blessed is the womb that bore thee, and the paps that gave thee suck." This Marcilla, Martha's servant, wrote the life of St. Martha. Later, she came to Vienne and preached Christ's gospel there, and ten years after the death of St. Martha, she herself rested in peace.

The Count of Provence, who wished to be buried in a convent of the Friars Minor, and St. Elizabeth who wished the same—both of whom the Brothers refused.

Moreover, in Aix the Count of Provence lived for a long time, and he was father of both the queen of England and the queen of France, wife of St. Louis, who twice went on Crusade. And he chose to live there both because it was a most healthful city and because of his reverence for St. Maximinius, who had been archbishop there. And when the Count died, he was buried in a small church outside the city in a very noble and beautiful sepulchre, which his daughter, the queen of France had built, as I saw with my own eyes. Yet he wanted very much

to be buried in the church of the Friars Minor, but the Brothers would not permit it, since at that time they almost always refused sepulture, both because they sought to avoid the labor and because they were at odds with the regular clergy. This was also the reason why they refused sepulture in their church to St. Elizabeth.

The body of St. Martha, which is at Tarascon, and Clovis, king of France, who, on being healed at her tomb, gave many lands to that convent.

Therefore, when I had written what I had begun, the seventh month, September, had arrived near the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and at that time Brother Raymond, Minister of Provence, wrote asking me to make haste to meet the Minister General, who had just come from France. For he had visited England, France, and Burgundy, and now he wished to visit Provence and Spain. He also wrote Brother Hugh to do the same. And we found him at Tarascon, where the body of St. Martha lies, and where the countess, mother of the queens of both France and England, lived for a long time. And we went with the Minister General to visit the body of St. Martha, and, besides the General, there were twelve Brothers of us. And the canons showed us the arm of St. Martha to kiss. Since antiquity, numerous miracles had been wrought at her tomb. For Clovis, king of the Franks, having become a Christian and been baptized by St. Remigius, once was suffering from a grave disease of the kidneys, but having visited her tomb he recovered his health completely. Therefore, he enriched that convent by giving the land (including the towns and villages) on both sides of the Rhone in a three-mile radius around that convent; and he also exempted that convent from taxes in perpetuity.

The humility of Brother John of Parma, the Minister General

In the convent of this city that evening after we had said compline with the Minister General, and beds had been assigned the guests, the General entered his closet to pray. But the brothers visiting the convent were afraid to go to bed until the Minister General had himself gone to bed. Therefore, seeing their discomfort and hearing their murmurs because they wanted to sleep and could not (for the light of the candles shone brightly in the chamber where their beds were placed), I went to the Minister General, for I was a very close friend of his, since he was my countryman and a neighbor of neighbors. I found him praying in his closet, and I said to him, "Father, the visiting Brothers are weary from their journey and their labor, and wish to sleep, but they are afraid to go to their beds before you go to yours." Then he said to me, "Go and tell them for me to go ahead to bed, with God's blessing." And so it was done. But I decided to wait for the Minister General, to show him his bed. When he came from his prayers, therefore, I said to him, "Father, you are to sleep in this bed, which has been prepared for you." And he said to me, "Son, the Pope could sleep in that bed. By no means, will John of Parma lie there." And he lay down in the bed that I expected to have. And so I said to him, "Father, God forgive you, you have taken the bed I thought

to sleep in, for it was assigned to me." And he said to me, "Son, you may sleep in that Papal bed." And when, by his example, I refused it, he said to me, "I wish for you to sleep there, and I command it." Thus it was necessary for me to do as he commanded.

The next day the Guardian of Beaucaire, that noble town on the opposite bank of the Rhone, arrived and requested the Minister General to visit his sons in Beaucaire when he was ready to leave Tarascon. And it was done. And while we were there, two brothers from England arrived. One was Brother Stephen, a lector, who had entered the Order as a young boy. And he was a fine man, learned and spiritual. He was excellent in giving good advice and he was prepared on any day to preach before a learned congregation. He carried with him a fine little treatise written by Adam Marsh, whose lecture on Genesis I heard him deliver. When John of Parma was in England, he promised Brother Stephen that he would send him to Rome to study as he so greatly desired. Brother Stephen's companion was another Englishman, Brother Jocelin, also a fine, spiritual, and learned man.

Brother John of Parma sends Brother Stephen Anglicus to the Convent at Genoa, where he did many good things.

Just at that time two other Brothers arrived to ask the Minister General to provide a good lector for their Convent at Genoa. One of these Brothers from Genoa was Brother Henry of Bobbio, Cantor of Genoa and the uncle of Brother William, who later became a lector and a Minister. The other Brother's name totally escapes me. They immediately asked the Minister General to fulfill the request of the Brothers of the Genoa convent, as well as their Minister Brother Nantelmo. Then the Minister General, who knew how to expedite many things in a short time—for he was "a man of counsel" [Ecclesiasticus 32.22] and was always ready to give good counsel—said to Brother Stephen, "Look, I have letters here from the Brothers in Genoa requesting me to send them a good lector. If, therefore, you would consent to go there to lecture, I would be greatly obliged to you, and when I myself arrive there, I will then send you to Rome. Brother Stephen replied, "Father, I am happy and pleased to obey you." And the General answered, "Blessings on you, my son, you have responded well. You go, therefore, with these Brothers, you and your companion, and I will write the Minister and the Brothers recommending you highly." And so it was done.

Brother John of Parma, the Minister General.

After this, we left Beaucaire and travelled by boat down the Rhone to Arles, which is only a short distance from Tarascon. And the Brothers there rejoiced at the arrival of the General, for he was a man of good example and great edification. Then one day I went in to the General when he was alone, and then, suddenly, my companion, Brother Johannino de Ollis, came in too, and he said to the General, "Father, give to me and Brother Salimbene the aureole." Then the

General smiled and said to my companion, "And how shall I do that?" And Brother Johannino answered, "By giving us the office of preaching." Then Brother John, the Minister General, said, "In truth, even if you two were my blood brothers, you would obtain that office only through the sword of examination." Then I myself answered and said to my companion in the hearing of the General: "Go away, go away with your aureole! I received the office of preaching last year from Pope Innocent IV himself at Lyons. And now I should receive it from Brother Johannino of Lazarus! Let it suffice that I have received the office once from a man who had the power to bestow it!" For John of Parma had been called "Johannino" when, as a secular, he taught logic, and "of Lazarus" because as a boy he had been reared in the church of St. Lazarus at Parma, where his uncle, a priest who was custodian of St. Lazarus, paid all his expenses. And it happened once when he was a boy that he became sick to the point of death, or so it seemed to observers. But on a certain day, being comforted in the Lord he said to the people around his bed [Psalms 117.18, 17]: "The Lord chastising hath chastised me: but he hath not delivered me over to death. I shall not die, but live: and shall declare the works of the Lord." Immediately afterward he recovered completely from his illness, and he began to study with great fervor and walked in the way of the Lord, until he became a Friar Minor. From then on he increased abundantly in virtue from day to day, "and waxed strong, full of wisdom; and the grace of God was in him" [Luke 2.40].

The physical appearance of John of Parma and the virtues and powers of his soul.

John of Parma was of medium stature, inclining more to smallness than otherwise. He was a handsome, well-formed man of a strong constitution, who was able to sustain hard labor, both in travelling about and in sedentary study. He had a sweet, angelic face, always with a pleasant expression. Brother John was generous, open, courteous, loving, humble, gentle, good, and long-suffering. He was a fine speaker, and as a man devoted entirely to God, he was pious, merciful, and compassionate. He celebrated Mass daily, and he did so so devoutly that those in attendance could feel the grace of God in his person. He was so fervent in his preaching, both to the regular clergy and to the Brothers, that each time many in his audience were moved to tears, as I myself saw many times. He was extremely eloquent and never stumbled in his speech. A most learned man, he had been in secular life, a master grammarian and a teacher of logic; and in the Order of the Friars Minor, he was a great theologian and a master of disputation. He studied the Sentences⁶¹ at the University of Paris. He had been lector for many years in the convents in Bologna and Naples. Whenever he went to Rome, the Brothers always had him either preach or debate in the presence of the cardinals, among whom he had a high reputation as a philosopher. He was a mirror and exemplar for all men, for his whole life was filled with honor and holiness, his morals perfect and good. He was most pleasing to God and to men. He had a good understanding of music and he sang well. I have never seen a

writer who could compose more swiftly, yet legibly, in the highest style, never diverging from the truth. When he put his mind to it, he could produce the finest kind of letters, filled with a wealth of meaning, in the high polite style.

Brother John of Parma was the first Minister General who travelled about to visit the entire Order, as well as the first to give letters of assurance from the Order to the devout benefactors of the Brothers.

He was the first Minister General to make trips in order to visit all the various provinces of the Order, a fact which (with the exception of Brother Haymo who travelled to England, his birthplace) was never the custom before. Later, when Brother Bonagrazia⁶² sought to emulate John's example of visiting the Order, he was unable to bear up under so heavy a burden, and so after less than four years of rule, sick unto death, he ended his days at Avignon.

The letter that John of Parma gave to the benefactors of the Order upon request.

Also, Brother John of Parma was the first Minister General who accepted spiritual sons and daughters into the spiritual benefits of the Order of the Friars Minor, by giving out letters sealed with the seal of the Minister General. In this marvellous way, many men and women have become devotees of God and of the Order of St. Francis. And this concession has perhaps been the efficient cause for these people to lay aside their sinning ways and be converted to God, both by reason of their own will and by the power of the prayers of the Brothers. For as Augustine says "It is impossible that the prayers of a multitude will not be heard."⁶³ With the proper substitutions of names, the substance of the letter is as follows:

To the beloved friends in Christ and spiritual children of the Order of the Friars Minor, Lord Jacopo de Bussoli and his wife Lady Mabilia, and Anselisse, their daughter, Brother John, Minister General and Servant of the Order of the Friars Minor: Greetings and eternal peace in the Lord. Wishing to give recognition to the devotion you have displayed toward our Order which I have learned of through the pious report of the Brothers, and, in true charity, accepting this love and wishing to repay it, I here receive you into the universal and individual spiritual benefits of our Order both in life and in death. And I grant to you by virtue of this present letter full participation in all the spiritual benefits which the mercy of the Saviour through the prayers of our Brothers living throughout the world shall deign to concede. In the grace of the Lord forever and ever. Ferrara, the 8th day of Sept., the year of the Lord 1254.

And note that Brother John of Parma did not wish to give these letters unless they were requested, and the petitioners had to demonstrate that they were truly devoted to God and to the Order, as well as being especial benefactors of the Order.

The books of Brother Bonaventure, Minister General

Brother John of Parma also gave Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio⁶⁴ permission to teach at the University of Paris, although he had never taught in any other place, since he was still baccalaureate and not a professor. And at that time Bonaventure gave a splendid lecture on the whole of the gospel of St. Luke. And he wrote four books on the Sentences, which are still useful and worthy to the present day. That was in the year 1248, and it is now the year of the Lord 1284. Later, he also wrote other books, still prized by many people.

Brother John of Parma settled the quarrel between the masters and scholars of the University of Paris and the religious Orders, which was initiated by Master Guillaume of St. Amour.

When Master Guillaume of St. Amour roused up the University of Paris against the Orders of the Minorites and the Preachers,⁶⁵ Brother John of Parma who was then Minister General, preached to the entire faculty of the University, both the scholars and the masters. And he preached a splendid, devout, and worthy sermon, at the end of which he gave the following exemplum: "A certain great, rich, and powerful king planted a noble plant in his garden, a plant which many men sought to root up and destroy. But the king had built a wall around the garden, so that 'the boar out of the wood' could not 'lay waste' the plant [Psalms 79.14]. Thus the plant was allowed to grow. This great king is the heavenly Farmer: his garden is the Church of the Order of the Blessed Francis. But he received the plant from you, because you are our masters and our lords, and we learn from you. We also return benefits to you, however, by day and night, and we are happy to do so, by praying for you, by preaching, and by working hard for the good of your souls. Yet you can if you wish root out the plant, providing always, of course, if He does not oppose you who says [Matthew 15.13]: 'Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.' Therefore, that which the father of heaven has planted cannot be destroyed. May you know this for a fact that that vengeance which a man himself takes against himself is a poor vengeance indeed, unless, perhaps, he does it for his own sins in order to placate divine wrath and, therefore, to be loved more by God, as the Apostle says, I Corinthians 11 [.31-32]: 'But if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged. But whilst we are judged, we are chastised by the Lord, that we be not condemned with this world.' Whence it is that we read that Gamaliel, doctor of law and teacher of Paul, said in defense of the Apostles to the chief priests, scribes, and pharisees gathered together in council, Acts 5 [.38-39]: 'refrain from these men, and let them alone; for if this council or this work be of men, it will come to nought: But if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it, lest perhaps you be found even to fight against God.'" And Brother John continued: "Although I am unworthy and I serve against my own will, I am Minister General of the Friars Minor. You are our lords and our masters; we, your servants, sons, and disciples. And if we have any learning, we wish to acknowledge that it has come from you. I place

myself and the Brothers who are under my rule under your discipline and correction. Behold, 'We are in' your 'hands: deal with us as it seemeth good and right unto' you" [Joshua 9.25]. When they heard these things, they were all satisfied, and "their spirit was appeased, with which they swelled against" the brothers [Judges 8.3].

A certain master of the University of Paris praised Brother John and the Order of St. Francis and demonstrated Master Guillaume of St. Amour to be worthy of rebuke.

Then the man delegated to respond arose and said to the Minister General: "Blessings on you 'and blessed be thy speech!' [I Kings 25.32]. 'Blessed are they that saw thee, and were honoured with thy friendship' [Ecclesiasticus 48.11]. We now see the truth of the Wise Man's words in Proverbs 15 [.1]: 'A mild answer breaketh wrath, but a harsh word stirreth up fury,' and Ecclesiasticus 6 [.5]: 'A sweet word multiplieth friends, and appeaseth enemies, and a gracious tongue in a good man aboundeth,' and Ecclesiasticus 36 [.25]: 'If she have a tongue that can cure, and likewise mitigate and shew mercy.' Certainly, we have seen the words of the Lord in the Gospel fulfilled, Matthew 13 [.24-28]: 'The kingdom of heaven is likened to a man that sowed good seed in his field. But while men were asleep, his enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way. And when the blade was sprung up, and had brought forth fruit, then appeared also the cockle. And the servants of the goodman of the house coming said to him: Sir, didst thou not sow good seed in thy field? whence then hath it cockle? And he said to them: An enemy hath done this.'" Then he continued in explanation of this passage: "The Order of the Blessed Francis, the Minorites, is the good seed sowed in the fields of the Church. The enemy is any man who attempts to destroy this Order." And that was the kind of man that Guillaume of St. Amour was, who wrote the book which stated that no men of a religious order who lived on alms while preaching the word of God could be saved. And by doing so, he caused many men not to enter the Order, neither the Minorites nor the Preachers. But, eventually, Pope Alexander IV rebuked him and condemned his book,⁶⁶ and St. Louis, King of France, of good memory, had Guillaume of St. Amour expelled from the faculty of the University of Paris irrevocably, because he sought "to lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33].

I learned all the events reported above from Master Benedict of Faenza, the physician, who was present and heard them himself. For he studied at the University for many years, and he greatly loved and praised Brother John of Parma.

In the general chapter held at Metz Brother John refuses to have new constitutions written, because the subordinates of the Order cry out against the burden of constitutions.

At another time, during the general chapter held at Metz, the Ministers and the Custodians said to Brother John, "Father, let us write new constitutions." But Brother John answered, "Let us not multiply constitutions: let us, rather, observe well those which we have. For we read that in the beginning God gave only two

commandments to our first parents—an affirmative one and a negative one—and immediately they transgressed against the second one. Thus the Lord complains of them in Hosea 6 [.7]: 'But they, like Adam, have transgressed [my] covenant.' Why? because, as the Psalmist says, 'they are bound, and have fallen' [Psalms 19.9]. And you know that the lowly Brothers already complain about you, because you have made a multitude of constitutions and laid them on the necks of your subordinates, while you, who make them, do not observe them. For a prelate is respected more for his actions than for his words. The Lord himself spoke of such men, Matthew 23 [.3]: 'For they say, and do not.' In Esdras also it is recorded: 'The hand of the princes and magistrates hath been first in this transgression', Esdras 9 [.2]. Thus the Scripture in which the Lord reproaches the scribes and Pharisees, Matthew 23 [.4]: 'they bind heavy and insupportable burdens, and lay them on men's shoulders; but with a finger of their own they will not move them,' has been best commented on by St. John Chrysostom: 'Do you truly want to be saintly, not only in appearance, but in reality? Then be austere in your own life; gentle, toward others. You should be seen performing heavy duties, not delegating them to others.'⁶⁷ Thus it is that we never read that Julius Caesar said to his soldiers, 'Go and do that'; rather, he would associate himself with them, saying 'Let us go and do that.'⁶⁸ Whence Ambrose: 'A subordinate gladly undertakes what he sees his superior doing.'⁶⁹ In this way, John of Parma prevented the writing of new constitutions in this chapter meeting.

Brother John of Parma sends a letter out requiring the ecclesiastical office to be sung uniformly throughout the Order.

As Minister General, Brother John wrote a letter and sent it out to the entire Order, requiring the Brothers to bring their regular devotional readings into conformity with the official Church service, as had never been done before. If, for example, on a Sunday or a feast day, the Brothers had to celebrate a mass for the dead in the very early morning, they were content in some convents to completely omit the Mass which was to be sung at the third hour. And many other things were done which were completely contrary to the official Church services or in addition to it, as I saw with my own eyes. Our venerable father John of Parma, Minister General, reformed all these things.

Brother John of Parma was hated by many men because of his Joachimism.

Because he believed so strongly in the doctrine of Joachim, Brother John was hated by certain Ministers, as well as by Pope Alexander IV and Pope Nicholas III (both of whom were Governors, Protectors, and Correctors of the Order when they were Cardinals). Yet previously, these two Popes had loved him dearly, on account of his learning and his holy life. Thus Lord John Gaetano, that is, Pope Nicholas III, once entertained Brother John throughout a whole morning as a friend, and as he was leading him through the palace, the Pope said to him, "You are a sensible man. Would it not be better for you and your Order for you to

be a Cardinal here in the Curia with us than to follow the sayings of fools who 'prophecy out of their own heart.' [Ezechiel 13.17]. And Brother John answered, "I care nothing for your honors. I bear in mind that saint who receives the highest praise in the words of the song, 'He sought not the glory of this world, and, therefore, gained the glory of heaven.' And as far as being a sensible man, I could give all of you good advice if you would hear me, but in these times the Roman Curia cares little for such things; rather, it concerns itself with wars and trifles, and takes no care for souls." When he heard this, the Pope groaned and said, "We are accustomed to believe that everything we do and say is useful." And Brother John replied, "And that is precisely the reason that St. Gregory sighed in despair, as we read in the *Dialogues*." After this, Brother John was dismissed and he returned to his hermitage in Greccio where he was then living.

On another occasion, when I was living at Ravenna, the lector, Brother Bartholomew Calaroso of Mantua — who had once been a Minister in Milan and in Rome, but at that time was living in the convent at Ravenna without any office whatsoever — said to me, "I tell you, Brother Salimbene, that Brother John of Parma caused a great deal of trouble both for himself and his Order, precisely because he was a man of so holy and excellent a life, a man of such great learning. For he could have called attention to the errors of the Roman curia, and he would have been heeded, but because he believed so strongly the prophecies of fantastic men, he condemned himself and did great harm to his friends." And I answered, "This is exactly the way it seems to me and this fact gives me great sorrow, for I loved him dearly. But the Joachites say, 'The Apostle in I Thessalonians 5 [.19-20] says: 'Extinguish not the spirit. Despise not prophecies.' And Solomon says in Proverbs 29 [.18]: 'When prophecy shall fall, the people shall be scattered abroad,' Moreover, the Church does not scorn the prophecies of Balaam, for it recognizes the truth of his prophecy of Christ's Nativity, nor does it deny Caiphas' prophecy of Christ's death, who said that it was expedient for one man to die for the people, lest all should perish [John 11.50] — which prophecy the Lord himself confirmed when he said, Luke 24 [.46]: 'It behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again from the dead.'" Then Brother Bartholomew said to me, "You, too, were a Joachite." And I answered, "You are right. But after the death of the Emperor Frederick and the passing of the year 1260, I laid that doctrine completely aside, and now I plan to believe in nothing save what I can see." And he said to me, "God bless you! If Brother John had done the same, he would have placated the spirit against him among the Brothers."

Some men are so stubborn that they cannot change or be moved from their frivolous beliefs.

And I said, "Brother John could not change, for there are some men who are so caught up in their earlier views that they are later ashamed to retract what they have said, lest they seem to be liars. They simply have no resilience of character. Whence the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [.11]: 'As a dog that returneth to his vomit, so is the fool that repeateth his folly,' and immediately thereafter

[.12]: 'Hast thou seen a man wise in his own conceit? there shall be more hope of a fool than of him.' Thus when the Countess of Caserta rebuked the Emperor Frederick for foolishly getting himself entangled in the Lombard wars despite the fact that he possessed every good thing which could enhance human life in his own kingdom, he answered, "I know it, Countess. What you say is true, but I have now become so involved that I cannot back down without losing honor. Would that I had always heeded your counsel; then, I would not have brought so many disasters down upon my head." And the Countess replied, "It will be even worse for you if you encounter even more." Yet since the Emperor had not yet been deposed nor conquered by the Parmese, he answered, "I do not expect to have any further troubles; rather, I plan to take vengeance on my enemies." Then the Countess answered, "The man who makes matters worse is not avenging himself very well." Thus a certain poet wrote:

One should never take vengeance, however good the case
If it makes matters worse and ends in disgrace.⁷⁰

A similar thing happened to Ezzelino da Romano. Before the last battle in which he was killed, Ezzelino sought the advice of his men about whether to cross the river and engage the enemy. Yet when they attempted to dissuade him from the action, he answered, "I know that your advice is good, but I plan to cross nevertheless." And so, fully aware, he hastened to his own death. Thus Ecclesiastes 7 [.14] says: "Consider the works of God, that no man can correct whom he hath despised." Jonah also blushed to remain in his own country, because he appeared to be a liar in his prophecy against Ninevah. Thus he said to the Lord: "I am angry with reason even unto death" [Jonah 4.9]. Micah conducted himself better when he said "Would God I were not a man that hath the spirit, and that I rather spoke a lie" [Micah 2.11]. Thus some men are so vehement and stubborn that they will not back down from their position because they are afraid of being embarrassed. Whence the Wise Man says in Proverbs 21 [.16]: "A man that shall wander out of the way of doctrine, shall abide in the company of the giants," and again [21.29]: "The wicked man impudently hardeneth his face: but he that is righteous, correcteth his way."

Once at the general chapter held at Strassburg, Brother John of Castelvechio, the Minister of Rome, told me that Brother John of Parma, the former Minister General, was still perservering in his own frivolous beliefs. Therefore, I said that perhaps if I could be with him I could persuade him to give them up. And he said to me "Go to him, then, for he is in my province in the convent at Greccio," that is, in the place where St. Francis sang the gospel on the night of Christ's Nativity and constructed the image of the Christ Child in the manger. "For Brother John chose that place to live, although he could have had any place he wished." Then the Minister of Rome added, "'Run about, make haste, stir up thy friends' [Proverbs 6.3], because St. James says 'My brethren, if any of you err from the truth, and one convert him: He must know that he who causeth a sinner to be

converted from the error of his way, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover a multitude of sins' [5.19-20].

Although he had many enemies, Brother John of Parma also (as specified below) had many friends, who held him in high honor.

It should be noted that although Brother John of Parma had many harsh critics on account of his belief in Joachim's doctrine, he also had many friends who loved him dearly. Among these was Master Peter of Spain, who became a Cardinal and, later, Pope John XXI.⁷¹ Although he was a great sophist, logician, a man of disputation, and a theologian, he sent for Brother John of Parma to be with him, for, it must be confessed, Brother John was like him in many ways. Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus 13 [.19-20] says: "Every beast loveth its like: so also every man him that is nearest to himself. All flesh shall consort with the like to itself, and every man shall associate himself to his like." Pope John, therefore, wanted to keep Brother John of Parma with him in the curia, and he was considering making him a Cardinal, but he was prevented by death. For the roof fell on the Pope and he died. Thus was fulfilled the Scripture, Ecclesiasticus 10 [.11]: "all power is of short life." Pope Innocent IV also loved Brother John as his own soul, and when he received him, he greeted him with the kiss of his mouth. Pope Innocent also thought to make him a Cardinal, but was also prevented by death.

Vatatzes and the way he honored Brother John of Parma.

Likewise, having heard of Brother John of Parma's holiness, Vatatzes,⁷² Emperor of the Greeks, sent a message to Pope Innocent IV asking him to send the Minister General Brother John to him, for he hoped that, through Brother John's example, the Greeks would return to the discipline of the Roman Church. And while Brother John was there, Vatatzes loved him so greatly that he sought to give him many gifts. But Brother John always refused everything by Daniel's example, who said to the King of Babylon: "Thy rewards be to thyself, and the gifts of thy house give to another" [Daniel 5.17]. Thus Brother John's refusal to accept anything set a good example for Vatatzes. Yet he would have gladly given him much treasure. Once, however, the Emperor begged him, on the love he bore him, to accept the gift of a certain quirt and carry it in his hand when he rode through Greece with his entourage. Brother John, therefore, thinking it to be merely a whip to spur on his horse, accepted the gift, remembering the poem:

It does no harm to spur on a galloping [i.e. speeding] horse.⁷³

When the Greeks saw this quirt, which was a symbol of imperial power, however, they all genuflected before Brother John, as the Italians do when the body of the Lord is elevated and shown forth in the Mass, and they paid all the expenses for him and his retinue. It was in this way that Brother John returned to Pope Innocent, who had sent him.

Palaeologus, Vatatzes' successor as Greek Emperor.

This was Vatatzes, who was succeeded by Palaeologue.⁷⁴ Palaeologus, however, was not related to Vatatzes. In fact, he killed Vatatzes' son and ruled in his place.

In the provincial chapter held at Sens, I also saw how the king of France, of good memory, St. Louis, honored Brother John; likewise, the king's three brothers, and a certain cardinal, that is to say, Lord Oddo — all of whom ate at that chapter meeting.

Moreover, once when Brother John was in England and went to see the king, the king of England⁷⁵ immediately rose up from the table, descended from the dais, hastened forward, and embraced and kissed Brother John. And when his knights reproached the king for this act, saying that he had humbled himself too much before such a lowly man, the king answered, "I did this for the honor of God and St. Francis, as well as for the great holiness that I have heard of the man, because, truly he is a servant and a friend of the most High God. And a man who honors the servants of God cannot humble himself too much, because the Lord says: 'He that receiveth you, receiveth me.'" [Matthew 10.40]. This answer of the king's was honored highly, and everyone commended him and praised him for his noble act.

The king of England, father of Edward, and the jongleur whom he commanded to be hanged because of his witty saying.

This king was the father of Edward, king of England, and he was held to be somewhat simpleminded. Thus one day when he was sitting at table with his knights, a certain jongleur cried out in the hearing of them all, "Hear ye, hear ye! Our king is like our Lord Jesus Christ himself." And when he heard this, the king was very glad to hear himself compared to the Lord himself. Then the king began to insist that the jongleur specify in what ways he was like Christ. (Both the king and the jongleur were speaking in French and their words sounded beautiful in the vulgar tongue.) Then the jongleur said, "It is written of the Lord Jesus Christ that he was just as wise at the instant of his conception as he was at the age of thirty. So is it with our king, who is just as wise now as when he was a little boy." When he heard this, the king was incensed, and he commanded those standing about to take the jongleur out and hang him. When they took him out of the presence of the king, however, they treated him lightly: they tied a rope around his neck and played with him, lifting him from the ground a bit — all in pretence. Then they said to him, "Get out of the country until the king's anger subsides, lest his wrath descend on you and on us who have spared you." Then the king's servants returned and told the king that his command had been fulfilled.

Brother John of Parma's courtesy. His wish to be like the poor Brothers and his belief that with respect to food all should be treated alike.

Once when Brother John of Parma was lector at Naples, before he had become Minister General, he was travelling through Bologna. And in a certain convent just as he had sat down in the guest house at table with his companion and certain other Brothers who were not members of that convent, some Brothers suddenly came in and sought forcibly to lead him away to eat in the infirmary in order to honor him. Seeing, however, that his companion was left behind uninvited, he returned, saying, "I will not eat anywhere without my companion." And this act was considered the greatest kind of impropriety on the part of those who took him away, and the height of courtesy and faithfulness on Brother John's part.

On another occasion, after he became Minister General, he desired a place to get away from things for a time and so he came to the convent at Ferrara, where I myself lived for seven years. And taking note that the same Brothers were invited to eat with him both at lunch and at supper day after day, he recognized that the Guardian, Brother William de Buzea of Parma, was a respecter of persons, and he was displeased with him, according to the words:

The imprudent man displeases even where he seeks to please.⁷⁶

On a certain evening, however, as Brother John was washing his hands for dinner, the Brother who was in charge of the table asked the Guardian, "Whom shall I invite?" And the Guardian replied, "Ask Brother Jacopo of Pavia, and Brother Avanzo, and such, and such." These men, however, were already washing their hands and stood ready behind the Minister General's back, and he had already seen them. Then with a fiery spirit, powerfully inspired by the Holy Spirit, Brother John took up those words and cried out, "So, so! Ask Brother Jacopo of Pavia, ask Brother Avanzo, ask such a one, and such a one! 'Take to thee ten pieces!' [III Kings 11.31]. This is a goose's song!" Hearing this, those "guests of Adonias" [III Kings 1.49] were confused and embarrassed, but no more so than the Guardian. And he said to the Minister General, "Father, I invited these men to honor you, because I held them the worthiest Brothers to associate with you." But Brother John replied, "Does the Scripture not say in praise of God that 'he made the little and the great, and he hath equally care of all' [Wisdom 6.8]. Does not the Lord say, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me'? [Mark 10.14]. And the Blessed James, does he not say that God has 'chosen the poor in this world'? [2.5]. Even the Lord himself said, Luke 14 [.12-13]: 'When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen, nor thy neighbours who are rich; lest perhaps they also invite thee again, and a recompense be made to thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor,' etc. I myself heard all these things, for I was near him. Then the Brother in charge of the table said, 'Whom shall I invite?' Then the Guardian replied, 'Invite whomever the Minister General tells you to invite.' Then Brother John said, 'Go, and call the poor Brothers of

the convent to me, for this is an office in which all Brothers know how to partake with the Minister." The Brother in charge then went to the refectory and said to the lowly, poor Brothers, who rarely ever ate outside of the refectory, "The Minister General has invited you to supper. I command you on his behalf to hasten to him." And thus was it done. This was Brother John of Parma's wish whenever he first arrived at some convent of the Friars Minor: that the poor Brothers eat with him — either all at once, or some at one time, some at another. Brother John did this so that they might gain some benefit from his stay there, according to what is written about the Lord in Isaiah 28 [.12]: "This is my rest, refresh the weary, and this is my refreshing: and they would not hear." And he would always do this before his guest-period of refreshment from his journey and labor expired, that is, before going to the common table in the refectory, where he always, even as Minister General, continued to go whenever his stay was protracted. Compare Brother John's habit of inviting the poor with the words of Proverbs 21 [.13]: "He that stoppeth his ear against the cry of the poor, shall also cry himself and shall not be heard." This is what happened to the rich man who cried out to Abraham for a drop of water, Luke 16 [.24]. It is for this reason that we read that our Lord Jesus Christ compared himself to a hen with chicks who deprives herself in order to give the food discovered to her children, without distinction of white, black, or red. Rather, she makes the grain discovered available to all, so that all may have it and participate in it commonly, Matthew 23 [.37]. Therefore, it is written in praise of God, Wisdom 6 [.8]: "he made the little and the great, and he hath equally care of all." Thus Brother John of Parma was a communal person, without private love to any one in particular; and he was very courteous and generous at table, so much so that if various kinds of good wine were placed before him, he had it poured out equally in everybody's cup, so that all could partake communally. And everybody held this to be the height of courtesy and love.

The courtesy of a certain king of England.

A certain king of England⁷⁷ furnishes a good example of courtesy. For once when he was compelled to eat supper with his knights beside a fountain in a forest, one of his men brought forth a single flask of wine. When the king asked if there were any more and was told that there was none, he said, "We have enough for all," and then emptied the entire flask into the fountain with the words, "Let us all drink." When the knights saw the king's courtesy, they rejoiced, seeing that he refused to drink alone when they would have to do without. The miser of Ecclesiasticus 11 [.19] did just the opposite, for he says: "I have found me rest, and now I will eat of my goods alone." But hear the old saying:

Whatever one may own, he cannot enjoy it alone.⁷⁸

And again: "Honor is better than gain."

*The companions of Brother John of Parma, the Minister General.
 Brother Mark, companion of Ministers General.*

The following are Brother John of Parma's companions at the time that he was Minister General. The first was Brother Mark of Montefeltro, an honorable and saintly man, who lived for a long time. He was the companion of Brother Crescentius, Brother John of Parma, and Brother Bonaventure. He was born in Modena, he rests in peace in Urbino, and he shines with miracles. Modena is a city in the Patrimony of St. Peter; Urbino is a town in the mountains, through which leads the road to Cagli, and it is the key to the March of Ancona, through which the way leads to Assisi, St. Francis' city in the valley of Spoleto. Brother Mark was also Provincial Minister of the March of Ancona, and his rule there was praiseworthy. He was a fine, swift writer with a very legible hand. For his hard labor in accompanying Ministers General and in writing their letters, he merited—and it was made official in a general chapter—that after his death every priest of the Order would say a Mass of the Dead for his soul. He died in the year of the Lord 1284. He was my very special friend. And he loved Brother Bonaventure, the Minister General, so much that whenever, after Bonaventure's death, he remembered his great writings or all his fine qualities, he would burst into tears from the sweetness of the memory, as we read of St. Peter or Christ. Also, whenever Brother Bonaventure, the Minister General, had to preach to the clergy, Brother Mark would go to him and say, "You are merely a hired servant, and on another occasion when you preached, you didn't even know what to say, and I hope the same thing happens to you today." Brother Mark said this, however, to stimulate him to preach better, according to the words of the Scripture, Ecclesiasticus 22 [24]: "He that pricketh the eye, bringeth out tears: and he that pricketh the heart, bringeth forth resentment." Furthermore, Brother Mark wrote down all of Brother Bonaventure's sermons and wished to have them for himself.

Brother Bonaventure, Minister General, rejoiced at insults directed at himself for five reasons.

Brother Bonaventure rejoiced at Brother Mark's insults, for five reasons. First, because he was a good, patient man. Second, because in this he imitated the Blessed Father, Francis. Third, because Mark was so firm a friend that he loved him dearly. Fourth, because the insults gave him occasion of avoiding vainglory. Fifth, because they provided him with better foresight.

Let us speak of the other companions of Brother John elsewhere, when the opportunity arises.

Brother John of Parma took upon himself all the regular duties of communal life as much as possible.

Even while he was Minister General, Brother John of Parma would hasten to the regular duties of the convent and work alongside the other Brothers, as, say, when the bell rang to signal the time for cleaning and preparing the vegetables

for meals, as I saw many times with my own eyes. And because he was my close friend, I said to him, "Father, you are doing what the Lord taught, Luke 22 [.26]: 'he that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is the leader, as he that serveth.'" And he answered, "'It becometh us to fulfill all justice' [Matthew 3.15], that is, perfect humility." Also, he continued to participate in the ecclesiastical offices, both day and night, but especially Matins, Vespers, and the conventual Mass. Whatever duty the cantor assigned him he performed immediately—as beginning the antiphons, singing the lections and responsories, and saying conventual Masses.

Once in the convent at Lyons, as I myself saw, he preached to the Brothers twice in one day on the Last Supper, once in the morning and, later, at the ceremony of the washing of the feet. And among the audience there were bishops and Ministers. And at that time Pope Innocent IV was holding court at Lyons with his Cardinals. And on the very next day of this Easter week he would have celebrated the office for that day, but, as was fitting, he ceded to Lord William, bishop of Modena and Cardinal, who took the duty upon himself. On Holy Saturday the cantor assigned him the duty of singing the last prophecy, which he performed with alacrity. What more can one say? He was filled with all good. Even while Minister General he wanted to work in the scriptorium so that by his labor he might earn his clothes, but the Brothers, seeing him weighed down with the duties of the Order, would not permit it, but freely gave him all the necessities of life.

Brother John of Parma helps end the general chapter meeting by giving up his office and bringing about the election of Brother Bonaventure as Minister General.

Brother John of Parma was elected Minister General in the general chapter held at Lyons in 1247, in the month of August, with Pope Innocent IV in attendance. And he ruled the Order laudably for ten years. He hastened the end of the last general chapter that he presided over, because he no longer wished, by any means, to remain Minister General.⁷⁹ This chapter was held in Rome, during the feast of the Purification in the year of the Lord 1257. And the business of this chapter was completely stalled for one whole day because the Ministers, the Custodians, and the Delegates did not want to allow him to step down from his office. Finally, Brother John went into the chapter meeting and made known his full desire according to his understanding of the situation. Then, seeing the anguish of his spirit, those whose duty it was to see to elections, said to him, though against their will, "Father, you have travelled throughout the Order and you know the ways of all the Brothers very well indeed; therefore, you select a suitable Brother to succeed you." And immediately he selected Brother Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, saying that he knew not a better man in the entire Order. And they all immediately agreed, and Bonaventure was elected. But they asked Brother John to continue to preside over this his last chapter, and it was so done. And Brother Bonaventure ruled for seventeen years and did many good works.

The wild birds that built their nest and hatched forth chicks under Brother John's table at Greccio.

After he left office, Brother John of Parma went to live in the hermitage at Greccio, where St. Francis built the images of the Nativity, which is more fully described in his legend. And while he was living there, two wild birds, like large geese, came from the forest and, under the table where he was continually at study, they built their nest, laid eggs, and hatched forth chicks. They were very tame, allowing him to touch and handle them. Once a bishop came to visit Brother John, and he asked John to give him one of those chicks.

An angel serves Brother John at Mass.

Once very early in the morning Brother John called out to his student that he wished to celebrate Mass, and although the student responded, he was so tired because of the extremely early hour that he fell asleep again. Then, suddenly waking and being ashamed of his sleepiness, he hurried to do his duty, and found Brother John saying Mass in his vestments with an angel in attendance. And when Mass was finished, they left silently. Later in the day, Brother John said to his student, "Blessings on you, my son, for your reverent and fine service at Mass with me this morning. It is because of you, I believe, that God has given me such great consolation today." But the student answered, "Forgive me, father, for when you called me I was so weighed down with sleep that I could not hasten to you. And when I did come I saw that someone else was attending you. But I know that there is no visitor in our house, and when I asked another Brother whether he had attended, he said that he had not." Then Brother John answered, "I thought it was you. Truly, whoever it was, God's blessings on him, and thanks be to our Creator for all his gifts."

I myself saw many other good things, and have heard of many more about Brother John of Parma, the Minister General, all of which are worthy of record, but I keep silent for the sake of brevity, not only because I have many other things to relate but also because the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 11 [.30]: "Praise not any man before death," for Brother John is still alive. He has had a long life, and it is now, as I write, the year of the Lord 1284, immediately after the feast of the Invention of St. Michael,⁸⁰ the fourth year of Pope Martin IV's rule, the twelfth Indiction, Tuesday, in the month of May. Brother John's father was called Albert Auceps, because he was a bird-catcher [*auceps*].

But I pick up the thread of my narrative. When, in Arles, I boasted to Brother John that I had received the office of preaching from Pope Innocent IV in Lyons, my companion, Johannino de Ollis, answered, "I would rather receive this office from the Minister General than from any Pope, and if it is necessary for us to be subjected to the sword of examination, let Brother Hugh be the examiner." He spoke of the great Hugh of Digne, who was in that convent at that time on behalf of Brother John, his very close friend. Brother John answered, "I do not want Brother Hugh to examine you, because he is a friend of yours and would

go easy on you. But let a lector and a tutor of this convent be brought to me." And when they came, Brother John said, "Take these Brothers aside and examine them for the office of preaching, and if they are found worthy, report again to me." And it was so done. And Brother John gave the office to me, but not to my companion, for he was found wanting. And Brother John said to him, "That which is delayed is not denied altogether. 'Study wisdom, my son, and make my heart joyful, that thou mayst give an answer to him that reproacheth' [Proverbs 27.11]. For Ecclesiasticus 18 [19] says: 'Learn before thou speak.'"

Then two Brothers from Tuscany arrived at that place, who were on their way to school at Toulouse, one of whom was Brother Benedict of Colle and the other Brother Gerard of Prato, kinsman of Brother Arlotto. These two were at that time young deacons and both were good students; they had studied along with me for many years in the convent at Pisa. And wishing to leave the next day, they sent Brother Mark to the Minister General, requesting him to give them the office of preaching and to promote them to the priesthood. And that evening the Minister General was celebrating the office of compline, and I alone was with him. And at that very time Brother Mark came and interrupted our service of compline to give his message. And the Minister General answered heatedly as he was accustomed to do when moved by holy zeal (as at least it seemed to him), and he said to Brother Mark, who was his companion: "The Brothers have acted badly, for their request is unwise, since the Apostle says [Hebrews 5.4]: 'Neither doth any man take the honour to himself.' Lo, they have just come from their own Minister, who knows them well and who himself has the power to grant them what they now request of me. Therefore, let them go to Toulouse, where they have been sent to study, and let them apply themselves to learning, because they will have no need of the office of preaching there in any case. Later, at the proper time, they can have what they request." Then Brother Mark, seeing him so upset, turned away and said, "Father, may you know that they themselves did not make the request, but Brother Salimbene had me ask for them." And Brother John answered, "Brother Salimbene has been here with me the whole time saying compline, and so I am certain that he did not do so." Brother Mark, therefore, left, saying, "Father, as you wish, let it be done." But I knew that Brother Mark was not happy with the General's decision, and so after compline I went to console him. And he said to me, "Brother Salimbene, Brother John has acted badly, for he has 'confounded my face' [cf. III Kings 2.20, 16], by not granting my request, and it was such a small request too. And yet I labor hard for the Order, following him and writing his letters, although I am now an old man. It is, of course, true that they have just come from their own Minister and that he knows them well. And it is precisely because he knows them to be good men that he is sending them to Toulouse to study, so that they may later go to the University of Paris. But it was because of Brother John's great sanctity and high office that these Brothers wanted to receive the office of preaching from him, rather than from Brother Peter of Cori, their own Minister."

*The Pisans remained excommunicate for thirty years because of their three-fold guilt.
The small province of Garfagnana.*

"Moreover, they sought to be promoted to the priesthood, because, as you know, their city of Pisa has been under interdict for thirty years. This happened because the Pisans captured cardinals and other prelates on the high seas, because they held captive in the mountains ten castles which belonged to the bishop of Lucca, and, third, because they invaded the province of Garfagnana against the will of the Church." (This Garfagnana is a district situated in the mountains between Lucca and Lombardy.) "Wherefore, when these men were at Pisa they did not seek the promotion to the priesthood. Now, they want very much to be made priests, for which I do not blame them. For they would be able to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead and live a more useful existence among the Brothers to whom they are going. And for their entire lives these young men would have remembered gladly the grace done them. And, God knows, I blush to return to them with my request turned down." I answered him briefly, "Your words please me more than the Minister General's response, but 'patience hath a perfect work' [James 1.4].

While he was still Minister General, Brother John of Parma wanted to visit Spain.

That same evening the Minister General called me and my companion to him and said, "Sons, I expect to leave you soon, for I want to go to Spain, and so choose a convent for yourselves, whichever you wish in the whole Order, with the exception of Paris, and I will send you there. Yet take this night for your deliberation and let me know tomorrow." The next day he said to us, "What place have you chosen?" And I answered, "No more of this matter of *our* choosing a place, lest it be for us 'an occasion of grief' [I Kings 25.31]. But we put ourselves in your will to send us wherever you wish, and we will obey." He had from us, therefore, a good example, and he said, "Go then to the convent at Genoa, and you will be there with Stephen Anglicus, whom I am sending there. Moreover, I will write the Minister and the Brothers there that you come with my own recommendation, and that you, Brother Salimbene, have been promoted to priest; and your companion, Brother Johannino, to deacon. And if I find you content when I come there, I will rejoice. If not, I will bring you consolation." And all these things were done.

On that same day, the Minister General said to Brother Hugh, "What do you say, Brother Hugh? Shall we go to Spain and fulfill the Apostle's desire?" And Brother Hugh answered, "You go, father. I wish to die in the land of my fathers." And immediately we went with him to the ship which was ready in the Rhone, for it was after the ninth hour on the feast of St. Michael. And having said farewell, he left us to go on that day to St. Giles. We, however, went by sea to Marseilles, and found Brother Stephen Anglicus there. And he asked me to tell the Guardian that on the feast of St. Francis⁸¹ he would willingly preach to the clergy and the

Brothers. And the Guardian answered that he would gladly hear him, save that he feared to offend the bishop, who would come to that feast. And after the feast of St. Francis, we went by sea to Hyères to Brother Hugh's convent. And because he could not get a ship, Stephen Anglicus took up the journey by land with his companion to go to the convent at Genoa.

The delay with Brother Hugh.

My companion and I, however, remained at Hyères with Brother Hugh from the feast of St. Francis to the feast of All Saints.⁸² And I rejoiced that I had the chance of being with Brother Hugh, with whom I could speak every day at length about the doctrine of the Abbot Joachim. For Brother Hugh owned all of Joachim's books; he was a great Joachite and one of the greatest scholars in the world, incomparable for his learning and sanctity. I was very sorry, however, that my companion became gravely ill, almost to the point of death, and he would not take proper care of himself. The weather for sailing had grown worse on account of the winter. And that region was very unhealthy that year because of the winds from the sea, so that I could hardly breathe at night, even out under the open sky. And I heard wolves, in great numbers, howling and crying out at night, "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10]. So I said to my companion, who was a very stubborn young man, "You do not beware of contraries, and you always relapse. I, however, know that this region is very unhealthy, and I don't want to die until I see those events come to pass that Brother Hugh preaches about. Therefore, I give you warning that if a suitable group of our Brothers comes by here, I am going to leave with them." And he said, "Well said; I'll go with you." For he was hoping that no Brothers would come. And behold, God willing, almost immediately there came Brother Pontius, a holy man, who had been with us in the convent at Aix. And he was going to Nice, where he had been made Guardian. He rejoiced when he saw us, and I said to him, "We want to go with you, because we have to go to live at Genoa." And he answered, "I am very pleased. I will go and get us a ship." The next day after dinner, therefore, we went to the ship, which was about a mile from the convent. My companion, however, did not want to go, but seeing that I was completely resolved to leave and that I had found a companion in the Guardian, he followed us. Yet when I reached out my hand to him to help him into the ship, he shrank back and said, "Don't touch me, for you haven't preserved good faith and companionship with me." And I said, "Wretch, recognize God's goodness to you, because God has revealed to me that if you had stayed here, you would surely have died. And the Wise Man says in Ecclesiasticus 7 [.18]: 'Be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time.' And it is written of certain people in Job 22 [.16]: 'who were taken away before their time, and a flood,' that is, human mortality, 'hath overthrown their foundation.'" What more can one say? He did not believe me until "vexation" made him "understand what" he heard [Isaiah 28.19]. For he was never free from that sickness he contracted in Provence for the whole winter in the convent at Genoa. Then on the feast of St.

Martha⁸⁹ I left Genoa and went by sea and arrived at Brother Hugh's convent in four days. And I found that six Brothers had died and were buried. The first of these was the Guardian of that convent, who had accompanied my companion to the ship. Another one was Brother William de Pertuso, who was a good preacher and who had once lived in the convent at Parma. And it is not necessary to mention the other four. When I returned to the convent at Genoa, therefore, I told my companion about the death of these Brothers. Then he thanked me for pulling him from the jaws of death. He got well, and many years afterward—in the year the king of France went to Tunis on his second crusade—he went across the sea and was made Custodian there. Later he came to the general chapter held in Assisi as representative of that custody, the chapter in which Brother Bonagrazia was elected Minister General, and the commentary on the Rule was given to the Brothers.

My companion, who was sent to Egypt to console the captured Christians.

The Christians who were held in chains by the Saracens in Egypt sent a message to Pope Nicolas III, requesting him for the love of God to send them a good and suitable priest to whom they could faithfully confess their sins. The Pope committed this duty to the Minister General. And Brother Bonagrazia, the Minister General, laid this salutary task of going to the captive Christians in Egypt to absolve them of their sins on my companion. Yet Johannino secured from the Minister General permission to attend the next general chapter of the Order, and, afterward, to be assigned to the province of Bologna, as he had earlier been. And all these things were laudably performed. For he himself did many good deeds and had many good things done for those Christians. In that country Brother Johannino saw a unicorn and a balsam vine, and he brought back with him some manna in a glass vase filled with water from St. Mary's fountain, without which balsam vine will not live. Moreover, he brought back some balsam wood and many other things unknown to us which he showed to the Brothers. And he reported that the Saracens keep the Christians in chains and make them dig the moats of their castles and carry off the dirt in baskets, and that the Christians are never given more than three small pieces of bread to eat. When the general chapter was held in Strassburg, Germany, this man was present and as he was returning he died in the first convent this side of Strassburg. And he shone forth with miracles. This man was Brother Johannino de Ollis of Parma, who was from the province of Romagna or Greccio, and of the province of Bologna, and of the province of the Holy Land. Moreover, he was my companion in France, Burgundy, and Provence, as well as in the convent at Genoa. He was a good writer, a good singer, a good preacher, and an honorable, good, and worthy man. May his soul rest in peace. In the convent where he died, there was living a certain Brother who was suffering from an incurable illness which the doctors had given up on, and this Brother poured out his prayers to God, on the love he bore for Brother Johannino, that he restore him to health. And it was done immediately.

I heard this from Brother Paganino of Ferrara, who was present.

On the day that we left Brother Hugh, I was with Brother Johannino and Brother Pontius, the newly appointed Guardian of Nice, and we made our way to Nice, which is a city situated on the sea. And we saw Brother Simon of Montesarchio of Apulia there, who was the procurator of the Order at the Papal court, which was then at Lyons. He was on the way to Genoa, and he was at the port with the rector of Lyons, looking for a ship on which to sail. And so I said to them, "We have a ship and we sail tomorrow." And they rejoiced at the news.

Praise of certain Friars Minor from the convent of Genoa, who were of most holy life and who died in the Order.

The next day we sailed all day and the whole of the following night, and we arrived at the port which is near Genoa very early the next morning, and it was the Lord's day. The Brothers were happy when they saw us, especially Stephen Anglicus, the lector. The Minister General later sent this man to Rome, and there, in the presence of his companion Brother Jocelin, he died, after he had fulfilled his dream to see Rome and the holy shrines of Rome, according to the words of Proverbs 10 [.24]: "To the just their desires shall be given." And at that time Brother Jacopo de Iseo was Minister of Rome.

Also, Brother Taddeo, a Roman, who had been a canon of the Cathedral of St. Peter in Rome, was in the convent at Genoa when I arrived there. He was an old man, "ancient of days" [Daniel 7.9], and was held to be a holy man by all the Brothers. The same is true of Brother Mark of Milan, who had been Minister; and of Brother Anselm Rabuino of Asti. This latter had been Minister of the province of Terra di Lavoro and of the province of the March of Treviso; and he had once lived in the convent at Naples for a long time. It was this man who, by persuading the Brothers, had brought about Brother John of Parma's election as Minister General, and God fulfilled his desire. Also there were Brother Bertolino, the Custodian of Genoa, who was later Minister; and Brother Pentecost, a holy man — all of whom treated us with humanity, courtesy, and love. And the Guardian gave me a robe and a cloak. He did the same for my companion. And the Minister, Brother Nantelmo of Milan, who had been lector, a most holy man devoted to God, told me that he would do whatever favor I asked of him. And he assigned to me his own companion, Brother William of Piedmont, a worthy, learned, and good man, to teach me how to sing Mass. All of these men have now passed from this world to the Father, "Whose names are in the book of life" [Philippians 4.3], because they ended their lives laudably and well. I never saw a man who was so much like Brother Vitale, Minister of Bologna, as Brother Nantelmo the Minister of Genoa was — both in general appearance and mode of living, in general manners, in everything. Nantelmo stood high in Brother John of Parma's good graces.

The bishop of Corsica, who ordained me priest. The church of Saint Honorato which Pope Alexander IV gave to the Friars Minor of Genoa.

In this year of 1248 there was in Genoa a certain bishop of Corsica, who had been a black monk of the Benedictine Order. His father was from Piacenza, and his mother, who was of the Scarpi family, was from Parma. And this bishop had been expelled from Corsica either by King Enzo or his father Frederick, sometime Emperor. Corsica borders on Sardinia, and is an enemy of the Church. This bishop was living in Genoa, and he wrote letters with his own hand in order to make his living. And, daily, he came to Mass at the convent of the Friars Minor, and afterward he would attend lectures by Stephen Anglicus in the school. In Sardinia, the Emperor Frederick gave a certain woman named Domicella in marriage either to Enzo or his illegitimate son Henry.

It was this bishop who ordained me priest in the Church of St. Honorato, which is now the property of the Friars Minor of Genoa but was not at that time. The church was situated above the convent of the Friars Minor and was held by a certain priest, but it had no congregation. And when the Brothers used to return to their cells after matins to observe quiet hours, this good man disrupted their quiet by ringing the bells of the church, and he did this every night. Disturbed by this, the Brothers petitioned Pope Alexander IV to take the church from him and give it to their convent. Now, Pope Alexander had canonized St. Clare, and at the time that he was celebrating the Mass of St. Clare, this priest went in to him and said, "For the love of St. Clare, I beg you, father, don't take away my church of St. Honorato." But the Pope took up his words and spoke in the vernacular, "For the love of St. Clare, I want the Friars Minor to have it." And he said this over and over again, so that he sounded like a fool. When he heard him, the priest groaned and turned away, doing what Ecclesiasticus 8 [1] teaches: "Strive not with a powerful man, lest thou fall into his hands."

The Archbishop of Genoa, who praised Stephen Anglicus and the bishop of Corsica. This archbishop was an avaricious man and not a very good catholic, and he was later killed.

Also at the time I was living in Genoa, there was there a certain archbishop, a small man, who was very old and avaricious. Moreover, there was a very evil rumor circulating about him: that he was not a very good Catholic. On a certain day he called together in his palace the members of religious orders and the regular clergy, as if he were going to hold a synod. For he wanted to hear Stephen Anglicus speak, because he had heard that he was a great speaker and a great scholar. And I was there and am reporting what I heard. The archbishop himself preached first. Then after this, no one was allowed to preach except Stephen Anglicus, whose sermon the archbishop praised highly. Then he praised Stephen Anglicus for his learning and his holy, honorable, and good life, noting that so fine a scholar had greatly honored Genoa by coming from England into Italy. Finally, he added that if he himself were young he would, whenever he could, sit under him for

lectures in the schools. Afterward, he praised the bishop of Corsica for his religious, holy, and honorable life, and for his ability to lecture, write, compose music, and sing, adding that he was filled with every good, save for the single exception that he was poor, since the Emperor had expelled him from his bishopric. And he asked the people there to hold this poor bishop in high esteem and treat him well. But some men said that the archbishop rebuked himself by saying this, for he himself ought to have done well by the poor bishop by retaining him in his court, for which he would have gained honor and rewards. And note what Seneca says: "An old avaricious man is like a monster. What is more foolish than for an old man to lay up treasure when his life is almost at an end?"⁸⁴ Martial Caecus says similarly:

We marvel at overgenerous youth and at avaricious age:

At the one because the remaining journey is so long;

At the other because it is so short.⁸⁵

The rich archbishop, therefore, ought to have kept the poor bishop, and said with Jacob, Genesis 32 [.26]: "I will not let thee go except thou bless me." But his avariciousness and wretchedness did not permit him to do so. I heard that after I left Genoa he was killed. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.27]: "He that giveth to the poor, shall not want," and Proverbs 11 [.4]: "Riches shall not profit in the day of revenge: but justice shall deliver from death."

The avariciousness and wretchedness of the bishop of Ferrara, who would not show hospitality to Pope Urban.

A man like to this archbishop in avariciousness and wretchedness was the bishop of Ferrara, who once denied hospitality to the patriarch of Jerusalem when he arrived at Ferrara on his way to the curia and sought lodging for the night. But going on to the curia where he was delayed for a short time, he was elected Pope. Thus this man from Troyes became Pope Urban IV. Then he wrote the bishop of Ferrara, saying, "Know that I am now Pope, and I can now pay you your just deserts for your avariciousness and wretchedness, because you would not receive me hospitably, although the Apostle says that 'it behoveth therefore a bishop to be . . . given to hospitality,' I Timothy 3 [.2], which he also said to Titus, 1 [.7-8]. See also Romans, 15 [.7]: 'Wherefore receive one another, as Christ also hath received you unto the honour of God.' And see III John 3 [.8] 'We therefore ought to receive such, that we may be fellow helpers of the truth,' and I Peter 4 [.9]: 'using hospitality one towards another, without murmuring.'" Yet it is not recorded that the Pope ever did anything to the bishop. Still, the bishop was never without fear for the rest of his life. That was a harsh vengeance, "because fear hath pain," as recorded in I John 4 [.18]. Joseph's vengeance on his brothers was like this, which is recorded in many places in Genesis, and especially after the death of his father, the last chapter of Genesis. The abovementioned bishop, a Brescian, was a doctor or physician, and he later became bishop of Piacenza. He went to

the papal court, where he gained the bishopric of Ferrara. When he was at Piacenza he kept two Friars Minor with him, who had a wretched time of it getting enough to eat, on account of his avariciousness.

Pope Innocent IV sends Brother Simon into Frederick's kingdom to work against the deposed Emperor, and Brother Simon is martyred.

In this year of 1248 Pope Innocent IV, who was living with the cardinals in Lyons, sent Brother Simon of Montesarchio, procurator for the Friars Minor (whom I mentioned earlier) into Apulia on the mission of turning the people of Sicily and Apulia against the rule of the deposed Frederick, former Emperor.⁸⁶ And he gained many people for the party of the Church. Yet Frederick captured him and subjected him to eighteen different tortures, all of which he bore patiently. And his torturers could extort nothing from him except divine praise. God did many miracles through him. May he be intercessor for us! Amen. He was my friend, who made the trip once with me to the Pope at Lyons, and I have already told how we made the journey by ship from Nice to Genoa. He was a man of medium height and was dark complexioned like St. Boniface. He was always a happy, alert man, preeminent in the good life and learned enough. He "buyeth much for a small price," Ecclesiasticus 20 [12]. Whence the Apostle says, II Corinthians 4 [17]: "For that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory."

Another Brother Simon, called of Contessa, whom God made illustrious through miracles.

There was another Brother Simon, called of Contessa, whom God made illustrious through miracles. Brother John of Parma made this man Minister of St. Francis' province in the valley of Spoleto. He was my friend and confidant in the convent at Marseilles in the year that the king of France went on his first Crusade, that is, the year of the Lord 1248.

The men of the Church party who were exiles from Reggio recover many castles in the mountains.

In that year the men of the Church party who were exiles from Reggio captured and occupied all of the castles in the mountains. And the Parmese recovered Bianello, Cavriago, Guardasone, and Rivalta. And the mortality rate was very high. The abbot of St. Prosper in Reggio died. And in that same year the Emperor, now deposed, recovered the city of Vercelli.

Lord Bonaccorso de Palude is killed in this year.

Lord Bonaccorso de Palude was killed. And Lord Ruzineto of Reggio, Lord Maravone, and many others were carried from Reggio into Apulia as hostages. And King Enzo, who was at that time ruling Reggio, had a large canal dug from Cavo Scaloppia to the Po.

The bishop of Tripoli, who died at Parma

The bishop of Tripoli, who was of the Roberti family of Reggio, died in Parma, and was buried in the cathedral, the Church of the Blessed Virgin.

Lord Bernard Roland Rossi who was killed at Collecchio.

And Lord Bernard Roland Rossi of Parma, brother-in-law of Pope Innocent IV, was killed at Collecchio by the Emperor's men. For as he was returning from Fornovo, his horse stumbled and he fell off, and if the Emperor had captured him alive he would have made great sport of him. For it was he who had taken Parma away from the Emperor. And the war raged very hard this year. The Emperor was encamped at this time in Cremona, and with his German troops and other allies he went back and forth frequently to Parma seeking to take vengeance on the Parmese, because they had put him to flight and destroyed his city of Victoria, which he had built in the region of Grola near Parma. And at this time the Emperor was in control of Modena, Reggio, and Cremona. And the men of the Church party of those three cities were forced to be wanderers and exiles.

King Louis of France, who went on a Crusade against the Saracens. The Bolognese capture Bazzano and destroy it.

In this year also King Louis of France went on Crusade against the Saracens,⁸⁷ and immediately captured the Saracen city of Damietta.

The Bolognese besieged Bazzano, a castle belonging to Modena, and on the sixth of July they captured and destroyed it. Also, Ottaviano, Cardinal deacon, Papal legate at that time in Lombardy recovered Romagna for the Church, which the deposed Emperor Frederick had held before. Also, almost the whole of the March of Ancona was recovered for the Church.

Moreover, as I have said, King Louis of France with his brothers and the French army, as well as a huge army of common troops took their journey and, having received the sign of the cross on Pentecost, crossed the seas in order to cast out the Saracens and recover the Holy Land. And on the first assault they captured Damietta. Yet Robert, the king's brother next in age to the king himself, was killed, on account of the sins of the French. But he himself also had many faults, because he expected to overwhelm and suddenly kill all the Saracens on the first onslaught.

The mountains that fell in the Count of Savoy's land and covered seven parishes and killed four thousand men in the year of the Lord 1248.

There is a certain plain about a league long, called the valley of Savoy, between Grenoble and Chambery (though nearer Chambery) and this region lies in the Valley of Moriana, which stretches from Susa in Lombardy to Lyons. And over this plain towers a very high mountain. Suddenly one night that mountain

fell and filled up the entire valley. And the ruin extends in longitude for a league, and in latitude, a league and a half. And seven parishes in that valley were completely inundated, and four thousand men were killed. Then were fulfilled the words of Job 14 [.18-19]: "A mountain falling cometh to nought, and a rock is removed out of its place. Waters wear away the stones, and with inundation the ground by little and little is washed away: so in like manner thou shalt destroy man," and [Job 12.23]: "He multiplieth nations, and destroyeth them, and restoreth them again after they were overthrown," and Job 9 [.5]: "Who hath removed mountains, and they whom he overthrew in his wrath, knew it not." In the year that these things took place, I was living in the convent at Genoa, and I heard rumors of such happenings, and so in the following year I travelled through that region of Grenoble, that I might be able to understand these things better. And many years later when I was living in the convent at Ravenna, I asked Brother William, the Minister of Burgundy, who was then on his way through Ravenna to attend a general chapter, about the fall of that mountain, and I have recorded the event accurately and faithfully just as I heard it from his mouth.

In the year 1249 when I was living at Genoa, Brother Nantelmo, my Minister, sent me to the Minister General on business for the convent. And so I sailed on the feast of St. Matthias the Apostle⁸⁸ and arrived at Hyères, Brother Hugh's convent, in four days. And he rejoiced when he saw me. And although he was substituting for the Guardian, he ate informally with me and my companion, with nobody else present except the Brother who waited on us. And he gave us a fine dinner of sea food and many other things, for it was at the beginning of the lenten season. And both my companion from Genoa and the Brothers at that convent were amazed at the great friendliness and informality with which Brother Hugh received me, for it was not his habit at that time of Lent to eat with anyone. And during that meal we talked of many divine things, of Joachim's teaching, and of the future. And at that time I found out, as I have mentioned above, that six Brothers of that convent had died and were buried since the time that I left there on the feast of All Saints. And when I left Genoa, there was an almond tree in bloom near the Sacristy, but in Provence I found the fruit of this tree very large, though still green. I also found large beans on the vines.

Pope Innocent IV recalls Brother John from Spain, because he wants to send him to Greece to bring about the conversion or the reconciliation of the Greeks.

Pope Innocent IV's friendliness to Brother John of Parma and the good company that he sends with him to Greece.

After dinner I resumed my journey to the Minister General, and I found him a few days later at Avignon. He had been recalled from Spain by Pope Innocent IV, who wanted to send him as emissary to the Greeks, for there was hope that through the mediation of Vatatzes they would be reconciled to the Roman Church. (Avignon is a city in Provence near the Rhone, and it was in this city, later, that Brother Bonagrazia died. And I have visited this city many times on various oc-

casions.) Later, I went to Lyons with the Minister General. And as we were going through Vienne, we met the messenger that Vatatzes had sent to the Pope for the Minister General. This man was a Friar Minor and he was called Brother Salimbene just as I am. His one parent was Greek, the other, Italian, and he spoke Latin very well, although he was not a learned man. He also spoke vernacular Greek very well, and Italian. The Minister General took him with him to Lyons.

And when the Minister General entered the Papal chambers, the Pope received him with a kiss of the mouth and said, "God be merciful to you, my son, because you have taken a long time in coming. Why did you not come by horse so that you could arrive sooner?⁸⁹ Was it because I could not bear the expense?" And Brother John answered, "Father, I started out quickly enough after receiving your letter, but I was detained by the Brothers along the way." Then the Pope said, "We have happy news: the Greeks wish to be reconciled with the Roman Church. Therefore, I want you to go to them with a good company of the Brothers of your Order, and it may be that with your mediation God may deign to do some good for us. And you may have whatever help you wish." And Brother John answered, "Father, there is no lack of willingness to obey, only ignorance of what to command. For 'I am ready, and am not troubled: that I may keep thy commandments'" [Psalms 118.60]. And the Pope said, "Blessings on you, my son, you have answered well." At that time Brother Thomas the Greek, a Friar Minor and lector at Constantinople, was there at Lyons. He was a holy man, and he spoke both Latin and Greek very well. The Minister General chose him to go with him to the Greeks, for it was for this reason, in fact, that Vatatzes had sent him there. He chose also Brother Drudo, the Minister of Burgundy, a fine, noble man, who was learned and holy, an excellent lector in theology, who was ready to preach to the Brothers every day. Moreover, he chose Brother Bonaventure de Iseo, a famous man, who had in the past been Minister of various provinces. And he chose many other sensible men, whose names I pass over for now. Some time after Easter week, he departed from Lyons.

At that time also Brother Ruffino, the Minister of Bologna, was at Lyons, along with his companion Brother Bonaventure of Forlì and Brother Bassetto. And Brother Ruffino, the Minister, said to me, "I sent you to France to study for my province; yet you have gone to live in a convent at Genoa! I'll have you know that I take this very ill, because I even have students from other provinces come to Bologna in order to bring honor on my province." And I replied, "Forgive me, father, for I did not know that you would be offended." Then he answered, "I will forgive you for this time if you write out a letter of obedience committing yourself to return to the province of Bologna to which you were originally assigned, both you and your companion who is in Genoa." And all these things were done. But the Minister General did not know about this letter of obedience while he was at Lyons.

Brother Rainald of Arezzo, who was consecrated bishop of Rieti by the Pope.

Also, at this same time Brother Rainald of Arezzo from the province of Tuscany was at Lyons. And he had come to Lyons to get the Pope to relieve him from a bishopric. For when he was lector at Rieti, the bishop of that place died and this man had been found so worthy that the canons elected him unanimously as their new bishop. Yet, despite his wishes, Pope Innocent found him so worthy on account of his holiness and learning that he would not absolve him of the duty; rather by the counsel of his Brothers, that is to say, the Cardinals, he commanded him to remain bishop, and, later, he did him the honor of personally consecrating him to the office. And I was present at all these events.

The church of St. Gerard, which was filled with children's shirts.

After this, I resumed my journey down the Rhone and went to Vienne, Grenoble, and through the valley of Savoy, and there I saw the ruins from the fall of the mountain. And I went into a church called the Church of St. Gerard, which was completely filled with children's shirts.⁹⁰

The bishop of Embrun, who sought to have two Friars Minor at his table every day.

Then I went to the city of Embrun. And a Piacenzan was bishop there, who wished to have two Friars Minor for dinner with him every day. And he always prepared all kinds of delicacies for them at his table. And if the Friars Minor came, he fed them; if not, he gave the food to other poor men. Thirteen Brothers were living in that region. The Guardian of that convent came to me and said, "Brother, if it please you, why don't you go to eat with the archbishop, for, since no Brothers have eaten with him for a long time, he will be very happy to have you. The Brothers here find themselves heavily burdened by having to eat with him so often." But I answered, "Father, forgive us, and don't take our refusal ill, because we wish to leave without delay immediately after dinner. But he would delay our journey with his questions, especially after learning that we have just come from the curia." When he heard this, the Guardian desisted in his efforts, but I said aside to my companion, "I think we should return as quickly as we can with our news for those who sent us, certainly before the Minister General gets to Genoa ahead of us. For, in that case, our Minister, Nantelmo, would not be as pleased with our trip." And my companion wholly agreed with my observation.

The archbishop of Embrun who became a Cardinal and was later Papal legate in Lombardy.

Embrun was the city whose archbishop was miraculously convicted of simony at Lyons by Hildebrand, the prior of Cluny and Papal legate, as we have said before.⁹¹ Also, much later, that is, in my own time, the archbishop of this district was made a Cardinal. And he was a very fine man of honorable and holy life, with great ability in singing and learning. Once, when a jongleur played a viol in his presence, and then sought a reward for his performance, the archbishop

said to him, "If you wish to eat, I will feed you gladly for the love of God, but I will give you nothing for your singing and playing on the viol, for I can do that as well as you can." This archbishop always kept two Friars Minor in his household, but he was not the Piacenzan that I spoke of above.

After leaving this city, we went through the land of Dauphiné⁹² and arrived at Susa, which is in the province of Genoa. And when we came to Alessandria in Lombardy, we met there two Brothers from the convent at Genoa: Brother Martin the Cantor and Brother Ruffino of Alessandria. And my companion, Brother William Blancardo said to them, "We are losing Brother Salimbene and his companion, who is in Genoa, because Brother Ruffino, the Minister of Bologna, is recalling them to his province. I myself, although I am a Genoan, do not wish to come to Genoa, but wish to return to my own convent at Novara, where the Minister found me when he sent me to the Minister General. We have labored faithfully and performed all our duties well, and we have left at Lyons Brother Peter Lanerio, Guardian of Genoa, who also went to see the Minister General there, and Brother Bugiolo, who is remaining with the Pope, his relative. And if there is anything at all that we left unfinished, we trust that they will complete the business well. Moreover, the Minister General himself will shortly be coming through Genoa, because he is on his way to Greece where he has been sent by the Pope and indeed sent for by the Greeks themselves. In the meantime, accept these letters from the Minister General to Brother Nantelmo, the Minister." Then he pulled out the letters and gave them to my companions.

The next day we travelled from Alessandria to Tortona, a journey of ten miles, and on the following day we left Tortona and made our way to Genoa, which is a very long trip. And when the Brothers saw me, they rejoiced, because I had returned from a long journey and, besides, I was bearing good news. Both the Minister and Brother Stephen Anglicus asked me whether the Minister General had visited Spain. And I said, "No, because the Pope recalled him for the mission to the Greeks. He is sending him to the Greeks who, as Vatatzes has written, desire to be reconciled to the Roman Church. And I expect him to come through Genoa very soon, and [Isaiah 66.14] 'you shall see' him 'and your heart shall rejoice,' because he will 'comfort you'" [Isaiah 66.13].

Brother Rainald of Arezzo, a Friar Minor and bishop of Rieti.

After a few days Brother Rainald the bishop returned from Lyons, and on the day of the Ascension he preached to the people and, in the church of the Friars Minor at Genoa, he celebrated Mass in his mitre. At that time I was a priest and, although at that service there were present a deacon and a subdeacon and many other Ministers, I myself served him at Mass. And the bishop gave a splendid dinner to the Brothers of seafood and many other delicacies, and he ate with us in the refectory in a friendly, down-to-earth manner.

Brother Stephen Anglicus preaches to the Brothers and, in his very presence, rebuked the bishop of Rieti.

Early the next morning just after matins Brother Stephen Anglicus preached to the Brothers in the presence of the bishop, and, among his usual eloquent words, he related the following brief exemplum to the embarrassment of the bishop: "There was once in England a certain Friar Minor, a lay Brother and a very holy man, who said that when the Easter candle is lighted in the church, it burns brightly and sends forth its light, but when the snuffer is placed on it, it goes out and stinks. So it is with a certain Friar Minor. When he is lighted in the Order of the Blessed Francis, he burns with divine love and shines brightly and illuminates others through his good example. I noticed yesterday at dinner how our bishop suffered the Brothers to genuflect before him when they placed food before him at the table. And so the Brother's observation about the Easter candle fits him perfectly." When he heard this, the bishop groaned in his spirit, and at the end of the sermon—in the absence of the Provincial Minister—he prayed on bended knees to the Custodian, Brother Bertolino, a gentle man who was afterward Minister, to grant him the opportunity to speak. And when his request was granted, he excused himself very well, saying that truly he had been a lighted candle, shining in the Order of St. Francis, giving a good example to others, "as Brother Salimbene, who lived with me for two years in the convent at Siena, very well knows and who is truly aware of the reputation of my past life among the Brothers of Tuscany. Also, the older Brothers of that convent know me very well indeed, for I was sent from that convent to the University of Paris to study. And if the Brothers here honored me by genuflecting at dinner, this did not occur because of my ambition, because they surely know from my conversation that they should not do such things. And it was not my ambition to lord it over them with my bishop's staff, and I could not, and would not dare, to command them. Therefore, may you hold me excused, I pray for the love of God, knowing full well that in me there is no ambition or vainglory. For I know that Holy Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 11 [4]: 'Be not exalted in the day of thy honour' and elsewhere, 'He shall entertain and feed, and give drink to the unthankful, and moreover he shall hear bitter words,' Ecclesiasticus 29" [31]. And saying such things on bended knees—as I myself saw and heard—he confessed his sin if he had set a bad example for anyone, and promised that as soon as possible he would remove the candle snuffer that had been imposed on him against his will. Then he recommended himself to the prayers of the Brothers, and, out of honor for him, we led him to a certain monastery of White Monks near Genoa, where there was living a certain old man who had voluntarily laid aside the bishopric of Torino in order to worship the Lord more freely in the cloister.

The bishop of Torino rebukes Brother Rainald for accepting a bishopric.

When this old man heard that Brother Rainald was a great clerk and that he had recently been made a bishop, he sighed and said to him: "I marvel that a wise man like you should have allowed himself to become so foolishly entrapped as to become a bishop, especially since you were in the noblest of orders, the Order of the Blessed Francis, the Order of the Minorites, the Order of supreme perfection, in which [Matthew 24.13] 'he that shall persevere to the end,' without a doubt, 'shall be saved.' For in that Order it was better for you 'to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud,' Proverbs 16 [.19]. It seems to me that you have erred greatly, almost to the point of apostacy, for, although you were in a state of perfection in the contemplative life, you have now regressed to the active life. Whence it is that the Lord says through the prophet, and the Apostle repeats it in Hebrews 10 [.38]: 'my just man liveth by faith; but if he withdraw himself he shall not please my soul.' I myself was a bishop like you, but when I saw that I was completely unable to correct the foolish acts of my clerks, who [Jeremiah 2.5]: 'have walked after vanity, and are become vain,' [Job 7.15]: 'my soul rather chooseth hanging, and my bones death.' Therefore, I cast off my bishopric and my clerks, and chose rather to save my own soul than to lose both myself and them 'in hell' [Matthew 10.28]. And I did this by the example of St. Benedict, who deserted some monks whom he had found to be dishonorable and evil."

The response made to the bishop of Torino from Holy Scripture and the words of Innocent.

When Brother Rainald heard these words, he made no response at all, although he was a learned and eloquent man—because he had heard what he wanted to hear and because he knew the bishop had spoken the truth. For the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 4 [.30]: "In nowise speak against the truth." But then I myself responded and made answer to the bishop of Torino, lest he should [Proverbs 26.5] "imagine himself to be wise." "Behold, father, you have said that you cast off your clerks, but consider whether you acted properly. For it is recorded in Zachariah 11 [.17]: 'O shepherd, and idol, that forsaketh the flock'; and also in Jeremiah 13 [.20]: 'where is the flock that is given thee, thy beautiful cattle?' Among many other things on the subject, Pope Innocent III also said to a certain bishop who wanted to lay aside his office, Decretals, Book I, under the rubric 'Renunciation': 'Do not think that Martha who busied herself with many duties chose the evil way, simply because Mary chose the best way which may not be taken away from her. For the one may be the more secure, but the other is the more fructuous; the one, the sweeter, the other, the more useful. A prelate should be like the bleary-eyed Leah in fecundity; like Rachel in beauty [cf. Genesis 29.17]. For you may be both active and contemplative at once, by the example set by the Law-giver, who at the one time ascended the mountain in order to see the glory of God better, and at the next descended to the encampments to minister

to the needs of the people. Wherefore, a monk's ascent to a high office in the Church is to be tolerated more than a prelate's descent to the level of a monk.' And below: 'And we admonish that you not refuse the labor of the pastoral office, lest perchance he (who like the solicitous Martha, did not scorn to minister in bringing you to Himself) refuse to receive you, with Mary, at his feet. Yet since you insist on your right to give up the office, let us point out that there are indeed certain clear reasons for which one may legitimately give up an office and if you persevere in your decision for an honorable and correct reason, you may give up the office with our full consent. In any other case, however, I give you to understand that the permission to refuse the office is absolutely forbidden you by the apostolic authority. For the wings by which you seek to fly in solitude are bound by the bonds of our commands, and you are not permitted to fly freely without our permission.'"

A bishop has the right to decline his office for six reasons.

"The reasons for giving up an office, which I mentioned above, were enumerated by Innocent III when he said: 'May you understand that these are the causes for which a bishop may legitimately give up his office: consciousness of a sin, debility of body, lack of adequate learning, the hostility of the people, a grave scandal, and irregularity of personal conduct. In every other case, one must proceed cautiously.' " As I was saying these things, the two bishops were listening carefully, but Brother Rainald made no reply whatsoever, lest he appear to desire the episcopal office. In his mind, however, he had already decided to cast off the imposed burden, just as quickly as the opportunity arose.

Yet he went to his bishopric, and the canons came to see him immediately. And they reported to him about a certain young and lascivious canon, who looked more like a layman than a clerk, because he wore his hair long, down to the shoulders, and would not preserve his tonsure. And so the bishop dragged him by the hair and slapped him. And he called in the young man's parents and relatives, who were rich, powerful, and noble people, and he said to them; "Let this son of yours either choose the life of a layman or let him bear himself like a clerk, because I will not suffer him to behave as he is now doing." And his parents answered the bishop, "We want him to be a clerk, and you may do with him as seems good and proper to you." Then the bishop himself cut his hair, and he gave him a huge, round tonsure, so that wherein he had offended so grievously before, he amended later. And the young man was very much aggrieved, but his fellow canons rejoiced greatly.

Brother Rainald resigns the bishopric before the Pope and the Cardinals.

When Brother Rainald, however, could not assuage his conscience for the deeds of his clerks, being completely unable to bring them to an honorable and proper way of living, he went to the High Pontiff, Innocent IV, who had come to Genoa, and resigned from the high office that the Pope had imposed on him at Lyons,

saying that in no wise could he remain a bishop. And seeing the anguish of his spirit, the Pope promised to absolve him, later, when he came into Tuscany. For the Pope was hoping that Brother Rainald would perhaps change his mind—which, however, he did not do. Then Brother Rainald went to Bologna and stayed there many days, hoping the Pope would go through that city on his way to Tuscany. When the Pope was at Perugia, however, Brother Rainald went in to him, and in consistory before all the Cardinals he resigned from his office and all its benefits, placing all of his episcopal accoutrements—his staff, mitre, and ring—at the feet of the High Pontiff. And the Cardinals were amazed and not a little disturbed because Brother Rainald's action seemed to reflect adversely on them as if they themselves were not in a state of salvation, in full enjoyment as they were of the honors of high position. The Pope was also disturbed, since he had personally consecrated him to that office and since he believed, as did everybody else, that he had conferred that honor on a man perfectly suited to the church at Rieti—as he indeed was. Therefore, the Cardinals and the Pope prayed him over and over again for the love of God, for their own honor, for the good of the Church, and for the salvation of souls, not to give up that office. But he always answered that they were laboring in vain in trying to persuade him. And the Cardinals said, “‘what if’ an angel ‘hath spoken to him’ [Acts 23.9] or God has revealed such things to him.” Finally, seeing the obstinacy of his spirit, the Pope said to him, “Although you refuse to take upon yourself the trouble and care of the pastoral office, at least retain the accoutrements of the office, the honor and authority (and your Order will share in these with you), for some good may come of it.” But he responded, “I will retain nothing whatsoever.” Thus, finally, absolved from the office, he returned to the Brothers, and on that same day that he was absolved, he asked for the alms basket that he might go out and beg for bread.

The answer Brother Rainald gave a certain Cardinal when he was going about begging his bread.

And as he was going about begging in the city of Perugia, a certain Cardinal, who was returning from the consistory, met him, perhaps by divine will, so that he might see, speak, and hear. And recognizing him, the Cardinal said, “Would it not have been better for you to have remained bishop than to go about begging from door to door? Does the Lord not say that ‘it is a more blessed thing to give, rather than to receive’?” [Acts 20.35]. But Brother Rainald replied, “The Wise Man says in Proverbs that it ‘is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud.’ [16.19]. And to your second remark I reply that truly it is more blessed to give spiritual things than to beg from others. And this is just what the Friars Minor do. Whence the Apostle, I Corinthians 9 [.11]: ‘If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?’ as if to say ‘it is not great.’ See also the passage in Psalms [80.3] ‘take a psalm and bring hither the timbrel,’ that is, ‘take up spiritual things and give temporal things.’” And Brother Rainald added, “Know, reverend father, that the Scrip-

ture says: 'but I am a beggar and poor: the Lord is careful for me' [Psalms 39.18], and 'I am poor, and in labours from my youth' [Psalms 87.16]. But I see that just as the blessed Job says, 12 [.4-5]: 'for the simplicity of the just man is laughed to scorn. The lamp despised in the thoughts of the rich, is ready for the time appointed.' But I do not stand in awe of anything that they have, and nothing whatsoever interests me, for the Apostle says, I Corinthians 3 [.18-19]: 'if any man among you seem to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God,' and the Lord himself said, Luke 16 [.15]: 'that which is high to men, is an abomination before God.' Wherefore, I will hold to the way that I learned in the Order of the Blessed Francis until the very end, for the blessed Job says, 27 [.5-6]: 'till I die I will not depart from my innocence. My justification, which I have begun to hold, I will not forsake!' Truly, 'every one hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that,' as the Apostle says, I Corinthians 7 [.7]. But [Psalms 19.8]: 'Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will hope in 'the name of the Lord our God.'"

When he heard all these things, the Cardinal recognized that God had spoken through his saint, and the next day he reported everything that he had learned from the mendicant bishop to the Pope and the Cardinals, and they all marvelled.

Brother Rainald dies in the convent at Siena and heals a paralyzed man.

Brother Rainald asked the Minister General, John of Parma, to send him to whatever convent he wished, and he sent him to live in the convent at Siena, where he was well known. And he lived there from the feast of All Saints until after Christmas, at which time he died and went to the Lord. And as he lay sick "of the sickness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.14], there was a canon in the cathedral at Siena who had lain paralyzed in bed for six years. With all the powers of his mind, this man recommended himself to Brother Rainald, and very early in the morning he heard a voice saying to him in a dream, "May you know that Brother Rainald has passed from this world and gone to the Father, and on account of his great merit with the Lord, God has granted you full and complete health." Then he awakened immediately and, feeling himself fully healed, he called his boy to bring his clothes to him, and hastening to the room of his friend and fellow canon, he recounted the splendid miracle to him. Then they made their way in haste to the Brothers to tell them of this unmistakable miracle that the Lord had deigned to perform on account of the merits of the blessed Rainald. And as they were going out the gate of the city, they heard the Brothers singing as they were bearing the body of Rainald to the Church. Therefore, they attended the funeral service and immediately recounted the miracle with great joy. Then the Brothers rejoiced and said, "Blessed be God for all his gifts and the saint for all his works: 'Thou art the God. Who alone doth great wonders: God is wonderful in his saints: the God of Israel is he who will give power and strength to his people. Blessed be God.' [Psalms 76.15, 135.4, 67.36]. Amen."

This was Brother Rainald of Arezzo, the Friar Minor and bishop of Rieti, who "in his life did great wonders, and in death he wrought miracles" [Ecclesiasticus 48.15], because he chose rather "to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud" [Proverbs 16.19]. He was a most learned man, a great lecturer in theology, and a devout preacher, pleasing to both the general populace and the learned. He was extremely eloquent and never stumbled in his speech, a man of magnificent heart. I lived with him for two years in the convent at Siena, and I saw him many times in Lyons and Genoa. He helped me to become subdeacon, while he himself was still a man without any office. I would not have believed, on any man's report, that Tuscany could have produced such a man, if I had not myself seen it with my own eyes.

The abbot of Bertinoro, brother of Rainald, a learned and holy man, who was a friend and especial benefactor of the Friars Minor.

Brother Rainald had a brother in the Order of Vallombrosa or Umbrosa, who was abbot in the monastery of Bertinoro in Romagna. He was a holy, learned, and good man, a very close friend of the Friars Minor. May his soul rest in peace.

The two companions from Great Britain and the town of Bertinoro.

Now, this town got its name in the following way: two companions from Great Britain were returning from the Papal court, where they had gone for devotional reasons in order to visit the holy places. On their way back through Romagna, they built a small hermitage on a certain mountain where they might settle down and live the eremitic life. In the process of time, however, a large number of people came to live there, and a beautiful little town grew up, which is still called today Bertinoro [*Britinorium*] after those original hermits who had come from Great Britain. I once knew the names of these two men, but now I cannot call them to memory. They are considered saints.

The capture of King Enzo near Modena by the Bolognese.

In 1249 the podestà of Genoa was Lord Albert Malavolta of Bologna, and on the day of Pentecost he came to the convent of the Friars Minor in order to hear Mass. I was there at the time, and Brother Pentecost was sacristan, a holy, honorable, and good man. And when Brother Pentecost started to ring the bell in the podestà's honor, the podestà said, "Wait, hear what I have to say first, for I bring excellent news: on May 26, the Bolognese captured King Enzo, along with a huge number of Cremonese, Modenese, and Germans."

King Enzo's characteristics. Brother Albertino of Verona plays at dice so that King Enzo's guards will not deprive him of food.

This King Enzo, like Henry, was the natural, that is to say, the illegitimate, son of the sometime Emperor Frederick, now deposed. He was a valiant and magnanimous man, that is, a man "of proud heart" [Isaiah 10.12], an experi-

enced man of arms. And, when he wished, he was a man of good company, a composer of songs. In battle he was a daring man who exposed himself to dangers with great courage. He was a handsome man of medium stature. At the time of his capture, he was ruler of Reggio, Cremona, and Modena. The Bolognese kept him in prison in the city palace for many years, until the end of his life. Once, however, his guards decided to feed him no longer, but Brother Albertino of Verona went to them. Brother Albertino was a fine preacher and a Friar Minor, and he begged the guards for the love of God and himself to continue giving food to King Enzo. And when they completely refused to heed his prayers, he said to them, "I'll play at dice with you, and if I win, I win the right to give food to King Enzo." They agreed, and he played, and won, and took food to the king. And he visited with the king on a very friendly and informal basis. And everyone who heard of Brother Albertino's bargain, praised his charity, courtesy, and liberality. In the battle in which King Enzo was captured, some men escaped by flight, some were killed, and some were imprisoned and kept in chains.

About Lord Guido de Sesso and the men who were hanged at Rolo, and about the insults and injuries which the men of the imperial party did to the Church.

Lord Guido de Sesso, a powerful man of the Imperial party in Reggio, perished by suffocation when his horse fell in full flight in the cess-pool of the lepers at Modena. This man was a terrible enemy against the Church party. Thus once when the king had captured a large number of the men of the Church party in Rolo in the bishopric of Reggio, they were sentenced to be hanged. Yet when they asked for the right of confession Lord Guido de Sesso would not allow it, saying, "You have no need to confess, because being of the Church party you are already holy. So, you will go to paradise immediately." And so they were hanged without the benefit of confession.

Moreover, once when the war was very fierce between the Church and the Empire, Guido de Sesso came to the convent of the Friars Minor with a company of evil men, and having gathered all the Brothers together he asked each one where he was from; he had a notary with him who took down the names of all the Brothers, and he said to each one, "Go you your way, and go you likewise, and never dare again to show your face in this convent or in this city." And so they cast all of them out, save for a few who were the caretakers of the place, and even these when they went about the city begging their necessities were greeted with insults and accusations that they were bearing treasonous letters and that they themselves were traitors against the Emperor. Thus neither the Friars Minor nor the Preachers passing through that area dared to enter the cities of Modena, Reggio, or Cremona. And if on occasion some Brothers ignorant of the circumstances did enter these cities, they were immediately led to the communal palace, held in custody, and fed "with bread of affliction, and water of distress" [III Kings 22.27] for some days, and then shamefully tortured, expelled, and put to flight from the city, and sometimes even killed. In Cremona and Borgo San Donnino indeed

many were tortured. In Modena, some Preachers carrying molds for making the holy wafers were captured, and were taken ignominiously to the communal palace with the accusation that they had a press for making counterfeit money. Moreover, these men of the Imperial party did not even spare their own brothers, despite the fact that their relatives were said to be — and indeed were — totally dedicated to the Imperial cause, although they themselves were not. For Brother Jacopo of Pavia was expelled and shamefully put to flight by these men, and so was Brother John of Bibbiano, Brother Jacopo of Brescello, and many others. And, to speak briefly, all the men of the convent at Cremona, who were of the Church party, were dispersed. And I myself was present in the year when my city Parma, that is, my native city, rebelled against the Emperor. Later, they made Brother Hugh of Gavassa wait for a long time at the gate of the city of Reggio and would not give him permission to enter, even though he had many blood brothers in that city who were of the Imperial party. What more can one say? These were diabolical men.

Julian de Sesso, who was a terrible persecutor of the Church, for which God struck him down.

Among these evil men especially was a certain Julian de Sesso. He was a doctor of law, aged, and "grown old in evil days" [Daniel 13.52]. King Enzo made this man justice over Cremona, Reggio, and Modena, and he had some of the Fogliani family hanged, and many other men killed, simply because they were of the Church party. This Julian de Sesso used to boast and say to his friends, "See, see, how we treat these thieves." Truly, this Julian was a limb of the devil himself. As a result, God struck him with paralysis, so that the whole of one side withered away and one eye protruded from his head, and although it remained in its original place it looked like an arrow sticking forth so that it was horrible to look upon. Also, his flesh became so fetid that nobody could come near him on account of the stench, nobody except his lover, a certain little German girl. The beauty of this girl was so great that the man who would not gladly look upon her was considered altogether too serious-minded. This Julian was the son of a certain illegitimate member of the Sesso family. The prophet Isaiah speaks of him in the last chapter [65.20]: "the child being a hundred years old shall be accursed." Also the poet:

A bastard son will never advise anything honorable.⁹³

For in full council, on a number of occasions, he said that it would be better to eat plaster than to make peace with the Church party. He himself, however, ate fine capons, while the poor were dying of hunger. What more? The prosperity of evil men does not long endure in this world. For [Psalms 106.26]: "they mount up to the heavens, and" afterward "they go down to the depths": and "their soul pines away with" multitudinous "evils." The wind changed, and the Church party began to prosper, for Jesus who had been sleeping awakened and [Matthew 8.26]: "commanded the winds, and the sea, and there came a great calm." And

this wretch was put to flight and was carried in secret out of the city of Reggio, and he passed from this world in his great stench, excommunicate, and accursed, without confession, without communion, and without satisfaction, and went to his father the devil, whom he had sought to imitate all his life. And he was buried in a pit in the village of Campagnola, as is written about a certain king of the Jews in Jeremiah 22 [.19]: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, rotten and cast forth without the gates of Jerusalem."

The Parmese and the men banished from Reggio did much damage to Reggio.

Also in that year of 1249, the Parmese in league with the men banished from Reggio burned Reggio's Bridge of St. Stephen, the Bridge of Porta Bernone, Borgo of Agnistanti, and Borgo of Porta Bernone.

The Crostolo floods and destroys the bridges over it.

And on the 10th of June, the Crostolo flooded and destroyed the bridges over it, and the flood reached all the way up to Modolena.

Lord Simon, son of John Boniface, a great warrior for the Church party in the time of the Great War.

In the same year in the month of August, Lord Simon, son of Lord John Boniface de Manfredi, entered Novi, Rolo, and Santo Stefano, villages in the bishopric of Reggio. This man was a noble, fine, and powerful ally of the Church; he was a friend of mine, and a great warrior in the time of the Great War. And many men who were extremely bitter because they had been cast out of their houses joined him and followed him as their prince. And his name became renowned, because he performed many deeds worthy of record necessitated by the viciousness of the war at that time—burning, capturing, destroying, and killing.

The earthquake.

In that same year in the month of September, between the ninth hour and Vespers, a great earthquake took place. And in that same year in September the Bolognese, the exiles from Modena, and the men of Romagna burned the outskirts of Modena and bombarded the city.

The siege of Modena, and Ezzelino da Romano, who captured Este and other lands of the Marquis d'Este.

The rebuilding of Brescello.

And Ezzelino da Romano captured Este and other lands that belonged to the Marquis d'Este, because Azzo, the Marquis, was with the Parmese engaged in rebuilding Brescello. And the Modenese were in league with the Bolognese, and they had two podestá, one for each side; they recovered all their captives, who were being held in chains.

In that same year also after the feast of St. Anthony of Padua or of Spain,⁹⁴

who was a Friar Minor, I left the convent of Genoa with my companion, and we went to Bobbio, and there we saw one of the urns which the Lord used in turning the water into wine at the wedding of Cana. At least, it is said to be one of those; whether it is or not, the Lord knows, to whom "all things are naked and open" [Hebrews 4.13]. This urn is on the altar in the monastery at Bobbio, and it is filled with relics. There are many relics of St. Columbanus there, which we saw ourselves. Afterward, we went to Parma, where we had both been born, and there we performed our duties.

After our departure from Genoa, the Minister General himself, Brother John of Parma, came there. And the Brothers of the convent said to him, "Father, why have you taken away from us the two Brothers that you sent us? For we rejoiced that you had sent them to us, since they are very good and companionable Brothers and they have behaved themselves well." Then the Minister answered, "And where are they? Are they not in this convent?" And they responded, "No, father, because Brother Ruffino, the Minister of Bologna, has recalled them to his province." Then the Minister said, "God knows that I knew nothing of this command, for I thought they were in this convent, and I marvel greatly that they did not come to me." Afterward, he met us in Parma, and with an amused expression on his face, he said to us, "You travel around a great deal, boys — now in France, now in Burgundy, now in Provence, now in the convent at Genoa, now in Parma. If I myself could settle down in one place as you can, I wouldn't run around so much." And I said to him, "The labor of travelling about is incumbent upon you, father, because of the duties of your office, according to the words of the Lord to his Apostles, John 15 [.16]: 'I have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit; and your fruit should remain.' It is also written of Elijah that he went 'whithersoever he had a mind,' III Kings 19 [.3]. With respect to us, however, may you know that we have simply obeyed the commands given us." Hearing this, he was satisfied, for he loved us.

Later, however, when we were in Bologna, on a certain day Brother John of Parma said to Brother Ruffino, the Minister, "I placed these two Brothers in the convent at Genoa for purposes of study, and you have pulled them out." And Brother Ruffino answered, "Father, I did this for their consolation, for I sent them into France during the time that the Emperor was laying siege to Parma. Thus in recalling them, I thought I was doing them a favor." Then I said to the Minister General, "It was just as he says, father." And so the Minister General said to him, "All right then, settle them well, and let them turn their minds to their studies, and quit running about so much." Then Brother Ruffino replied; "Gladly, father. I will treat them well — for your love and theirs." Therefore, he kept my companion at Bologna and set him to correcting his own personal Bible but he sent me to Ferrara, where I lived continually for seven years without changing convent.

The capture of Louis, king of France, by the Saracens in the Holy Land.

In the year of the Lord 1250, King Louis of France was captured by the Saracens, and a large part of the army that went on Crusade with him was killed. But even before this, huge numbers perished from the plague and hunger, for there was a dearth of edible food and they were unused to the climate of those lands.

The humility of the king of France, the regaining of Damietta, and the rebuilding of many cities.

Finally, however, Damietta was recaptured, the king was rescued, and the Saracens defeated. And returning to the places held by the Christians, the king rebuilt Caesarea Philippi and many other cities, fortifying them with walls, buildings, and towers. While his army was divided into four parts in order to expedite the work, however, the Saracens overran one of those groups of unarmed laborers and killed them all. When the king, who was at that time in another section, learned of this disaster, he came there in haste and had a deep trench dug, and he buried them with his own hands, shunning neither the labor nor the great stench. The king's soldiers marvelled at such great humility. Thus the passage in Ruth about Boaz, 2 [.20], is fitting for this king: "Blessed be he of the Lord: because the same kindness which he shewed to the living, he hath kept also to the dead."

The Church party inflicts many injuries on the men of Reggio. The Imperial party fights against the men of Parma, captures their carroccio, and takes three thousand captives.

And in that same year in June on the feast of St. Vitus⁹⁵ the men of Reggio suffered great injuries from the combined forces of the Bolognese, the Modenese, the exiles from Reggio, the Parmese, the men of Romagna, the Tuscans, and the Ferrarese. And the battle raged from the southern part of the highway all the way up to the moat of the city of Reggio, and the right of toll was given to the Parmese. But the men from Reggio went to Novi and burned the outskirts, laying waste to the whole territory and capturing many men and beasts of burden. They also captured Campagnola and two hundred men. Later, on Thursday after the feast of the blessed Virgin Mary, on August 18, the exiles from Parma who belonged to the Imperial party came to Borgo San Donnino and occupied it in opposition to Parma. These men were allied with the Modenese and had Uberto Pellavicino, the marquis, as their captain. The Parmese came out of the city with their carroccio to do battle with this army, and the two forces met in the place called Agrola, where Victoria had once stood. And the battle raged fiercely, but only on the main highway, because they could not go out into the fields on account of the holes and pits. Only the knights themselves on both sides engaged in battle, and not even all of these, because the highway was not large enough to accommodate a full battle. And the Marquis of Monte Lupo, a great warrior and [Luke 11.21] "a strong man armed," laid low huge numbers of the Parmese and the Cremonese in the highway. For he was an experienced man of war and

powerful and secure as a lion. Yet he was finally overcome in the highway and killed.

Here are listed the various marquis of Monte Lupo, the nephews of Lord Bernard Roland Rossi.

This man was the nephew of Lord Bernard Roland Rossi, the brother-in-law of Pope Innocent IV. He was the son of Lord Bernard's sister, and he had five brothers — all of whom were great barons, and their residence was in Cò di Ponte in Parma. The first of these was Lord Hugo; the second Lord Guido; the third Lord Roland; the fourth Lord Monte Lupo, of whom I have just been speaking; the fifth Lord Gottfried. This latter man was a great and powerful warrior in the Order of the Templars,⁹⁶ where he was highly reputed because he was a marquis. I myself have seen and known all of these men. And they were called the marquis of Monte Lupo of Soragna after one of their villas, which lies just five miles north of Borgo San Donnino.

Now, when the exiles from Parma who were of the Imperial party began to see that the tide was going against them in the abovementioned battle, they suddenly turned aside and made an assault on the city itself, running and crying out, "To the city, to the city!" Therefore, hearing this, the citizens who had left Parma to join in the battle suddenly rushed back to the city, leaving behind their carroccio and the knights fighting in the highway. Yet when they tried to enter, the bridge over the moat broke down and large numbers of them were drowned. Nevertheless, by the Grace of God the enemies did not dare to enter the city, because the Blessed Virgin, Parma's patron saint, did not desert her own. Yet because of their sins and the adverse times, the Parmese within the city still suffered a great misfortune: the enemy captured their carroccio, which they had deserted in the street, and three thousand of their infantry and many knights were killed.

The Podestà of Parma at that time was Lord Catellano de Carbonisi of Bologna, and he was not captured because he knew very well how to take care of himself. The enemy tied up all the Parmese captives on the shore of the Taro, as Lord Ghiaratto told me, who was himself a captive there, and there were so many, he said, that he thought all of the Parmese had been captured. The enemies then took all of these captives to Cremona and chained them up in prisons, and in order that the captives might the more quickly ransom themselves as well as simply to take vengeance on them, they treated them harshly with mockery and derision: they hung them up by the hands and feet in their cells, and pulled out their teeth in a terrible and horrible manner, and placed toads in their mouths. And all sorts of new tortures were invented at that time. The Cremonese were extremely harsh against the Parmese prisoners, but the exiled Parmese were even worse. For they violated the command of the Lord in Leviticus 19 [.18]: "Seek not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.6]: "Remember not any injury done thee by thy neighbour, and do thou nothing by deeds of injury." They violated these commands because they killed many of the prisoners.

The Scripture in II Machabees 6 [.12-13] is appropriate for those men from Parma to whom these things happened: "Now I beseech those that shall read this book, that they be not shocked at these calamities, but that they consider the things that happened, not as being for the destruction, but for the correction of our nation. For it is a token of great goodness when sinners are not suffered to go on in their ways for a long time, but are presently punished," et cetera.

In the process of time the Parmese are avenged on those who did so many evils to them in the time of war.

In the process of time the Parmese of the Church party were fully avenged on the Cremonese, the exiled Parmese of Borgo San Donnino, and Pellavicino, in accordance with the Scripture [Psalms 136.8]: "O daughter of Babylon, miserable: blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou hast paid us," and Jeremiah 50 [.14-16]: "Prepare yourselves against Babylon round about, all you that bend the bow: fight against her, spare not arrows: because she hath sinned against the Lord. Take vengeance upon her: as she hath done, so do to her. Destroy the sower out of Babylon, and him that holdeth the sickle in the time of harvest: for fear of the sword of the dove," and Isaiah 14 [.22]: "I will destroy the name of Babylon, and the remains, and the bud, and the offspring, saith the Lord." Also, in the person of the Church Jeremiah said in Lamentations 1 [.21-22]: "all my enemies have heard of my evil, they have rejoiced that thou hast done it: thou hast brought a day of consolation, and they shall be like unto me. Let all their evil be present before thee: and make vintage of them, as thou hast made vintage of me for all my iniquities."

This is in accordance with the passage in Jeremiah 2 [.3]: "they that devour him," that is, the people who do not worship properly, "offend: evils shall come upon them, saith the Lord." This was made clear in King Enzo, who was captured by the Bolognese, along with his Cremonese and German allies; and his capture was just retribution, for he had captured on the sea near Pisa the prelates who were on their way to a council in the time of Pope Gregory IX, along with the Pisans who were with them. And thus the curse found in Ecclesiasticus 36 [.11-12] was fulfilled: "let them perish that oppress thy people. Crush the head of the princes of the enemies that say: There is no other beside us." The words of the Lord to Moses are also appropriate to this subject of vengeance, Exodus 33 [.5]: "Say to the children of Israel: Thou art a stiffnecked people; once I shall come up in the midst of thee, and shall destroy thee." Take note that this is a double ascent, that is, from lower to higher and from the hidden to the clear. The Lord said about the first to Moses, Exodus 24 [.12]: "Come up to me into the mount, and be there," and of the second he says, Nahum 3 [.5]: "I will discover thy shame to thy face, and will shew thy nakedness to the nations." When the Lord, therefore, says [Exodus 33.5]: "Once I shall come up in the midst of thee, and shall destroy thee," it is a warning of the Babylonian captivity, or the Roman. This has been a long answer, but the Lord's answer was longer.

Here, in passing, the body of the Lord is treated piously to the place where it is written Frederick II, sometime Emperor," etc.

When the Lord gave manna to the Hebrews in the wilderness, "they said one to another: Manhu! which signifieth: What is this?" Exodus 16 [.15]. Although Moses answered them that "This is the bread, which the Lord hath given you to eat" [Exodus 16.15], the Lord responded to them more truly in Matthew 26 [.26]: "This is my body."

The manna prefigured the body of the Lord for three reasons.

Manna prefigured the body of the Lord for three reasons.

The first is that just as the manna was sent from heaven, so the Lord's body presented in the Mass is daily sent from heaven. Exodus 16 speaks of the first. Thus Psalms [77.24-25] says: "He had rained down manna upon them to eat, and had given them the bread of heaven. Man ate the bread of angels." Of the second Gregory speaks near the end of the fourth book of the *Dialogues*: "In the time of the celebration of the Holy Mass, who among the faithful can doubt that the heavens open at the voice of the priest, that a chorus of angels is present at that mystery of Jesus Christ, that the depths are joined to the heights, that heaven and earth are joined, that invisible things are made visible."⁹⁷ Whence the Lord himself said, John 6 [.41]: "I am the living bread which came down from heaven," and John 3 [.13]: "no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven." Here "by his own power" must be understood. Whence the passage in John 6 [.44]: "No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him."

The son of God may be said to be whole and entire in three separate places.

Note that the Son of God is, in the words of Innocent III, "locally in heaven, personally in the word, and sacramentally on the altar."⁹⁸ When, therefore, the Son of God said [John 3. 13]: "no man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven," one must understand "by his own power," as was said before. Otherwise, the Lord would have spoken to no purpose in John 14 [.2-3]: "I go to prepare a place for you. And if I shall go, and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and will take you to myself; that where I am, you also may be," and John 17 [.24]: "Father, I will that where I am, they also whom thou hast given me may be with me; that they may see my glory which thou hast given me." And he used the words "who is in heaven" because although he was a man and appeared and spoke on earth, he was at one and the same time a pilgrim and the savior of souls. Whence the passage in Psalms [48.3]: "both rich and poor together." The word "ascension" was appropriate for him, because he had descended, as the Apostle says, Ephesians 4 [.9-10]: "Now that he ascended, what is it, but because he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all

the heavens, that he might fill all things." The prophets had earned the descension of the Son of God as in Psalms [143.5]: "Lord, bow down thy heavens and descend," and the Psalmist says that he was heard [17.10]: "He bowed down the heavens, and came down." See also Isaiah 64 [.1]: "O that thou wouldst rend the heavens, and wouldst come down: the mountains would melt away at thy presence," that is, the proud are humbled by seeing you humbled by taking on human flesh. Thus it is added below [Isaiah 64.3]: "Thou didst come down, and at thy presence the mountains melted away," and also Jeremiah 14 [.8-9]: "Why wilt thou be as a stranger in the land, and as a wayfaring man turning in to lodge? Why wilt thou be as a wandering man, as a mighty man that cannot save?" and with respect to the words "as a wayfaring man turning in to lodge," Hosea 11 [.4] said: "He descended to him that he might eat,"⁹⁹ that is to say, he "descended" to humanity.

Sometimes it is good to take communion at Mass, sometimes not, as was shown by the examples of Zacheus and the centurion, one of whom the Lord received gladly, the other he considered unworthy.

The Lord said to Zacheus, Luke 19 [.5-7]: "Zacheus, make haste and come down; for this day I must abide in thy house. And he made haste and came down; and received him with joy. And when all saw it, they murmured, saying, that he was gone to be a guest with a man that was a sinner." But note what the centurion said when the Lord was about to come to his house, Matthew 8 [.8]: "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof: but only say the word, and my servant shall be healed." Thus take note that sometimes, like the centurion, it is good for a man to refuse, that is, to abstain from communion, when he recognizes his own unworthiness. At other times, like Zacheus, it is good for a man to receive, when he knows himself worthy, that is, when he is not guilty of any mortal sin.

The second reason why manna prefigured the Lord's body is that just as it is written of manna, Exodus 16 [.18]: "neither had he more that had gathered more: nor did he find less that had provided less: but every one had gathered, according to what they were able to eat," so is it said of the Lord's body (and it is true) that it is whole and entire in any broken portion of the Host, just as it is whole and entire in the unbroken Host. Whence the words of St. Bernard about the Lord: "It was given to me whole; and whole it was used for my benefit."¹

The third reason is that just as it is written about those who unworthily took up the manna [Exodus 16.20] "it began to be full of worms, and it putrefied," so too it is said of the Lord's body that it is not to be handled or taken unworthily. Thus the Apostle says, I Corinthians 11 [.27-29]: "Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and of the blood of the Lord. But let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord."

And note that the "children of Israel ate manna forty years, till they came to a habitable land: with this meat were they fed, until they reached the borders of the land of Chanaan," as recorded in Exodus 16 [.35]. This is what is recorded in Joshua 5 [.12]: "the manna ceased after they ate of the corn of the land, neither did the children of Israel use that food any more, but they ate of the corn of the present year of the land of Chanaan." Note that the Lord commanded Moses to preserve the manna as a memorial:

And Moses said: This is the word, which the Lord hath commanded: Fill a gomor of it, and let it be kept unto generations to come hereafter, that they may know the bread, wherewith I fed you in the wilderness, when you were brought forth out of the land of Egypt. And Moses said to Aaron: Take a vessel, and put manna into it, as much as a gomor can hold: and lay it up before the Lord to keep unto your generations. As the Lord commanded Moses. And Aaron put it in the tabernacle to be kept.[Exodus 16.32-34].

Churchmen keep an extra reserve of the Host in their churches and oratories for three reasons.

In a similar manner, Churchmen keep a supply of the Lord's body in their churches and oratories for three reasons. First, that they might have it to give communion to the sick whenever necessary.

Second, that we might show to the Host the devout and due reverence which every Christian is bound to for his entire life, that he may be able to say to the Son of God with Tobias 9 [.2]: "If I should give myself to be thy servant I should not make a worthy return for thy care." Whence Isaiah said, 63 [.7-9]:

I will remember the tender mercies of the Lord, the praise of the Lord for all the things that the Lord hath bestowed upon us, and for the multitude of his good things to the house of Israel, which he hath given them according to his kindness, and according to the multitude of his mercies. And he said: Surely they are my people, children that will not deny: so he became their saviour. In all their affliction he was not troubled, and the angel of his presence saved them: in his love, and in his mercy he redeemed them, and he carried them and lifted them up all the days of old.

Also John of Damascus wrote: "O Christ, Word of God, Wisdom, Power, and God omnipotent, what may impoverished people like us do to repay you for all your good? Having given the whole universe, you ask us only to be saved. You gave all this and, moreover, gave grace to those who would receive it out of your ineffable goodness. Thanks be to you, who gave being and added grace to being, and redeemed the fallen out of your ineffable condescension to man."²

Third, because the Lord promised to dwell with us, as he does in the sacrament of the altar. Whence Jeremiah 7 [.3] says: "Make your ways and your doings good: and I will dwell with you in this place," and also the last chapter of

Matthew [28.20]: "behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." Thus Solomon said, II Paralipomenon 6 [.18]: "Is it credible then that God should dwell with men on the earth?" Certainly, this is believable, for "the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us," John 1 [.14].

Those sacristans do wrong who make a point of removing the host from the pyx during a well-attended Mass—for four reasons.

Take note that during conventual Mass when the Brothers are taking communion some sacristans want to change the consecrated host in the pyx and in the temple, where the Lord's body is preserved. And they believe that they are acting properly, but they certainly are not, for four reasons. First, because they upset the service, bother the Brothers, and cause disturbance among the seculars.

Second, because the sacristan himself, if he is a priest, is able to perform this service in a private Mass with only two candle-bearers before the conventual Mass begins.

Third, because he makes use of wafers that were baked at the same time as the Host he removes, that is to say, he has not made new Hosts. Yet, surely, a consecrated Host will keep longer than one that has not been consecrated, both because it is stored in a finer place, and because God himself is present in it, who is the keeper of all things.

And this can be made clear by an example. A certain church was being torn down in Reggio, in the altar of which the body of the Lord had been placed as relics. At that time, the Host was found, and it was just as white and beautiful as on the day it had been consecrated. Yet it had been preserved there for three hundred years, as the memorial record indicated. I got this story from Brother Peregrino of Bologna, who was there and witnessed the event. I do not like this practice of enclosing the Lord's body in the altar as a relic, just as I have never liked the fact that St. Benedict placed the Host on the body of a dead man and buried it with him.³

The fourth and last reason we say they do badly is that although the Lord gave manna to the Children of Israel for forty years, he commanded that the manna be preserved on the first day of that period, not the last. And it was right for it to have been preserved, for manna was a figure of the Lord's body. And how much more truth was preserved thereby, especially since it was written [Psalms 116.2]: "The truth of the Lord remaineth forever."

Some sacristan, however, might respond, "Sometimes there is an overabundance of the consecrated Host, and, therefore, it is necessary for us to place it where the Lord's body is preserved." Yet there are three cautions against such a practice. First, during the service when the Brothers are to take communion, an acolyte ought to go through the choir, while the epistle is being sung, and count the number of Brothers who wish to take communion. Then the subdeacon will be able to place just the right number of Hosts on the paten. The second reason is that the two acolytes whose duty it is to hold the pallium should be the last

to take communion, so that if there is an oversupply of Host, the priest will be able to give it to them. It is worthy to note too, that, as the master of the *Histories* writes, manna is declined *man-na-ne* and *mannatis*, just as *pascha pasce*, and *paschatis*.⁴

Manna may be compared to many things.

It should be noted that manna is compared to dew, hoar frost, the white seed of the Coriander, to white flour, and to honey — all of which are not without their mysterious meaning and can be beautifully adapted to the Son of God. For the Son of God was that dew that Isaac mentioned to his son, Genesis 27 [.39–40]: “In the fat of the earth, and in the dew of heaven from above, Shall thy blessing be.” We had the “fatness of the land,” because “our land,” that is, the Holy Virgin, “hath yielded her fruit” [Psalms 66.7, 84.13]. For “the mountain of God is a fat mountain ” [Psalms 67.16]. We had the dew when God the Father sent dew on the fleece so that Gideon was able to fill a vessel with it; afterward, he sent dew on the land all around, as recorded in Judges 6. The Holy Virgin was signified by the land and the fleece, according to the words [Psalms 71.6]: “He shall come down like rain on the fleece,” and [Psalms 66.7]: “our earth has yielded her fruit,” because [Psalms 84.13]: “the Lord” gave “goodness.” It was written of this land [Psalms 64.10]: “Thou hast visited the earth, and hast plentifully watered it; thou hast many ways enriched it.” The Son of God is also signified by the dew which Isaiah desired, Isaiah 45 [.8]: “Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just: let the earth be opened, and bud forth a saviour: and let justice spring up together: I the Lord have created him.” Isaiah says of this dew to God the Father, 26 [.19]: “thy dew is the dew of the light: and the land of the giants thou shalt pull down into ruin.” Also, the Son of God himself says in the last chapter of Hosea [14.6]: “I will be as the dew, Israel shall spring as the lily.”

Second, manna is compared to hoar frost, Ecclesiasticus 43 [.21]: “He shall pour frost as salt upon the earth: and when it freezeth, it shall become like the tops of thistles.” Grass wastes away in hoar frost, and the Son of God was wasted away in his tribulations. Whence the passage Psalms [118.83]: “I am become like a bottle in the frost.” So Augustine says of the Holy Innocents: “Those who sprang up in the midst of the chill of infidelity like the first buds of the Church sprouting forth and who were wasted by the frost of persecution — these are rightly called the flowers of martyrdom.”⁵ Also, it is written in Exodus [16.14] that “when it had covered the face of the earth, it appeared in the wilderness small, and as it were beaten with a pestle, like unto the hoar frost on the ground.” And it is written of the Son of God, Isaiah 53 [.5]: “But he was wounded for our iniquities, he was bruised for our sins.”

Third, it is written that manna “was like coriander seed white” [Exodus 16.31]. And the bride says of the Son of God in The Song of Songs 5 [.10]: “My beloved is white and ruddy, chosen out of thousands.”

Fourth, it is compared to white flour, which is the delicate wheat flower. And the Son of God is called a flower, as in Isaiah 11 [.1]: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root." This flower says of himself in The Song of Songs 2 [.1]: "I am the flower of the field." The prose of the complaint of the Virgin at the cross employs this image of the flower:

Flower of flowers, Leader of morals,
Reward of rewards,
How grievous the pain of the nails
to you.⁶

Therefore, those sacristans do well who make the Host from the very finest flour, because the Son of God compared himself to a grain of wheat, John 12 [.24], and because manna, the figure of the Lord's body, is said to have had the likeness of wheat flour.

Fifth and last, it is compared to honey. And the Uncreated Wisdom says of himself in Ecclesiasticus 24 [.27]: "For my spirit is sweet above honey, and my inheritance above honey and the honeycomb." Also the Church sings of Christ: "Honey comes forth from the lips of a wise man; his tongue has the sweetness of honey." Thus it is well said in Exodus 16 [.31] that manna "was like coriander seed white, and the taste thereof like to flour with honey," from which comes the finest kind of food. Whence the passage in Ezechiel 16 [.13]: "thou didst eat fine flour, and honey, and oil, and wast made exceeding beautiful: and wast advanced to be a queen." These are the words of the Lord to Jerusalem or to the soul. We are invited to eat this bread by the Psalmist [33.9]: "O taste, and see that the Lord is sweet." Thus the Apostle says, Hebrews 6 [.4-5]: "They have tasted also the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, Have moreover tasted the good word of God, and the powers of the world to come." Also, that same Lord says of himself to Augustine; "I am the food of the great: grow, and you shall eat me. I will not be changed in you like fleshly food, but you will be changed in me."⁷ And indeed such is "the change of the right hand of the most High" [Psalms 76.11], when a man who was, before, carnal, is made totally spiritual, because "all fleshly things are insipid, once one has tasted of the spirit."⁸

And because manna is compared to the sweetness of honey, it is clear why the Wise Man says of honey, Proverbs 24 [.13]: "Eat honey, my son, because it is good, and the honeycomb most sweet to thy throat," and Proverbs 25 [.16] "Thou hast found honey, eat what is sufficient for thee, lest being gluttoned therewith thou vomit it up." And Proverbs 25 [.27]: "As it is not good for a man to eat much honey, so he that is a searcher of majesty, shall be overwhelmed by glory." Also the size of this food, that is, manna, was a gomor, as Moses says, Exodus 16 [.16]: "This is the word, that the Lord hath commanded: Let every one gather of it as much as is enough to eat: a gomor for every man." And a gomor is a tenth part of an ephi, and an ephi holds three measures, as recorded in Ruth 2 [.17]. A

measure is a vessel, which we call a sextarius or a mina. Whence the Lord says, Luke 8 [.16]: "Now no man lighting a candle covereth it with a vessel." And it is recorded in Matthew [5.15]: "Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house." A Parmese measure holds eight sextarios; the Ferarrese measure, 20, because they have more wheat. If such was the Jewish measure, therefore, it should not be said that Ruth carried six measures of barley, with which Boaz burdened her, as recorded in Ruth 3 [.15]. See Deuteronomy 25 [.13-16] on this subject:

Thou shalt not have divers weights in thy bag, a greater and a less: Neither shall there be in thy house a greater bushel and a less. Thou shalt have a just and a true weight, and thy bushel shall be equal and true: that thou mayest live a long time upon the land which the Lord thy God shall give thee. For the Lord thy God abhorreth him that doth these things, and he hateth all injustice.

But enough has been said on this subject. Let us now turn to Frederick II and speak of his death.

The ten misfortunes of Frederick II, sometime Emperor.

Although great, and rich, and powerful, Frederick II, sometime Emperor, had many misfortunes, some of which I shall speak of here. His first misfortune was that his first-born son Henry, who was to reign after him, allied himself with the Lombards against the Emperor's will. Thus Frederick captured him and placed him in chains in prison, and afterward he died a miserable death. Thus the Emperor could say with Job 19 [.19]: "he whom I loved most is turned against me."

His second misfortune was that he wished to subjugate the Church, and make the Pope, the Cardinals, and other prelates barefoot paupers. But he did not attempt this out of divine zeal, but because he was not a good Catholic; because he wanted to acquire the riches and treasures of the Church for himself and his sons, since he was extremely avaricious and covetous; and because he sought to destroy the power of the Church to prevent its moving against him. And his secretaries, in whom he confided, later revealed his scheme. Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus 19 [.8] says: "Tell not thy mind to friend or foe: and if there be a sin with thee, disclose it not." But God did not allow him to perform his will, because he himself says, Zachariah 2 [.8]: "for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye."

His third misfortune was that he wished to conquer the Lombards and could not, for when he won them on the one side he lost them on the other. For they are very "devious and slippery, speaking one thing and doing another, as when one tries to hold an eel or a fish in one's hands—the more tightly one seeks to hang on the more quickly it slips away."⁹

His fourth misfortune was that Pope Innocent IV deposed him from the empire in full council at Lyons, and made known his evil deeds and maliciousness

to the world. Whence the passage in Proverbs 26 [.26]: "He that covereth hatred deceitfully, his malice shall be laid open in the public assembly." Then was fulfilled the word of the Lord in Isaiah 22 [.19]: "I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry."

His fifth misfortune was that while he was still living, his empire was given to another, that is to say, to the Landgrave of Thuringia. And although death carried the Landgrave away soon thereafter, Frederick still had the pain of seeing his empire given over to another. Thus I Kings 2 [.32-33] says: "thou shalt see thy rival in the temple, in all the prosperity of Israel, and there shall not be an old man in thy house for ever, that thy eyes may faint and thy soul be spent." Also, the words of the Lord in Isaiah 22 [.20-21] were fulfilled: "it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliacim the son of Helcias, And I will clothe him with thy robe, and will strengthen him with thy girdle, and will give thy power into his hand." Indeed, it was believed and reported that Frederick had the Landgrave killed, and he could well have done it, for he was an evil man. Thus the words of Daniel 11 [.18-21] were fulfilled:

and he shall cause the prince of his reproach to cease, and his reproach shall be turned upon him. And he shall turn his face to the empire of his own land, and he shall stumble, and fall, and shall not be found. And there shall stand up in his place, one most vile, and unworthy of kingly honour: and in a few days he shall be destroyed, not in rage nor in battle. And there shall stand up in his place one despised, and the kingly honour shall not be given him.

One may take these words of Daniel as one wishes, because the Apostle says: "Let every man abound in his own sense," Romans 14 [.5].

His sixth misfortune was Parma's rebellion from the empire and alliance with the Church, which was the cause of his total destruction.

His seventh misfortune was that when the Parmese captured the city of Victoria which he had built near Parma, they threw down, burned, and totally destroyed the city, and even filled up the moats so that not a vestige remained, according to the words of Apocalypse 17 [.8, 11] the city "which was, and is not." They also put the Emperor and his army shamefully to flight, killed many of his men and led many captive into Parma, according to the words of Isaiah 14 [.2]: "they shall make them captives that had taken them, and shall subdue their oppressors." Moreover, they pillaged the city and captured the imperial treasure. Then the prophecy in Habacuc 2 [.7-8] was fulfilled: "Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee: and they be stirred up that shall tear thee, and thou shalt be a spoil to them? Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all that shall be left of the people shall spoil thee: because of men's blood, and for the iniquity of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein," and Isaiah 33 [.1]: "Woe to thee that spoilest, shalt not thou thyself also be spoiled? and thou that despisest, shalt not thyself also be despised? when thou shalt have made an end of spoiling,

thou shalt be spoiled: when being wearied thou shalt cease to despise, thou shalt be despised." Frederick's voice can be the one recorded in Job 19 [.9]: "He hath stripped me of my glory, and hath taken the crown from my head." The *he* here can be understood either as Pope Innocent IV, who deposed him from the empire, or as the city of Parma, which quite literally spoiled him of his glory and took the crown from his head. For a certain man found the crown in Victoria after the city was destroyed, and carried it publicly in his hands, but the Parmese took the crown from this man, according to the words of Gregory: "He who carries a treasure openly in the public way is asking to be robbed."¹⁰ I saw and knew this man, and likewise saw the crown and held it in my hands, and it was very heavy and of great worth. For this crown, the Parmese paid him two hundred imperial pounds and a house near the church of St. Christine, where in ancient times there had been a watering place for horses. And that man was called Short-step because he was very small. A later passage in Job gives, as it were, the words of Frederick in complaint to God or to Pope Innocent IV or to the city of Parma [19. 10-12]: "He hath destroyed me on every side, and I am lost, and he hath taken away my hope, as from a tree that is plucked up. His wrath is kindled against me, and he hath counted me as his enemy. His troops have come together, and have made themselves a way by me, and have besieged my tabernacle round about."

His eighth misfortune was the rebellion of his own princes and barons, such as Tebaldo Francesco, who fled to Capaccio, but who subsequently died a miserable death at the hands of the Emperor's torturers. Also, Piero delle Vigne, and so many others that it would take too long to name them all. About these men the Emperor could repeat the words of Job 19 [.19]: "They that were sometime my counsellors, have abhorred me: and he whom I loved most is turned against me." The Emperor dearly loved this man Piero delle Vigne, whom he raised up from nothing, according to the words of III Kings 16 [.2]: "I have exalted thee out of the dust." Before, he had been a poor man, but the Emperor made him his secretary and, wishing to honor him fully, gave him the title *logotheta*.

The meaning of logotheta.

This word *logotheta* is made up of *logos* and *theta*, that is "position." And a man is called a *logotheta* who gives the word to the people, or who announces the edict of the Emperor or some prince to the people.

His ninth misfortune was when his son, King Enzo, was captured by the Bolognese. And Enzo's imprisonment was proper and just, because he had captured on the high seas those prelates who were on their way to a council called by Pope Gregory IX. Whence Isaiah 3 [.11]: "Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Such a one is cursed in Ecclesiastes 8 [.13]: "let it not be well with the wicked, neither let his days be prolonged, but as a shadow let them pass away that fear not the face of the Lord." This capture of his son by his enemies could only have been a sword

of pain to the Emperor, for at that time any hope of victory was taken away from him.

The great Lord Pellavicino, whose one eye had been picked out by a cock when he was a boy.

His tenth and last misfortune was when he heard that Marquis Uberto Pellavicino¹¹ wielded more power over the Lombards than he himself could ever do, even though Pellavicino was of his party. Pellavicino was a thin, old man, handicapped from the loss of one eye, for when he was still in the cradle, a cock pecked out one of his eyes, that is, with his beak the cock pulled the boy's eye from his head and ate it.

To these ten misfortunes of Frederick, sometime Emperor, may be added two more to make up the number of twelve. First, because he was excommunicated by Pope Gregory IX. Second, because the Church sought to take the kingdom of Sicily away from him. Yet this action of the Church was not without good reason, for when the Emperor had been sent by the Church to recover the Holy Land, he made peace with the Saracens to the disadvantage of the Christians. Moreover, he had the name of Mohammed publicly sung in the Lord's Temple, as we have described in another chronicle on the twelve evils of Frederick.¹²

This Pellavicino ruled over these cities in Lombardy: Brescia, Cremona, Piacenza, Tortona, Alessandria, Pavia, Milan, Como, and Lodi. And the Emperor was never able to do this. Moreover, Pellavicino was able to call on infantry from Vercelli, Novara, and Bergamo whenever he wished to gather an army for a military operation. The Parmese, likewise, sent him knights and infantry whenever he called on them, although they sent them more out of fear than love, because they were of the Church party. Moreover, they were accustomed to buy off any trouble from him by paying a tribute of two thousand imperial pounds a year. For they considered the words of Ecclesiastes 3 [.1]: "All things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven," and that "there is a time and opportunity for every business," Ecclesiastes 8 [.6], and Ecclesiasticus 1 [.29]: "A patient man shall bear for a time, and afterwards joy shall be restored to him." This is also what the Lord said to the Jews, John 7 [.6]: "My time is not yet come; but your time is always ready," but hear also [Psalms 74.3]: "when I shall take a time, I will judge justices."

The Parmese avenge themselves on Pellavicino.

The Parmese dealt with Pellavicino precisely as this Biblical passage suggests, for when the time was ripe, they got their revenge: they pulled down the palace that he had in Parma in San Alessandro Square, as well as the palace built like a fortress in Soragna. Also, while he was still alive, they took from him lands and villages which he controlled in the bishopric of Parma, and thus recovered all the money they had given him. Whence in I Machabees 12 [.1] it is written: "Jonathan saw that the time served him," he did this deed. Now, in the old days Pellavicino was a citizen of Parma. He was a very generous man, always wishing

to spend lavishly, and therefore he was so poor that he felt he was doing very well indeed if he had two squires to accompany him on lean horses whenever he went out to ride—as I saw with my own eyes. After he took over the rule of all the aforementioned cities, however (which he held for 22 years), he spent twenty-five imperial pounds in his court every day, not to mention bread and wine.

Pellavicino was a man avid for rule, and he destroyed his own kinsmen who gave him the rule over Cremona.

Pellavicino was driven by an avid desire to rule over all men. At the beginning of his rise to power, he gained the rule over Cremona, and he then destroyed those who had raised him to power there, the men of the Summo family—despite the fact that they were on his side and were indeed kinsmen of his. Later, like the Parmese, the Cremonese of the Church party took vengeance on him by destroying his strongest castle, Busseto. Built as it was in a swampy forest in the territory of the three cities Parma, Cremona, and Piacenza, Pellavicino had thought that it could not be taken, even if the whole world came against it. Similarly, the Piacenzans, like the Parmese and the Cremonese, attacked him and pillaged his territories, so that the Scripture might be fulfilled, Habacuc 2 [.6–8]:

Woe to him that heapeth together that which is not his own? how long also doth he load himself with thick clay? Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee: and they be stirred up that shall tear thee, and thou shalt be a spoil to them? Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all that shall be left of the people shall spoil thee: because of men's blood, and for the iniquity of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.

Pellavicino expelled many men from Cremona and tortured and killed many. And he cast off his own wife, Lady Berta, the daughter of Count Rainier of Pisa, because she could not bear him any sons, and he took a new wife, given to him by Ezzelino da Romano. She bore him two sons and three beautiful daughters, who remained unmarried for a long time.

But enough has been said on this subject.

About many tens.

About the death of Frederick II, sometime Emperor.

Note that there were ten plagues of Egypt, ten burdens of Isaiah, and ten horns on the beast described in Apocalypse 17 [.3, 12]. Similarly, I have listed ten misfortunes of Frederick II, sometime Emperor, and Frederick's memory of these misfortunes fulfilled the Scripture in Proverbs 12 [.25]: "Grief in the heart of man shall bring him low," and Proverbs 15 [.13]: "By grief of mind the spirit is cast down."

When Frederick remembered these ten misfortunes, he had such great sadness that he began to be gravely ill, "Of the illness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.14], "And he fell down upon his bed, and knew that he should die" [I Machabees 1.6], "For great grief came more and more upon him, and he made account that he

should die" [I Machabees 6.9]. Then he did what is recorded of Antiochus in I Machabees 6 [.10-13]:

And he called for all his friends, and said to them: Sleep is gone from my eyes, and I am fallen away, and my heart is cast down for anxiety. And I said in my heart: Into how much tribulation am I come, and into what floods of sorrow, wherein now I am: I that was pleasant and beloved in my power! But now I remember the evils that I have done . . . I know therefore that for this cause these evils have found me: and behold I perish with great grief in a strange land.

Also II Machabees 9 [.10-13] relates certain events about that same Antiochus, all of which were fulfilled in Frederick. For it is said there:

And the man that thought a little before he could reach to the stars of heaven, no man could endure to carry, for the intolerable stench. And by this means, being brought from his great pride, he began to come to the knowledge of himself, being admonished by the scourge of God, his pains increasing every moment. And when he himself could not now abide his own stench, he spoke thus: It is just to be subject to God, and that a mortal man should not equal himself to God. Then this wicked man prayed to the Lord, of whom he was not like to obtain mercy.

And below, near the end of the chapter [.28]: "Thus the murderer and blasphemer, being grievously struck, as himself had treated others, died a miserable death in a strange country among the mountains." Frederick, sometime Emperor, died in the year of the Lord 1250 in Apulia in a little town called Florentino, which is about ten miles from the Saracen city Lucera.¹³ And because of the great stench which came from his body, it could not be carried to the city of Palermo, where the kings of Sicily are buried, and so he lies buried there in Florentino.

Many reasons for the separate burial of Frederick II, sometime Emperor.

There are many reasons for the separation of this king's sepulchre from the sepulchres of the kings of Sicily. First, in fulfillment of the Scripture. Thus Isaiah 14 [.19-20]: "as a rotten carcass, Thou shalt not keep company with them, even in burial," that is, with the kings of Sicily, who are buried at Palermo. And I have given the example of Antiochus above. Thus Ecclesiastes 6 [.3-4] says: "he be without burial: of this man I pronounce, that the untimely born is better than he. For he came in vain, and goeth to darkness, and his name shall be wholly forgotten." Second, because so great a stench came from his body that it could not be tolerated, "so that worms swarmed out of the body of this man, and whilst he lived in sorrow and pain, his flesh fell off, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to the army." These things are said of Antiochus in II Machabees 9 [.9], all of which were fulfilled to the letter in Frederick. The third reason is that Prince Manfred, his son, hid the fact of his death, because he wanted to take over the

kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia before his brother Conrad came from Germany.¹⁴ Hence, there were many people who did not believe Frederick was dead, even after he actually was. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of the Sibyl: "It shall sound among the people: 'he lives' and 'he lives not.'"¹⁵ Therefore, she foresaw that his death would be hidden.

Where Frederick, sometime Emperor, died and the date of his death.

Frederick died on the feast of St. Cecilia,¹⁶ virgin, in the year of the Lord 1250, and he had been crowned on that same feast day in the year 1220. Some people say, however, that he died on the feast of St. Lucy,¹⁷ and if so that is not without its hidden meaning. For St. Lucy announced to the people of Syracuse, "I bring you the news that peace has returned to the Church: Diocletian is cast down from his reign and Maximian is dead today." Similarly, when Frederick died, many evils in the world ended, according to the words of Proverbs 22 [.10] "Cast out the scoffer, and contention shall go out with him, and quarrels and reproaches shall cease," and Proverbs 14 [.32], "The wicked man shall be driven out in his wickedness," and Isaiah 22 [.19], "I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry," and Isaiah 14 [.8]: "Since thou hast slept, there hath none come up to cut us down."

The words of Isaiah about the destruction of Babylon and Lucifer can be adapted to Frederick and his sons.

Take note that the words of Isaiah in the fourteenth chapter about the destruction of Babylon and Lucifer can be applied to Frederick and his sons, especially the passage that reads [.3-11]:

And it shall come to pass in that day, that when God shall give thee rest from thy labour, and from thy vexation, and from the hard bondage, wherewith thou didst serve before, Thou shalt take up this parable against the king of Babylon, and shalt say: How is the oppressor come to nothing, the tribute hath ceased? The Lord hath broken the staff of the wicked, the rod of the rulers, That struck the people in wrath with an incurable wound, that brought nations under in fury, that persecuted in a cruel manner. The whole earth is quiet and still, it is glad and hath rejoiced. The fir trees also have rejoiced over thee, and the cedars of Libanus, saying: Since thou hast slept, there hath none come up to cut us down. Hell below was in an uproar to meet thee at thy coming, it stirred up the giants for thee. All the princes of the earth are risen up from their thrones, all the princes of nations. All shall answer, and say to thee: Thou also art wounded as well as we, thou art become like unto us. Thy pride is brought down to hell, thy carcass is fallen down: under thee shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be thy covering.

And below [.16-22] when he spoke of Lucifer, he added a passage which is exceedingly well-suited to Frederick and his sons:

Is this the man that troubled the earth, that shook kingdoms, That made the world a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof, that opened not the prison to his prisoners? All the kings of the nations have all of them slept in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave, as an unprofitable branch defiled, and wrapped up among them that were slain by the sword, and art gone down to the bottom of the pit, as a rotten carcass. Thou shalt not keep company with them, even in burial: for thou hast destroyed thy land, thou hast slain thy people: the seed of the wicked shall not be named for ever. Prepare his children for slaughter for the iniquity of their fathers: they shall not rise up, nor inherit the land, nor fill the face of the world with cities. And I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts.

The Emperor Frederick's flaws. God did well in wiping his sons from the face of the earth.

God did extremely well in wiping the sons of Frederick from the face of the earth, because that was "a perverse and exasperating generation, A generation that set not their heart aright: and whose spirit was not faithful to God" [Psalms 77.8]. Thus David cursed this generation, saying to God [Psalms 20.11-12]: "Their fruit shalt thou destroy from the earth: and their seed from among the children of men. For they have intended evils against thee: they have devised counsels which they have not been able to establish." Also, Job says, 27 [.13-15]: "This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the inheritance of the violent, which they shall receive of the Almighty. If his sons be multiplied, they shall be for the sword, and his grandsons shall not be filled with bread. They that shall remain of him, shall be buried in death, and his widows shall not weep." And the Prophet says of Frederick [Psalms 36.35-36]: "I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought him and his place was not found." Why? Hear why: "for the dust is at an end, the wretch is consumed: he hath failed, that trod the earth under foot," Isaiah 16 [.4].

Note that Frederick almost always enjoyed having discord with the Church and fighting her on all sides, although she had nourished him, defended him, and raised him up. He held the true faith to be worthless. He was a cunning, crafty man, avaricious, lecherous, and malicious, easily given to wrath.

Frederick's good qualities and abilities.

At times, however, Frederick was a worthy man, and when he wished to show his good, courtly side, he could be witty, charming, urbane, and industrious. He was adept at writing and singing, and was well-versed in the art of writing lyrics and songs.¹⁸ He was a handsome, well-formed man of medium height. I myself

saw him and, at one time, loved him. For he once wrote Brother Elias, Minister General of the Friars Minor, on my behalf asking him to return me to my father. He also could speak many and various languages. In short, if he had been a good Catholic and had loved God, the Church, and his own soul, he would scarcely have had an equal as an emperor in the world. Yet because "a little leaven corrupteth the whole lump" [I Corinthians 5.6], as the Scripture says, he destroyed all his good qualities by persecuting the Church of God, which he would not have done if he had loved God and his own soul. Thus Ecclesiasticus 14 [.5] says: "He that is evil to himself, to whom will he be good?" and James 2 [.10]: "And whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all," and Ecclesiastes 9 [.18]: "he that shall offend in one, shall lose many good things." Such was Frederick, sometime Emperor, who sinned against the one God, and lost many good things, both present and future. He himself will see, and he will be blamed for it, for [Psalms 35.4-5]: "The words of his mouth are iniquity and guile: he would not understand that he might do well. He hath devised iniquity on his bed, he hath set himself on every way that is not good: but evil he hath not hated." Thus he was deposed from the Empire and died a miserable death.

The Roman Empire was ended in Frederick.

"In that man, also, the Empire will come to an end, because even if he has successors they will be deprived of the supreme honor of the imperial name of Roman." These are the words of one of the Sibyls¹⁹—or so it is said, although I have not found them among the sayings of the Erythraean or the Tiburtine Sibyl. But then I have not seen the writings of the other Sibyls, and there were ten of them. How true that prophecy is, however, is made clear both by the Imperial and the Church party.

The successors of Frederick, both in the Imperial party and the Church.

For in the Imperial party Conrad, Frederick's legitimate son by his wife, the daughter of King John, succeeded to the empire. Conrad never ruled, and was scarcely able to prosper at all. His successor was Manfred, his half-brother, born of the niece of the Marquis of Lancia, whom Frederick married on his death-bed. He also never gained control of the empire, but was always called simply prince by those who had loved his father, and after the death of his father and brother he ruled for many years in Calabria, Sicily, and Apulia. Conradin,²⁰ the son of Conrad, sought to succeed Manfred, but they were both killed by Charles, brother of the king of France. Moreover, the would-be successors to the empire from the Church party by the will of the Pope, cardinals, prelates, and electors—that is to say, the Landgrave of Thuringia, William of Holland; and Rudolph of Germany²¹—never prospered and were never able to gain full control of the empire. Thus the aforementioned prophecy appears to be true.

Frederick's seven idiosyncracies.

Now, it is necessary to speak of Frederick's idiosyncracies.

His first idiosyncrasy is that he had the thumb of a certain notary cut off because he had written his name in a way different from the way the Emperor desired. For the Emperor wanted an *i* in the first syllable of his name, in this manner: *Fridericus*. But the notary had spelled it with an *e*, writing *Fredericus*.

His second idiosyncrasy was that he wanted to discover what language a child would use when he grew up if he had never heard anyone speak. Therefore, he placed some infants in the care of wet-nurses, commanding them to bathe and suckle the children, but by no means ever to speak to or fondle them. For he wanted to discover whether they would speak Hebrew, the first language, or Greek, Latin, Arabic, or the language of their parents. But he labored in vain, because all of the infants died. For they cannot live without the praise, fondling, playfulness, and happy expressions of their nurses.

About cradle songs and about Nicholas, whom the Emperor sent to Faro.

Thus the songs which a woman sings while rocking the cradle are called *fascenine*, -*narum*, without which a child can scarcely quieten down and go to sleep.

Frederick's third idiosyncrasy was displayed when he saw the Holy Land, that is, the Promised Land, which God had praised so highly calling it a "land flowing with milk and honey" [Deuteronomy 26.9] and the best of all lands. For Frederick was displeased with it and said that the God of the Jews had clearly not seen his lands of Terra di Lavoro, Calabria, Sicily, and Apulia. For if he had he would never have praised so highly the promised land that he gave the Jews. Of such sayings, it is written [Psalms 105.24]: "They set at nought the desirable land." See also Ecclesiastes 5 [.1]: "Speak not any thing rashly, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter a word before God. For God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few." Compare too the example of the clerk who blurted out words against God which ought not to be said, and was immediately struck by lightning and fell down dead. Whence I Kings 26 [.8]: "I will run him through with my spear even to the earth at once, and there shall be no need of a second time."

His fourth idiosyncrasy was that he sent a certain man named Nicholas many times into the depths of the Faro, and Nicholas returned as many times. Yet wishing to know whether he had really touched bottom or not, the Emperor threw his golden cup into what he judged to be the deepest part of the sea, and when Nicholas retrieved it, the Emperor was amazed. When the Emperor wanted to send him again, however, Nicholas said, "Send me down again by no means, for the depths are so troubled that if you make me go, I shall never return." Frederick sent him nonetheless, and he perished there and never returned. For when the depths of the sea are disturbed by storms, huge fish are stirred up; and there are huge rocks and crags there and sunken ships, as Nicholas himself

reported. Nicholas could have said of Frederick what is recorded in Jonah 2 [.4]: "And thou hast cast me forth into the deep in the heart of the sea, and a flood hath compassed me: all thy billows, and thy waves have passed over me." The Lord also says through Amos 9 [.3]: "though they hide themselves from my eyes in the depth of the sea, there will I command the serpent and he shall bite them." This Nicholas was a Sicilian, and, once, he gravely offended and exasperated his mother, and she cursed him because he spent more time in the sea than he did on land. And so he died in this way. Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus 3 [.18] says: "Of what an evil fame is he that forsaketh his father: and he is cursed of God that angereth his mother," and also Proverbs 26 [.2]: "As a bird flying to other places, and a sparrow going here or there: so a curse uttered without cause shall come upon a man."

The Faro, its description and location.

Note that the Faro is in Sicily near the city of Messina, and it is an arm of the sea where sometimes there is a great disturbance with huge whirlpools which swallow up and sink ships, according to Psalms [68.3]: "I am come into the depth of the sea: and a tempest hath overwhelmed me." Also, Charybdis and Syrtis are in that place, a place of huge rocks and innumerable misfortunes. On the other side of that sea is the city of Reggio, where St. Luke and the Apostle Paul arrived on their journey from Judea to Rome, as recorded in Acts 28 [.13]: "Compassing by the shore," that is, from Syracuse, St. Lucy's city, "we came to Rhegium." I have heard all these details a hundred times from the Brothers of Messina, who were my very good friends. My close kinsman, Brother Jacopino de Cassio of Parma, who was living in Messina, told me the facts that I have reported above.

The Emperor Frederick was an Epicurean.

Furthermore, Frederick had many other idiosyncracies: idle curiosity, lack of faith, perversity, tyranny, and accursedness, some of which I have written about in another chronicle. Once, for example, he sealed up a live man in a cask and kept him there until he died in order to prove that the soul totally perished with the body, as if he would repeat the words of Isaiah 22 [.13]: "behold joy and gladness, killing calves, and slaying rams, eating flesh, and drinking wine: Let us eat and drink; for to morrow we shall die." For Frederick was an Epicurean, and so he and the learned men of his court searched out whatever Biblical passage they could find to prove that there is no life after death, as, for example, Psalms [27.5]: "Thou shalt destroy them, and shalt not build them up," and [Psalms 48.12]: "Their sepulchres shall be their houses for ever," and [Psalms 38.14]: "O forgive me, that I may be refreshed, before I go hence, and be no more," and Ecclesiasticus [48.12]: "For we live only in our life, but after death our name shall not be such," and Psalms [106.5]: "Their soul fainted in them." The Wise Man also speaks on that same subject in Ecclesiastes 3 [.19-22]:

Therefore the death of man, and of beasts is one, and the condition of them both is equal: as man dieth, so they also die: all things breathe alike, and man hath nothing more than beast: all things are subject to vanity. And all things go to one place: of earth they were made, and into earth they return together. Who knoweth if the spirit of the children of Adam ascend upward, and if the spirit of the beasts descend downward? And I have found that nothing is better than for a man to rejoice in his work, and that this is his portion. For who shall bring him to know the things that shall be after him?

Solomon spoke many things in the person of carnal men, which was not his true opinion.

And Frederick repeated many such passages which Solomon in the person of carnal men spoke in Ecclesiastes. Yet Solomon did not believe such things, for did he not say in Ecclesiastes 6 [.8]: "What hath the wise man more than the fool? and what the poor man, but to go thither, where there is life?" and [9.10]: "Whatsoever thy hand is able to do, do it earnestly: for neither work, nor reason, nor wisdom, nor knowledge shall be in hell, whither thou art hastening," and [9.8]: "At all times let thy garments be white, and let not oil depart from thy head," and [12.13]: "Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is all man," which is to say, every man was created for this, that is, to fear God. See also Jeremiah 2 [.19]: "Know thou, and see that it is an evil and a bitter thing for thee, to have left the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not with thee, saith the Lord the God of hosts," and Ecclesiasticus 1 [.27-28]: "The fear of the Lord driveth out sin: For he that is without fear, cannot be justified." Therefore, Ecclesiastes 12 [.1] says: "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the time of affliction come, and the years draw nigh of which thou shalt say: They please me not," etc., to the end of the book. And all of these passages totally contradict the belief of Frederick and his wise men, who held that there is no other life than the present one, and they believed this only in order to give themselves up the more freely to their fleshly and wretched acts. Thus they were Epicureans, to whom is fitting the passage in James, 5 [.5]: "You have feasted upon earth: and in riotousness you have nourished your hearts."

The meaning of Epicureanism and Stoicism.

For just as the Stoics place the happiness of man wholly in the power of the soul, so the Epicureans place it in the pleasure of the body. Thus their lives are accurately described in Wisdom 2 [.1-9]:

For the impious have said, reasoning with themselves, but not right. The time of our life is short and tedious, and in the end of a man there is no remedy, and no man hath been known to have returned from hell: For we are born of nothing, and after this we shall be as if we had not been: for the breath in our nostrils is smoke: and speech a spark to move our heart, Which being put out, our body shall be ashes, and our spirit shall be poured

abroad as soft air, and our life shall pass away as the trace of a cloud, and shall be dispersed as a mist, which is driven away by the beams of the sun, and overpowered with the heat thereof: And our name in time shall be forgotten, and no man shall have any remembrance of our works. For our time is as the passing of a shadow, and there is no going back of our end: for it is fast sealed, and no man returneth. Come therefore, and let us enjoy the good things that are present, and let us speedily use the creatures as in youth. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine, and ointments: and let not the flower of the time pass by us. Let us crown ourselves with roses, before they be withered: let no meadow escape our riot. Let none of us go without his part in luxury: let us everywhere leave tokens of joy: for this is our portion, and this our lot.

The life of carnal man.

Such men, as the Apostle says in I Corinthians 15 [.32], are those who say: "Let us eat and drink, for to morrow we shall die." But hear the remedy [I Corinthians 15.33-34]: "Be not seduced: Evil communications corrupt good manners. Awake, ye just, and sin not," and Galatians 6 [.7-8]: "Be not deceived, God is not mocked. For what things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap. For he that soweth in his flesh, of the flesh also shall reap corruption. But he that soweth in the spirit, of the spirit shall reap life everlasting." Whence John of Damascus said: "If there is no resurrection of the dead, let us bless the beasts of the field who live without any sadness."²² Whence the Apostle said, I Corinthians 15 [.19]: "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." But it is not so; nay, rather, as he says in another place, Colossians 3 [.3-4]: "For you are dead; and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ shall appear, who is your life, then you also shall appear with him in glory." And this is what we pray in the prose [*prosa*], saying:

After the miseries of this present life,
After the enemy death has been conquered,
Grant us, O Sweetest Life,
The glorious victory,
The highest joy,
The supreme beauty.²³

The sixth example of Frederick's idiosyncrasy and idle curiosity (as I have written in another chronicle) was that he fed two men a fine meal, and he sent one to bed to sleep, the other out hunting. And that evening he had both men disemboweled in his presence, in order to determine which one had digested his food the best. The decision by his doctors went to the man who had slept after the meal.

Michael Scot, who was a good astrologer.

The seventh example (as I have also listed in another chronicle) was that he once asked Michael Scot²⁴ to tell him the distance of his palace from heaven. And

after Michael gave the answer that seemed correct to him, the Emperor took him away for a few months as if merely on a pleasure trip, commanding his architects and stone masons in the meantime to lower that room of his palace in such a way that no one could detect it. This was done, and when the Emperor returned to his palace with the astrologer, he asked him again how far distant the palace was from heaven. And after he had completed his calculations, Michael Scot answered that either the heavens had risen or the earth had sunk. Then the Emperor knew that he was a true astrologer.

I have heard and know many other idiosyncracies of Frederick, but I keep quiet for the sake of brevity, and because reporting so many of the Emperor's foolish notions is tedious to me. Moreover, I must hasten to report other matters.

The Emperor Frederick was a witty man, who could take jokes at his expense with good humor, as is made clear below.

At times the Emperor used to hold forth jokingly in his close circle of friends, mimicking, for example, the ambassadors from Cremona who stand about lavishing mutual praise on one another as noble, wise, rich, and powerful lords before getting on with the business for which they were sent. Also, the Emperor would listen to the jokes, derision, and insults of the jongleurs and bear them in good humor, sometimes pretending that he did not even hear, unlike those who invariably seek revenge for the slightest injury done them. But these men do not act properly, for the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 10 [.6]: "Remember not any injury done thee by thy neighbour, and do thou nothing by deeds of injury," and Proverbs 12 [.16]: "A fool immediately sheweth his anger but he that dissembleth injuries is wise." Thus, once, when the Emperor was at Cremona after the destruction of Victoria (which the Parmese had destroyed), he slapped the back of a certain hunch-backed jongleur — the jongleurs who are called "knights of the court" — and said to him, "Say, Lord Dallio, when will this chest be opened?" And Dallio answered, "Lord, it can't be opened very easily, because I lost the key in Victoria." When this sad memory of his great shame was thrown up in his face, the Emperor groaned and said, "I was troubled, and I spoke not" [Psalms 76.5]. Yet he took no vengeance on Dallio, lest such an action be "an occasion of grief" [I Kings 25.31] to him in the future. This Dallio was from Ferrara, and he was my acquaintance and friend. He married a woman from Parma and lived with her immediately after the destruction of Victoria. His wife was the sister of Brother Giles Budello, a Friar Minor. If, however, Dallio had given such an insult to Ezzelino da Romano, he would have been hanged immediately or had his eyes pulled out of his head. On another occasion Villano de Ferro made fun of the Emperor with his jokes, and the Emperor bore it patiently. For when he was besieging Brescello, the Emperor asked Villano the names of the war machines called the mangonel and trebuchet which were being used in the siege, and Villano gave them joking names, saying that they were called *sbegna* and *sbegnoinus*.²⁵ Yet the Emperor simply smiled and turned away.

The Emperor Frederick's lineage.

Now, it is proper to speak of the Emperor Frederick's birth and parentage. His father was the Emperor Henry VI, and his mother, Queen Constance, a Sicilian and daughter of King William of Sicily.²⁶ If you wish to know more about her origins, see above.

In the year of the Lord 1075, Hildebrand the monk became Pope Gregory VII, and he sat for thirteen years, one month, and four days. On Christmas night he was taken captive in Santa Maria Maggiore. Then on a Saturday, the twelfth Kalends of June, in the month of May, King Henry came to Rome for the first time. And in the eleventh year of Pope Gregory's rule, Robert Guiscard, duke of Normandy, entered Rome on the twenty-eighth of May. And while he was there, the Emperor Henry III came to Rome, bringing Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna with him, for he wanted to make him Pope in Gregory's stead. But the Roman people, who favored Gregory, would not open the gates for the Emperor, for Henry was an accursed man who fought against the Church his entire life. But Henry fought against the city and broke down the walls.²⁷

These verses are contained in the book about the Countess Matilda, and they are useful for remembering these notable events.

He pillaged the City and established a shameful Pope there;
 On the papal throne he seated the man falsely called Clement.
 This is the deceitful Guibert, an unabashed destroyer
 of Christ's Church, who is rightly foreshadowed by the beast
 of the abyss, which the beloved John saw in the Apocalypse.
 That imperial arm utterly defiled Rome.
 Gregory, upright and vigilant, emerges from the weary throng
 and feels the shame of the polluted papal throne,
 but, putting his trust in Peter, he begs Robert of Normandy
 to engage the king in battle: the king is driven
 from the city and flees like a frightened deer
 to France, an unwelcome guest crossing the mountains again.
 His pope Clement offers gifts to the Romans
 and violently seizes the earthly seat of St. Peter.
 Yet although he behaved as if he were the shepherd of the city,
 he shall have no place in the city of heaven.
 This heretic wickedly seduced the world,
 scorned God's commandments, ignored the words of the saints,
 perverted the law, and destroyed God's temples.
 He persecutes that noble lord, our Pope and master,
 who remains in the Lateran, filled with holy wisdom.
 There he stands fast, the supreme disperser of the word,
 and by his words and deeds upbraids the schism of Guibert,

and condemns such schismatics to eternal damnation.
Therein is born great tribulation for all just men.
The faithful ones feel keenly the point of the king's sword.
Many high priests are driven from their thrones,
beaten with scourges, bound with chains, and flung into prison.
The king and Guibert bring back the times of Nero,
that Nero who ordered Peter crucified, who had Paul beheaded,
and who had his own mother disembowelled so that he might see
where he himself—the evil one—once lay.
In the same way the wicked Guibert, that agent of Satan,
pierced the palms of his own mother's hands with sharp spurs.
Nero feared no man save his teacher,
whom he forced to die in the water with slit veins.
Similarly, the king and Guibert, forgetful of the true faith,
sought to destroy the supreme teacher of the Church.
For Simon Magus was their teacher and evil inspiration.
They did not know, perhaps, that although Fortune
raises the unjust to high places, they are doomed
to fall again, even lower, when God wills it.

And again:

There was a battle, while Guibert, master of treachery,
was able to vent his rage, an unabashed assailant of the Church.
For twenty-three years that wicked man troubled the Church
of Christ with all of his might.
That wretch never relaxed while he was able
to seduce foolish souls; now he injures their bodies.
Now the whole world scorns his behavior.
Now, O Peter, may you grant to the universal Church
that this old man allow weak men to return to the faith.
After two years Urban was taken out of this world
and made a part of the celestial choir.
And this foolish Guibert was smitten with great sickness
and died, and was damned for all eternity.
Now, therefore, let the heavenly throng,
as well as all faithful and good men, rejoice together,
because the son of perdition has perished.
May God grant that no other like him ever appear.

Amen.

The death of Emperor Henry III

I wish to let the world know how King Henry not long ago came to his end. Then each one may apply this lesson to himself. Disregarding prophecies, the king engaged in vicious behavior, pretending to be holy with a heart filled with venom. For he always harbored and cherished schismatics. Thus inflamed with passion, his younger son raised a sword against his own father, trying to wrest the kingdom from him. He did not shrink from waging a bitter battle against him in the field, but his father emerged triumphant. Burdened with great sadness throughout this time, Pierced from every side, shaken violently and under duress, he did not expect death; yet already the shackle of death was tight around him and snatched the life from his sad body. He met his end on the fourth Ides of August in the year of Christ 1105. He sleeps in the temple at Speier which he had himself built.

Pope Gregory VII was a close friend of Countess Matilda.

Pope Gregory VII was a friend of the Countess Matilda, and he left Rome and dwelt with her at the castle of Canossa for three months and more, as long as he wished, for the good of the Church. He was a holy man, and she was a most holy lady, devoted to God.

Countess Matilda gave aid to the Church, both money and soldiers, in its fight against the Emperor.

Countess Matilda gave aid to the Church, both money and soldiers, in its fight against the Emperor Henry III, her cousin, who sought to make Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, antipope. But Guibert was an impious, demented man. And for the whole time of their lives the two of them fought against the Church, and pulled many souls away from the Church and made them a part of their devil's party. And both of them died in shame and "bitterness of soul" [Job 21.25]. For Guibert returned to Ravenna and took up the name and power that he had before, so that what the Lord says through the prophet might be fulfilled, Abdiah 1 [.3-4]: "The pride of thy heart hath lifted thee up, who dwellest in the clefts of the rocks, and settest up thy throne on high: who sayest in thy heart: Who shall bring me down to the ground? Though thou be exalted as an eagle, and though thou set thy nest among the stars: thence will I bring thee down, saith the Lord." This is what the Lord did in Guibert. Thus Jeremiah says in Lamentations 2 [.17]: "The Lord hath done that which he purposed, he hath fulfilled his word, which he commanded in the days of old," and Job 20 [.4-9]:

This I know from the beginning, since man was placed upon the earth, That the praise of the wicked is short, and the joy of the hypocrite but for a moment. If his pride mount up even to heaven, and his head touch the clouds: In the end he shall be destroyed like a dunghill, and they that had seen him, shall say: Where is he? As a dream that fleeth away he shall not be found, he shall pass as a vision of the night: The eyes that had seen him, shall see him no more, neither shall his place any more behold him.

Also, with respect to that accursed Emperor Henry III, who was truly a limb of the devil, Isaiah 14 [.24-25] records: "The Lord of hosts hath sworn, saying: Surely as I have thought, so shall it be: and as I have purposed, So shall it fall out: That I will destroy the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: and his yoke shall be taken away from them, and his burden shall be taken off their shoulder." All these things were fulfilled in Henry III, as well as in the antipope Guibert, who was called Clement. Yet by the help of the Lord, the Church eventually had full peace.

Robert Guiscard, who, as a faithful warrior for the Church, earned the kingdom of Sicily, Calabria, Apulia, and Terra di Lavoro.

Robert Guiscard gave aid to Pope Gregory VII in his time of need, and helped to cast the Emperor out of Rome. For this service, Gregory gave him the feudal lands of Sicily and Apulia, for he freed these lands from the rule of the Greeks and Saracens who had formerly lived there. Therefore, Guiscard went exploring those lands to see the inhabitants, and, on his return, he gathered together an army, as well as his two brothers and their counsellors and said to them: "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 11 [.14]: 'Where there is no governor, the people shall fall: but there is safety where there is much counsel,' and Proverbs 15 [.22]: 'Designs are brought to nothing where there is no counsel: but where there are many counsellors, they are established.'"

Here are cited passages from Holy Scripture useful in preparing for battle.

"See also Proverbs 20 [.18]: 'Designs are strengthened by counsels: and wars are to be managed by governments,' and Proverbs 21 [.22]: 'The wise man hath scaled the city of the strong, and hath cast down the strength of the confidence thereof,' and in the same chapter [.31]: 'The horse is prepared for the day of battle: but the Lord giveth safety.' Moreover, see Proverbs 24 [.5-6]: 'A wise man is strong: and a knowing man, stout and valiant. Because war is managed by due ordering: and there shall be safety where there are many counsels,' and Proverbs 19 [.21]: 'There are many thoughts in the heart of a man: but the will of the Lord shall stand firm.' Thus the Lord says in Isaiah 46 [.10]: 'My counsel shall stand, and all my will shall be done.'" And Robert said further to his men, "All of these things are necessary for the man who is willing to lead an army to fight against the enemy, and all of them, the Lord willing, will be with our army.

The Pope has given us the lands of Apulia and Sicily, and I saw men with wooden feet who speak from their throats. 'Arise, and let us go up to them: for we have seen the land which is exceeding rich and fruitful: neglect not, lose no time: let us go and possess it, there will be no difficulty. We shall come to a people that is secure, into a spacious country, and the Lord will deliver the place to us, in which there is no want of any thing that groweth on the earth.'" Judges 18 [.9-10]. Note that Robert gave the name "wooden feet" to the *patitos*, that is, *zopellos*, which the men of Sicily and Apulia wear on their feet. For the men of that region are shitty men [*caccarelli et merdacoli*] of little courage. He said they spoke in their throats, because when they wish to say, "What do you want?" [*Quid vis*] they say, "ke boli." Therefore, he held them to be vile "unarmed, and without force, and without skill in the art of war," Judith 5 [.27]. These men were three blood brothers: the first, Robert; the second, Guiscard; the third, the monk Ambrose. The other two answered Robert, "You will fight with your rod," that is, you will help us with your speeches. "We, however, will fight with arms, and, the Lord willing, we will quickly conquer them." And it was so done. But when the Greek Emperor heard of this, he was afraid that Robert wished to invade Constantinople and kill all the Greeks, and so he had him poisoned. Thus Robert died, but his brother Guiscard remained, and it was from him that the kings of Sicily descended.

Queen Constance, mother of the Emperor Frederick II.

Guiscard's son was King William of Sicily, and his son William II.²⁸ William had many sons and one daughter, who was called Constance. On his deathbed, William II commanded his sons—I know not by what spirit—not to give Constance in marriage. The sons obeyed the father's command and kept Constance with them until she was thirty years old. Yet she was a perverse woman who constantly caused trouble among her brothers' wives and the entire family. And so they considered what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 25 [.24]: "It is better to sit in a corner of the housetop, than with a brawling woman, and in a common house," and Ecclesiasticus 25 [.23]: "It will be more agreeable to abide with a lion and a dragon, than to dwell with a wicked woman," and Proverbs 27 [.15-16]: "Roofs dropping through in a cold day, and a contentious woman are alike. He that retaineth her, is as he that would hold the wind, and shall call in the oil of his right hand." And they said, "Let us marry our sister off and put a great distance between her and us." And so they gave her in marriage to King Henry, who was to become Emperor Henry VI, son of the first and great Frederick. Then in the March of Ancona in the city of Jesi, Constance gave birth to a son, Frederick II. But it was said that Frederick was the son of a certain butcher, and that Constance had merely simulated giving birth to him. Thus Merlin said of the second Frederick, "an unexpected and miraculous birth,"²⁹ either because his mother was very old, or (certainly) because he was a suppositious and fraudulently acquired son.

On the importunity of his wife, Henry invaded Sicily and Apulia, and occupied

that entire province. Yet on returning to Germany, he heard that traitors had arisen in Sicily and Apulia, and so he hurried back, destroyed the leaders, and carried off the treasure. But angered and troubled by this, Queen Constance enlisted her own troops and began to defend the realm. And so there was a great war between the two of them,³⁰ so that the wise and learned men said, "These are not a 'man and wife that agree well together,' as Ecclesiasticus 25 [2] says." And the jongleurs [*ioculatores*] said, "If someone were to put the Emperor in check, the queen would not defend him." Therefore, the Emperor Henry occupied the entire kingdom, put the leaders to death, and, in the manner of the German Emperors, made war upon the Church. Finally, Henry died, leaving Frederick II, his orphan son, in the hands of the Church, and the Church nourished him and lifted him up, hoping that he would be better than his father.³¹ But like father like son, and before long he was discovered to be even worse than his father.

The sayings of Merlin about the first and second Frederick.

The first Frederick a lamb in fleece, a lion in skin. He will be a depopulator of cities. And in this course he will end between the crow and the raven. He will live on in Henry, who will die in the gates of Milazzo. The second Frederick, of an unexpected and miraculous birth, will be a lamb placed among goats to be torn asunder, but he will not be swallowed up by them. His bed shall swell and fructify in the borders of the Moors, and he shall breathe among them. He shall be covered with his own blood, but he shall not be dipped in it long; rather, he shall build his nest in it. He shall be exalted in the third young one, who will devour all those who came before. He shall be a roaring lion among his own. He will have great confidence in his own wisdom. He shall disperse the sons of Ceylon. He shall scatter and diminish Rome. He shall hold the spirit in Jerusalem. In thirty-two years he shall fall. He shall live in his prosperity for seventy-two years, and for twice fifty shall be treated leniently. He shall look on Rome with a fierce eye. He shall see his own children outside himself. In his time the sea shall glow with holy blood. And his united enemies shall come all the way to Naples. Then he shall gather together a defense from the North and avenge the spilt blood. And woe to those who cannot retreat to the vessels! And in the eighteenth year from his christening, he shall hold the monarchy in the eyes of enemies. And in his exit those who cursed him shall be deceived in him.³²

The Emperor Henry VI was a friend of Abbot Joachim.

Note that Henry VI, the Emperor, was a friend of Abbot Joachim of the Order of Fiore. And it was for the Emperor, at his request, that Joachim wrote the work on the burdens of Isaiah, and, at his command, the work on Jeremiah, for the Emperor "wished to understand the mysteries of Daniel—the meaning of the statue, of the tree, of the axe, of the stone, and of the future succession." Joachim also

wrote for him the exposition of the Sibyl and Merlin in the year of the Lord 1196.³³

The conclusion of the work on the prophet Jeremiah:

O Caesar, behold the rod of the Lord's fury! Jeremiah is completely clear, although he appears obscure in those places where he recounts the afflictions which will fall upon the earth. May you be spared the dread of the Lord, when the axe of the gospel shall be laid at the foot of the tree.

*The predictions of Michael Scot with regard to the cities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and Romagna.*³⁴

The predictions of Master Michael Scot concerning Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and other regions:

Fearing the standards of the king, Brescia will flee covertly
 And be unable to protect her own,
 Although standing firm in the second battle with the king.
 Then the walls of the Milanese griffin shall be torn down.
 Terrified by the hot blood of slaughter,
 Milan shall revive at sight of the blood of death.
 There were [*erant*] large numbers of vagabonds and wild men.
 Then they shall come to Vercelli, Novara, Lodi.
 The day shall come when Pavia shall be sick.
 The destroyed shall be cured,
 Sorrowfully lamenting the ill-fated gifts which she deserved,
 Prepared for her by her neighbors.
 Fearful Piacenza will be subject to the king's commands
 And after being oppressed and having suffered a terrible
 Defeat, she shall spring back.
 Once unity has been restored, the city will remain stable.
 Piacenza shall suffer under a heavy bloody burden.
 Obedient Parma will flourish, and her garlands will dry up.
 Crawling to one side and swelling up, she leaves [*exit*] the dragon.
 Parma, obedient to the king, will swell up and strike him,
 Like a viper striking a dragon, and will flourish with sweet flowers.
 You too, Cremona, I predict, will eventually suffer the pain of
 Fire for your share in such great evil.
 Also, the parties of Reggio shall be at strife with one another.
 The sons of Padua shall weep over the harsh and terrible
 Death of their great leaders caused by the whelp of Verona.
 The March shall fall under the heavy burden of slavery
 Brought on by Antenor's course which they shall follow.
 Languishing Verona shall rise up at the death of the whelp.
 Woe to you, Mantua, filled with so much pain!

Why are you not tottering? For part of you will fall.
 Deceitful Ferrara, your false faith in bending to
 All parties will gain you nothing when your own deeds shall fail;
 You shall send abroad those who are causing you harm.
 Seeing all your tents, Faenza will make peace with you,
 But shall fall in death under the pretense of peace.
 Bologna shall renounce that peace but shall be laid waste
 By a surrounding army and shall pay an immense price
 In payment for her crime.
 Fighting against herself under the file [*sub lima*], Modena shall roar,
 She shall, I say, grow warm, but she shall be brought low.
 The high wall of Bergamo shall fall down,
 And torments shall again climb the heights.
 The parties of Treviso shall not carry the standards of peace,
 But shall put joys to flight, surrendering her standards to ruin.
 Long since tottering, caused by her long-standing errors,
 Rome shall fall and give up being the head of the world.
 The fates warn, the stars teach, and the flight of birds show
 That Frederick shall be the hammer of the world.
 The great dragon shall live, causing the great world storm.
 The fates are silent, and so are the stars and the flights of birds,
 That the ship of Peter shall cease being the head.
 The mother shall live again and shall hammer the head of the dragon.
 Not for long shall stupid Florence be radiant with blossoms;
 She shall fall into a stinking decay, and shall survive only by
 dissembling.
 Venice shall open her veins and shall strike the kingdom on every side.
 After one thousand two hundred and sixty,
 The great turmoils of the world shall be stilled.
 The griffin shall die, and feathers shall fly everywhere.

Many men could see how true the prophecies were which are given in these verses. For I myself saw some of them fulfilled, "and my mind hath contemplated many things wisely, and I have learned" [Ecclesiastes 1.16], and I know that they were true with few exceptions. Frederick, for instance, was not really the "hammer of the world," although he did many evil deeds, and the ship of St. Peter did not ever cease being the head, save, perhaps, in the time when the disagreement of the Cardinals caused the papal throne to remain vacant. Moreover, it does not appear to be true that in 1262 all the turmoils of the world were completely stilled so that there were not still many wars, discords, and evils throughout the whole world. Yet it is true that in that year of 1260 the religious fervor of the flagellant movement began, and men made peace with their enemies and put aside wars, and much good was done, as I saw with my own eyes.

The rulers in Lombardy and Romagna, both those of the Church party and of the Empire.

Now it remains to speak of the rulers in Lombardy and Romagna: Marquis Monferrato in the Piedmont; Peter Becherio in Vercelli; Napoleone de Torre and his son, Lord Cassone, in Milan; Lord Lanzavelia in Alessandria; Uberto Iniquitate in Piacenza. In Parma for the Church party, Lord Bernard Roland Rossi ruled; he was the brother-in-law of Pope Innocent IV (since he had married Innocent's sister), and he was a fine prince. For the Imperial party in Parma, Lord Bertolo Tavernerio was the leader. Later, however, the ruler in Parma for many years was Lord Ghiberto de Gente, a Parmese citizen, and he was also governor of Reggio. In Reggio, for the Church party was Hugo de Roberti; for the Imperial party, Lord Guido de Sesso and King Enzo, Frederick's son. In Modena, for the Church party there was Lord Jacopino Rangone and Manfred of Sassuolo (or de Rosa), his nephew; for the Imperial party, Lord Lanfranco and Lord Ghirardino, both of the Pio family. In Cremona, Marquis Uberto Pellavicino and Buoso de Dovaria ruled for many years, and they exiled many men and destroyed many. The war was fierce, and they committed many evil deeds against other men, and, afterward, they themselves endured the same. Lord Pinamonte, a Mantuan citizen, ruled in Mantua, and his reign was long and harsh, lasting for many years. In Ferrara, Lord Salinguerra ruled, and, after him, Marquis Azzo of Este, and succeeding Azzo was his grandson Obizzo, son of Rainald. For Rainald had died in prison as a hostage of the Emperor in Apulia, and his son Obizzo (born of a certain woman from Naples) was carried from Apulia as a small child, as I saw with my own eyes. This Obizzo was a man of great heart, but not a good one, for he did many evil deeds. He exiled the Fontana family from Ferrara, for example, the very ones who had raised him up to a position of power; and he ruled over Ferrara with unmitigated harshness for many years. The city of Ferrara was an adherent of the Church, as I heard from the mouth of Pope Innocent IV himself when he preached in Ferrara. And because the Marquis d'Este were friends of the Church from ancient times, the Church supported them and allowed them to remain in Ferrara.

In Treviso, Alberigo da Romano³⁵ ruled for many years, and his reign was cruel and harsh, as those who experienced it know very well. This man was the very limb of the devil himself and the son of iniquity, but eventually he perished by a wretched death, along with his wife and sons and daughters. For those who killed them pulled the arms and legs off the children while they were still alive in the presence of Alberigo and his wife and struck them in the mouth with these limbs. Then they tied the mother and daughters to stakes and burned them. Yet these daughters were young and beautiful virgins, and were guilty of nothing. But their slayers showed no mercy to innocence and beauty on account of the great hatred they had for the mother and father. For they were horrible in their evil treatment of the people of Treviso. Thus in the public square of the city they came at Alberigo with pinchers and tore the flesh piecemeal from his body while

he was still alive, and so they tore his body to pieces amid jeers, and insults, and heavy torments. For Alberigo had killed their kinsmen: their brothers, and fathers, and sons. And he had laid such heavy taxes and fines on the land that the citizens had to tear down their houses and send the materials of which they were constructed (along with such movables as chests, casks, and urns) on ships to sell in Ferrara in order to get the money to meet these obligations. I saw these things with my own eyes. Moreover, Alberigo pretended to be at war with his own blood-brother Ezzelino da Romano so that he could be the more secure in doing his evil deeds, and he did not spare his own citizens and subjects in the slaughter. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [15] "As a roaring lion, and a hungry bear, so is a wicked prince over the poor people," and [Proverbs 28.16]: "A prince void of prudence shall oppress many by calumny." These passages were made manifest in this man.

Here is narrated a horrible and pitiful event.

Alberigo had had twenty-five civic leaders of Treviso hanged on a single day, and they had neither offended nor harmed him in any way. But because he was afraid that they would perhaps do him harm, he had them removed from before his face [cf. II Kings 7.15] and shamefully hanged. And he required thirty noble women—their mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters—to come and watch the execution. He wanted also to cut off the noses of these women, but by the happy intervention of a man who was falsely said to be Alberigo's bastard son, this was not done. Furthermore, he had their clothes cut off from their breasts down so that with bodies all nude they stood before the eyes of the men who were to be hanged. Moreover, he had the men hanged very near the ground and then forced the women to walk between their legs so that the men kicked them in the face as they were dying in bitterness of spirit [cf. Job 21.25]. And the women had to endure the horror and pain of such base mockery. To see such things was the greatest kind of misery and cruelty, the like of which has never been heard. Then Alberigo had these women carried off beyond the river Sial or Sile to go wherever they could. And with the pieces of garment they had about their breasts, the women made coverings for their genitals (that is, their pudenda), and then walked the whole day for fifteen miles with bare feet and nude bodies through wild fields, bitten by flies, and torn by thorns and briars and nettles and burrs and thistles. And they went weeping, for they had cause for weeping, and they had nothing to eat:

O God, Look upon
The sorrow and pain!
These troubled ones,
These your children,
Are lost without You.
Yours it is to help.
Yours it is to help.³⁶

Here it is shown by examples that "Divine help is necessary when human help fails."³⁷

For "Divine help is necessary when human help fails." This was made clear in Susannah who was set free by divine help against all hope as she was being led to death. The same is true of the woman caught in adultery who was to be stoned. This was made clear also in the man Isaiah. For as he was being executed by being sawn asunder with a wooden saw, he was extremely thirsty, and asked the executioners for a drink of water, which they refused. The Lord, however, let water from on high flow into his mouth.³⁸

But let us return to our narrative. These women arrived late in the day at the Venetian lagoons, and, behold, suddenly they saw a lone fisherman in his little boat, and they called out to him. He, however, was terribly frightened, for he thought he was seeing demonic illusions or phantasms or, at least, sea monsters. Yet inspired by God and urged by their cries, he came to them. And when they had told him all their terrible misfortunes, he said to them, "I have great pity for you, and I will not leave you until God does well by you. But since my boat is so small that it will hold only one of you, I will row you across one at a time until I have transported all of you to the safety of solid ground. For if you remain here during the night the wolves might devour you. Tomorrow, however, very early in the morning I will get a larger boat and carry all of you to the Church of San Marco, where I trust God will comfort you." What more? After he had transported them all except one, he took this last one to his poor fisherman's home and fed her well, and treated her with the utmost kindness, courtesy, humanity, and love. The next day he dutifully fulfilled all that he had promised. Then after he had taken them to San Marco he went to Lord Ottavio, the Cardinal and papal legate in Lombardy, who was living at that time in Venice, and told him the story of these ladies and their great misfortunes, and where they were now lodged. When he heard this story, the Cardinal immediately went to them and had food prepared for them. Then he sent a messenger throughout the city asking the citizens to hasten to him without delay to San Marco, both men and women, small and great [Psalms 148.12]: "Young men and maidens, the old with the younger." For he had things to tell them and show them such as they had never heard or seen. What more? The message circulated very quickly, and all the citizens of Venice gathered together in the square of San Marco, and Lord Ottavio recounted to them the entire story given above. And in order to anger the people more against Alberigo and to make them pity these ladies more, the Cardinal also did the following: he had the women come forth in that same shameful and nude condition that the wicked Alberigo had reduced them to. And when the Venetians had heard this entire story and looked upon the nude women, they cried out in loud voices, "Let him die, let that evil man die! Burn him and his wife alive! And destroy all his progeny from the face of the earth!" Then the Cardinal said, "Holy Scripture totally agrees with you, for it likewise curses the wicked man, Ecclesiastes 8 [.13]: 'But let it not be well with the wicked, neither let his days be prolonged,

but as a shadow let them pass away that fear not the face of the Lord.' This is [Psalms 77.8]: 'a perverse and exasperating generation. A generation that set not their heart aright: and whose spirit was not faithful to God.' This is [Proverbs 30.14]: 'A generation, that for teeth hath swords, and grindeth with their jaw teeth, to devour the needy from off the earth, and the poor from among men.' [Psalms 108.12-16]:

May there be none to help him: nor none to pity his fatherless offspring. May his posterity be cut off; in one generation may his name be blotted out. May the iniquity of his fathers be remembered in the sight of the Lord: and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out. May they be before the Lord continually, and let the memory of them perish from the earth: because he remembered not to shew mercy

See also Job 18 [.17-19]: 'Let the memory of him perish from the earth, and let not his name be renowned in the streets. He shall drive him out of light into darkness, and shall remove him out of the world. His seed shall not subsist, nor his offspring among his people, nor any remnants in his country.' [Psalms 68.29]: 'Let them be blotted out of the book of the living; and with the just let them not be written.'" Then they all cried out, "So be it! So be it!" After this, by the will of the entire city, both men and women, the Cardinal preached a crusade against the accursed Alberigo: whoever would take up the cross and go to destroy him — or send someone in his place, paying all expenses — would receive plenary indulgence for all his sins. And he confirmed that indulgence fully for all men by the authority of the omnipotent God and his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, as well as by his authority as legate vested in him by the apostolic chair. Thus excited by the Cardinal's preaching, they all took the cross, "small and great" [I Kings 5.9], "man and woman" [Joshua 6.21]. And they did so for the following reasons: because it was offered by a man of high authority, because of Alberigo's great wickedness, because those noble men had been hanged so unjustly, because they saw the shameful dishonor that those ladies had suffered, as well as because of the plenary indulgence they would receive. And the Cardinal legate had further incited them to this action by citing the example of the Levite woman whose shameful abuse and murder, the Jewish people, by the divine will, avenged so harshly that they destroyed almost an entire tribe of their own people [Judges 19.20].

These people then marched unanimously against Alberigo and did him great harm, although they did not totally destroy him. Only a short time after the cross was taken up against him, however, he was completely destroyed along with all his offspring, and he was subjected to all the abuse, torments, and misfortunes decribed above — all of which he thoroughly deserved. For, once, when he lost his falcon, he pulled down his pants and turned his arse up to the heavens in mockery and insult to God himself, thinking in this way to avenge himself on God for his loss. And when he got home he went into the church and defecated

on the very altar itself, in the place where the body of the Lord is consecrated. Moreover, his wife called noble ladies and matrons whores and prostitutes, and “neither did” her husband “rebuke” her “at any time, saying: Why hast thou done this?” [III Kings 1.6]. Nay, rather, he gave the protection which permitted her to do such things with impunity. Thus, rightly were the people of Treviso avenged on these two, in fulfillment of the Lord’s words in Luke 6 [.38]: “For with the same measure that you shall mete withal, it shall be measured to you again.”

After his sermon, the Cardinal recommended these ladies to the Venetians to care for as they would his own person. And they gladly provided them with food and clothing. It should be noted too that the people of Treviso spared the man on whose insistence the noses of these ladies had been saved; they permitted him to live and indeed gave him many goods, of which he was well worthy. For he had often restrained Alberigo and his wife from many wicked deeds that they would otherwise have committed.

The cruelties of Ezzelino da Romano, who had eleven thousand Paduans burned to death in one day.

The brother of this Alberigo, Lord Ezzelino da Romano, ruled in the other Marches, that is, in Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. This man was the very limb of the devil himself and a son of iniquity. For, once, in St. George field in Verona—and I have been in that very place—he had eleven thousand Paduans burned to death in a large house where he had them chained up as prisoners. And while they were burning, Ezzelino rode about the house singing and playing war-games with his knights. For he was the worst man in the world, and, truly, I do not believe there has been a more evil man from the beginning of the world up to our own days. Everybody trembled in his presence like a reed in water—and not without reason, for a man might be totally secure in his position one day; the next, put to death. For a father would kill his son, a son his father, another man his relative—all merely to please Ezzelino. In the March of Treviso, indeed, Ezzelino destroyed all of the chief and best men, the powerful, rich, and noble; and he used to mutilate [*castrabat*] women, and cast them in prison, along with their sons and daughters, where they perished from hunger and misery. He also killed many men in religious orders or imprisoned them for a long time—some from the Order of the Friars Minor, some from the Preachers, some from the other orders. Thus was the Scripture fulfilled which says, Daniel 7 [.25]: he “shall crush the saints of the most High,” etc. And not even those worst men in the world in their time—Nero, Decius, Diocletian, Maximian, Herod, Antiochus—could approach him in wicked maliciousness. Truly, the two brothers were veritable demons of hell, about whom I could write a huge book if I had the time or the parchment. But [Psalms 68.29]: “Let them be blotted out of the book of the living; and with the just let them not be written,” because it is written, Jeremiah 17 [.13]: “O Lord, all that forsake thee shall be confounded: they that depart from thee, shall be written in the earth: because they have forsaken the Lord, the vein

of living waters." At his death, however, Alberigo was fully repentant. But Ezzelino never returned to God, and so the word of the Lord was fulfilled: "one shall be taken, and one shall be left," Matthew 24 [40]. In Alberigo's repentance the great mercy of God may be seen, in that he received such a man at his death.

A certain man named Mastino succeeded Ezzelino as ruler of Verona, but, after a time, he was killed by assassins. But the rightful ruler of Verona, the Count of St. Boniface, was an exile travelling about the country, as I myself saw, and he was totally devoted to the Church party—a good, holy, wise, and honorable man, a man proved in arms and experienced in war. His father was Lord Richard, and he himself was called Lord Louis. His eldest son was Vinciguerra.

Lord Malatesta was the ruler of Rimini, and he was fully and faithfully dedicated to the Church party. The ruler of Forlì was Lord Guido, Count of Montefeltro, a man experienced in the art of war, and he won many victories over the Bolognese, who fought for the Church party. And in the time of the great war, he ruled Forlì for many years, but eventually he and his city were defeated by the intervention of Pope Martin IV, who devoted himself wholly and stubbornly to the defeat of Forlì. For when Lord Bernard, Cardinal and papal legate, came into Romagna, Forlì surrendered to him, and the Cardinal sent Lord Guido, Count of Montefeltro, first to Chioggia and later to Asti in Lombardy, ordering him to remain there in seclusion, and the Count remained there humbly in obedience.

Of the Church party in Ravenna the ruler was Lord Paul Traversario, a noble, rich, and powerful man, handsome and wise; of the Imperial party the ruler was a certain man named Anastasio. Lord Thomasio de Fogliano of Reggio succeeded Paul Traversario as ruler in Ravenna, and, because he was related to him, Pope Innocent IV made Lord Thomasio Count of Romagna. And Lord Thomasio was married to Traversaria, the granddaughter of Lord Paul, the daughter of Lord Paul's son. The Pope legitimized this woman so that she would be able to inherit. After the death of Lord Thomasio, Stephen, the son of the King of Hungary, took this woman to wife, and ruled in Ravenna. After Stephen's death, a man named Guglielmotto came from Apulia to Ravenna bringing with him as his wife a certain young woman, the daughter of Lord Paul Traversario, he maintained, whom the Emperor had been holding as hostage in Apulia. And Guglielmotto ruled for many years, taking over completely all of Paul Traversario's property. Yet it was believed that all these things had been reported fraudulently and deceptively by both the man and the woman. And because Guglielmotto did not hold with the Church party, he, along with his wife, was expelled from Ravenna, and thus lost all of the properties he had taken over.

The rulers of the Church party in Faenza were the Alberghetti, also called the Manfredi. The chief of these was Lord Ugolino Buzola and his son, Brother Alberico of the Order of the Godenti. Of the Imperial party the leaders were Lord Accarisio and his son, Lord Guido Accarisio.

Tebaldello, who twice betrayed his city of Faenza.

Moreover, the Church party in Faenza was named after the Zambrasi. There were only two members of that house: one was Brother Zambrasino, who was and still is a member of the Order of the Godenti; the other, his illegitimate brother, Tebaldello. And this Tebaldello was reputed to be a powerful, handsome, and rich man, because the legitimate brother, Zambrasino, had divided his inheritance equally with him. Tebaldello twice betrayed his city of Faenza: first, he surrendered it to the men of Forlì — and I was living there at the time — and, second, he restored it to the Church party. And, after a short time, he perished by suffocation in the moat of the city of Forlì, along with his horse and a number of other men.

The leaders of the Church party in Imola were the Nurduli; of the Imperial party, Uguccione de Binieli. This latter man was captured by King Charles in the battle with Prince Manfred, and was beheaded. His brother, John de Binieli, succeeded him as ruler of Imola. Furthermore, the leader of the Imperial party in the mountains was the great Peter Pagano, a famous man experienced in war. And he lived in a castle called Susinana. He had a good wife, Lady Diane, and a good sister, Lady Galla Placidia. These two were my spiritual daughters [*mee devote*]. The leader of the Church party in Conio was Count Bernardino, a great and powerful man. Of the Church party in Ravenna was the great Count Roger de Bagnacavallo. He was a clever man, sharp and cunning and crafty, and as sly as a fox. This man was a friend of mine. He had only a single daughter and no sons. And as he lay on his death bed, he said to his daughter that he wanted her to marry a man who would be powerful enough to rule the party in his place. And when Brother Gerard Gualengo said to him that the time for joking was past, he answered, "What do you mean? Am I not the only male of the household?" And the Brother replied, "Lord, you are certainly the only male, but at the time of death you ought to forgive all men and hold with no party save God's, as the Prophet says [Psalms 15.5]: 'The Lord is the portion of my inheritance and of my cup: it is thou that wilt restore my inheritance to me.'" Also in Romagna in the Imperial party was the great Count Taddeo de Boncompagno. He was an old man, and he entered the Order of the Friars Minor. Also Lord Jacopo, son of Bernard, was once in the Imperial party, but after the Emperor beheaded his son, he transferred his loyalty to the Church, and, later, entered the Order of the Friars Minor.

Moreover, there were many other noble and powerful men in Romagna and Lombardy of both parties, whom it would have been worth enumerating if they had been good men who loved God.

The rulers of the Church party in Bologna were the Geremei family; in the Imperial party, the Lambertazzi. The leader of this latter party was Lord Castellano de Andalo, but he died in his full strength, for during the civil strife in Bologna, the men of the Church party captured him and placed him in chains in the communal palace. And the Geremei expelled the Lambertazzi from Bologna,

and they went to Faenza to live for a time, but they were later expelled likewise from this city at the time Tebaldello restored it to the Church. Bologna was a city which at last [Isaiah 51.17]: "Hath drunk . . . of the cup of the wrath of God . . . and hath drunk even to the dregs," lest she should perchance boast of her justice while insulting a portion of citizenry, who had drunk from the cup of God's wrath and furor and indignation. Since there were assassins in her, and she did not prevail over them {...}³⁹

The cause of Bologna's destruction, and an exhortation not to engage in usury or receive bribes, and other such evils.

{...}

In Cremona the men of the Church party were called Capellini or Capelletti; those of the Imperial party, the Barbarasi. And I have read many times, "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10], in the Ravenna Pontifical: "The *barba rasi* will come, and they will be very fierce." Yet it is unclear whether these are the Barbarasi that are meant, or whether they are still to come. Certainly, however, these Barbarasi were very fierce when they brought the Emperor into Lombardy and Cremona, when they expelled the Church party from Cremona, when they helped the Emperor carry on the war in Lombardy for a long time, and when through them "evils were multiplied in the earth" [I Machabees 1.10], which evils have not yet reached their end and do not even appear to have an end. After the destruction of Victoria and the flight of Frederick, any man in Parma who did not adhere faithfully to the Church party was called *Malafucina*, that is, "from a bad factory," because he possessed condemned and false money, and stood out like a multicolored cow. Whence the Wise Man says, Proverbs 27 [.19]: "As the faces of them that look therein, shine in the water, so the hearts of men are laid open to the wise." The reason? Hear Ecclesiasticus 13 [.31-2]: "The heart of a man changeth his countenance, either for good, or for evil. The token of a good heart, and a good countenance thou shalt hardly find, and with labour." Thus John said, John 3 [.31]: "He that is of the earth, of the earth he is, and of the earth he speaketh," and Isaiah 29 [.4]: "Thou shalt speak out of the earth, and thy speech shall be heard out of the ground." The Lord also says, Luke 6 [.45]: "For out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." And John said, I John 4 [.5]: "They are of the world: therefore of the world they speak, and the world heareth them." Similarly, the men of the Imperial party at that time could not contain themselves without speaking out, and they were immediately recognized by their words, as it was said about Peter, Matthew 26 [.73]: "Surely thou also art one of them; for even thy speech doth discover thee." Thus it was then with those of the Imperial party who spoke out.

The Parmese make peace with their enemies after the Emperor's death, but that peace lasted only a short time.

Much later, however, the Parmese of the Imperial party who were living in Borgo San Donnino requested their fellow citizens to receive them back into the city for the love of God and the Holy Virgin, because, now that the Emperor was dead, they wished to be at peace with them. And the Parmese did make peace with them and allowed them to come back into the city, as I saw with my own eyes. Yet when these men saw the destruction of their homes — for they themselves had done the same thing to the men of the Church party when they expelled them from the city — they began to stir up strife and to insult the Church party. And seeing that Uberto Pellavicino was the ruler of Cremona and many other cities, they planned to turn Parma over to him — which he desired with all his might — and to expel the Church party and destroy it so completely that it would never, through all eternity, be able to return to Parma. Knowing this, the Parmese trembled like a reed in water, and many of them began to hide those things which were dear to them. I myself hid my books, for I was living in Parma at the time. Many of the Parmese of the Church party also decided to leave Parma voluntarily, lest Pellavicino should come and overwhelm them and destroy their goods. But “the Lord turned their ambushments” [II Paralipomenon 20.22] and malignity upon their own heads, according to the words of Ecclesiasticus 27 [.32]: “They shall perish in a snare that are delighted with the fall of the just: and sorrow shall consume them before they die,” and Proverbs 29 [.8]: “Corrupt men bring a city to ruin: but wise men turn away wrath,” and [.16] “When the wicked are multiplied, crimes shall be multiplied: but the just shall see their downfall.”

John Barisello, who was “a man poor and wise, and he delivered the city by his wisdom,” Ecclesiastes [9.15].

Therefore, throughout Parma rumors were flying of the imminent arrival of Pellavicino. Yet because he had other schemes in mind, Pellavicino did not come to Parma immediately, for he decided to take Colorno and Borgo San Donnino first (as he did indeed do) so that afterward he could enter Parma with greater triumph. Moreover, since Pellavicino had captured and occupied these two cities, the Parmese of the Church party had no place to go in case they had to leave Parma. Thus they were checkmated, because they had nourished a serpent in their breasts. Thus Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31] says: “Bring not every man into thy house for many are the snares of the deceitful.” Yet in Parma itself, behold, suddenly a man arose, who lived in Parma in Cò de Ponte, between the Church of St. Cecilia and the Templars' Church of St. Maria. This man was called John Barisello; he was a tailor and the son of a tenant farmer (which the Parmese call *mezzadro*) on the lands of the Tebaldi family. And John Barisello took the cross and the text of the gospel in his hands, and he went throughout Parma to the houses of the men of the Imperial party whom he suspected of betraying the city

to Pellavicino, and made them swear allegiance to the Pope and to the Church party. He had five hundred armed men with him who had made him their captain and "followed him as their prince" [Judges 11.3] and leader. Many men, therefore, swore to uphold the Pope and the Church party, partly voluntarily, partly out of fear, because they saw the men of arms. But those who would not swear were escorted out of Parma unceremoniously, and went to live in Borgo San Donnino.

The good things that Parma did for the citizens of Borgo San Donnino and their manifold ingratitude.

About the destruction of Borgo San Donnino, see below, folio 410.

For whenever there was civil strife in Parma, the party which had to leave the city always went to Borgo San Donnino. In fact, whenever there was discord in Parma, the citizens of Borgo San Donnino rejoiced, and they would have been even happier if they had seen Parma totally destroyed. For they never loved Parma; rather, whenever Parma engaged in war, all the freebooters of Lombardy would gather in Borgo San Donnino against Parma, and the citizens of that town received them gladly in anticipation of Parma's grief and destruction.

Yet the Parmese had done many good things for the citizens of Borgo San Donnino, as I saw with my own eyes, for I once lived there for a year, that is, in 1259. And in that year there was a high death rate among men and women in Italy, and also Ezzelino da Romano was captured by the Cremonese and their allies. The first good that the Parmese did for Borgo San Donnino was that they annually supplied a governor, that is, a podestà for that city, and they always paid half his salary. Second, they allowed the citizens of Borgo San Donnino to have all the trade from the river Taro, which is five miles from Parma, and so they controlled the trade for ten miles of the bishopric of Parma, and the Parmese only five. The third good was that the Parmese defended them whenever they were at war with the Piacenzans, the Cremonese, or whomever. The fourth good—and it is not to be sneered at—was that the Parmese gave their noble women in marriage to the citizens of Borgo San Donnino, despite the fact that there were only two noble houses in that city, that is to say, the Pinchilini and the Verzoli; all the rest were commoners and rich farmers. I believe I saw there at least twenty ladies of Parma with furs of various colors, even scarlet. Despite such benevolence, the citizens of Borgo San Donnino were ungrateful to the Parmese. And so rightly and justly the Parmese later destroyed Borgo San Donnino, when the time was ripe. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.13]: "He that rendereth evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house."

When John Barisello was going through Parma requiring an oath of all men under suspicion, he came to the house of Lord Roland Guido Bo, who lived in Cò de Ponte near the Church of St. Gervase. And calling him out of his house, John informed him that he had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Church party without delay if he wanted to live in peace; otherwise, he would have to leave

Parma. For this Lord Roland Guido Bo was of the Imperial party, and he had received many appointments as podestà from the Emperor. But seeing so large a group gathered together, threatening him and requiring such things, he did what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 22 [.3]: "The prudent man saw the evil, and hid himself," and also Isaiah 32 [.2]: "A man shall be as when one is hid from the wind, and hideth himself from a storm." Therefore, he swore the following oath, "I swear to stand by the Roman Pontiff and obey his commands, and to adhere to the Church party for the entire term of my life to the shame of the most miserable and shitty [*merdifero*] party under heaven." He used these words about his own party, that is, the Imperial party, because they had allowed themselves to be trodden underfoot shamefully by such men. The Parmese of the Church party loved him for these words, and it was not considered disgraceful for him to have sworn such an oath.

The recovery of Colorno and Lord Manfredino de Canoli, the captain, who died there.

At this time, the Parmese wanted to recover Borgo San Donnino, but they were unable to because Pellavicino and the exiled Parmese were occupying it and guarding it carefully. Moreover, Borgo San Donnino was encircled by strong walls and had wide moats around it. The Parmese, however, recaptured Colorno very quickly, and in that battle large numbers of the Imperial forces fell under the sword. Some of these were Francisco, son of Lord John de Pizzolese; Lord Rolandino Goggo of Parma; and Lord Manfredino de Canoli of Reggio, whom Pellavicino had made captain. This Manfredino was one of the sons of Manfred of Modena, and he was so handsome that scarcely would David's son Absolon have excelled him in beauty. There were many other men killed there also who deserve mention, but for the sake of brevity and because I hasten to report other matters, I will keep silent and move along.

Thus Pellavicino stopped in his attempt to take over Parma, because he could not. For the Parmese were well aware of his craftiness and evil, and they took measures to fortify themselves against him. "Fewer shafts strike the man who is forewarned, and we can bear up better under the evils of this world if we are provided with a shield by foreknowledge."⁴⁰ These are the words of Gregory. Therefore, the judgment of the Wise Man in Proverbs 26 [.27] befell Pellavicino: "He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it: and he that rolleth a stone, it shall return to him," and Ecclesiasticus 27 [.29-31]: "And he that layeth a snare for another, shall perish in it. A mischievous counsel shall be rolled back upon the author, and he shall not know from whence it cometh to him. Mockery and reproach are of the proud, and vengeance as a lion shall lie in wait for him." All of this in the process of time happened to Pellavicino. Moreover, the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.10]: "He that deceiveth the just in a wicked way, shall fall in his own destruction: and the upright shall possess his goods." And all of this also happened to Pellavicino.

The benefits that John Barisello reaped from the Parmese.

John Barisello was thus the "man poor and wise" who "was found" in Parma, "and he delivered the city by his wisdom" [Ecclesiastes 9.15]. Wherefore, recognizing the good that he had done them, the Parmese were not ungrateful, for the Apostle says "be ye thankful" [Colossians 3.15]. In fact, they bestowed many benefits upon him. First of all, they made him a rich man, whereas, before, he was a pauper. Second, they gave him a wife from a noble family, that is to say, the Cornazano family. Third, they made him a lifetime member of the council without the requirement of election, for he had a natural sense and ability in politics. Fourth, they allowed him to gather together a company of men, named for himself, to accompany him everywhere, providing that it was for the honor and benefit of the city of Parma. And this company lasted for many years. It was finally dispersed, however, by a Modenese podestà of Parma named Lord Manfredino de Rosa (also called, like his father, of Sassuolo). For out of his love for the city of Parma, he did not want any Parmese to bear the name of such a man. (For the Modenese and the Parmese have always had a great, intricate, and fervent love for one another.) Therefore, Lord Manfredino commanded John Barisello to mind his own business and his own household, to dismiss his company of men, and to strip himself of all his pompous trappings, because he himself meant to rule Parma through his council since he was the podestà of Parma. John obeyed humbly, and that very day he went to his shop and, taking a needle and thread, began to sew his garments, in the presence of the citizens of Parma, as if he would repeat the words of Jacob recorded in Genesis 30 [.30]: "It is reasonable therefore that I should now provide also for my own house," and Ecclesiasticus 18 [.6]: "When a man hath done, then shall he begin: and when he leaveth off, he shall be at a loss." I knew the father of Manfredino, the podestà, and both his mother and wife were my spiritual daughters. Yet the Parmese always loved John Barisello, and he always had prestige and a high reputation in Parma.

The society of the cross in Parma created by King Charles, into which all other societies were amalgamated.

Later, however, hearing that the Parmese were great warriors and his friends, who were always ready to come to the aid of the Church, King Charles, brother of the King of France (who went to the Holy Land twice on Crusade), commanded them to create a society in honor of God and the holy Roman Church, and give it the name of the Society of the Cross. He himself wished to be a member of this Society, and he desired that all other societies be incorporated into this one, so that they might always be prepared to come to the aid of the Church when need arose. And the Parmese did indeed create this group and called it the Society of the Cross. And they wrote the name of King Charles in golden letters at the beginning of the register to signify that this prince, duke, count, king and magnificent conqueror was the captain and leader of this Society. And whenever

someone in Parma who is not a member of the Society offends someone who is, all the members defend each other like bees, and they all run immediately and tear down the offender's house "even to the foundation thereof" [Psalms 136.7], with such violence that not a single stone remains on another. And this is a source of fear to the citizens, for they must either tread lightly or join the Society. Thus this Society grew marvellously. Therefore, now the Parmese are not named after John Barisello, but after King Charles and the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. To whom is the honor and glory forever. Amen.

The Pellavicini.

And since our pen is turned to Parma, it remains to speak of the Pellavicini, who are citizens of Parma. These men are marquis and they chose the border between two cities — Parma and Piacenza — as their residence. Thus they have two castles in the bishopric of Piacenza near the border of the Parmese bishopric. The first is the castle Peregrino, in which Lord Pellavicino lived — a handsome, companionable man, and a poet [*cantionum inventor*], the father of many children. The second is the castle Scipione, five miles from Borgo San Donnino. In this castle Lord Manfred lived, the brother of Lord Pellavicino. Lord Manfred had four sons and three daughters, and these ladies were very handsome women who were married into noble families in various parts of the world. Their mother was Lady Clara of the lineage of the Counts of Lomello, and she was a very beautiful, wise, and lively lady. Their first-born son was Lord William, a handsome man, who was peaceful like his father, and he kept peace with the Parmese and lived in Parma. His wife was Lady Constance, daughter of Azzo, marquis of Este. She was, however, unable to bear children, for she had been married twice before and had never produced children. Moreover, Lord Manfred had a beautiful palace in Parma, which I myself saw, and it was near the public square, where the palace of the Pagani had been earlier. But as a result of the war the Parmese completely destroyed both these palaces, and the butchers made the place their meat market. Now, however, only the public square is there. Furthermore, Lord Manfred was a man of peace, almost like a man in religious orders, and he loved the Orders, especially the Friars Minor. And he gave salt to all the Orders abundantly, without measure. For in the region of the castle Scipione he had a number of salt pits, from which he grew rich and famous. His second son was Lord Henry, a warlike man experienced in battle. I believe that if he had lived he would have conquered all of Lombardy. For the words written of Judas Machabeus may be used of him, I Machabees 3 [.4]: "In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion's whelp roaring for his prey." Once, certainly, the Marquis of Monferrato experienced his ability. But Lord Henry was killed fighting nobly and valiantly in the war against King Charles, for he was a prince and leader in Manfred's army, the son of Frederick, sometime Emperor. His third son was Lord Uberto, who was like his elder brother in all things, so that whatever could be praised in Henry could be applied equally well to Uberto. Lord William, Marquis of Monferrato, experienced

his prowess in battle frequently, for Lord Uberto did not permit him to issue forth from his fortresses. The Marquis was, in fact, at war with Uberto's uncle, Lord Uberto Pellavicino, who at that time was the ruler of Cremona, and the elder Uberto gave to this nephew of his three hundred knights and the money and means to wage a fierce war against the Marquis of Monferrato. The cause of this war was the cities Alessandria and Tortona, which both men wished to take over. The young Uberto was killed by the Piacenzans at Fiorenzuola when with the Parmese of the Imperial party he conducted a looting expedition in the district of Piacenza. And yet he was at peace with those against whom he made the raid, and thus he lost both the booty and his life. The fourth and last son was Lord Guidotto, who is still living today and has a high reputation at the court of the King of Spain.

The Uberto Pellavicino who ruled Cremona was the brother of Lord Pellavicino of Peregrino and Lord Manfred of Scipione. And he had two castles—Landasio and Gusaliggio—in the bishopric of Piacenza. Yet because we have spoken sufficiently of this man above, it is best to keep silence here. He was a very courageous man, who wanted to conquer the whole world.

Marchesopolo.

The father of these three was called Lord Pellavicino, and he had two brothers, Lord Marchesopolo and Lord Rubino. They both lived in Soragna, a fertile villa in the bishopric of Parma, about five miles north of Borgo San Donnino. Lord Marchesopolo was married to a lady from Burgundy, who bore him no sons, but only two daughters. And the mother gave them Burgundian names, that is, Mabelon and Isabelon, which are pronounced in Lombardy Mabilia and Isabella. And the father gave the first-born, Mabilia, in marriage in the year 1238, while I was still in the world, that is, before I entered the Order of the Friars Minor. And she came to Parma from Soragna and lived with a family from Colorno near the Church of St. Paul. And her father gave with her a dowry of a thousand Imperial pounds. She was married to Lord Azzo, Marquis of Este, a good and courteous man, humble, sweet, and peaceful. He was my friend, for once I read to him Joachim's exposition of the burdens of Isaiah, and he was alone with me and a certain other Friar Minor under a fig tree.

The holiness of Lady Mabilia, wife of Azzo, Marquis of Este.

Lady Mabilia was my spiritual daughter, and devotee of all religious orders, but especially of the Friars Minor, with whom she confessed and whose Church office she always said. And it is in the convent of the Friars Minor at Ferrara where she is buried and rests in peace alongside her husband. She did many good things during her life and dispersed a wealth of alms at her death, and she gave to the poor from the possessions that her father had left her in Soragna. I lived for seven years in Ferrara, where she herself was likewise living. She was a beautiful woman—wise, merciful, good, courteous, honorable, pious, humble, patient, peaceful, and devoted always to God. She was not stingy with her goods, but

gave gladly to the poor. She had an oven in a secret place in her palace, as I saw with my own eyes, and there she made with her own hands rose-water to give to the sick. And because of this, doctors, stationers, and druggists did not like her, but she cared nothing for them, as long as she could help the sick and be pleasing in the eyes of God. She lived with her husband for many years, but she always remained sterile. After the death of her husband, she had herself a house built near the convent of the Friars Minor in Ferrara and remained there a widow until, as I have said, she was buried alongside her husband. May her spirit rest in peace through the mercy of God, for she was a good woman. After the death of the Marquis, she came to Parma, as I myself saw, and lived near the cathedral and, as I heard from her own lips, was miraculously consoled there because she was near the convent of the Friars Minor and the Church of the Glorious Virgin. I have never seen any lady who seemed to me so much like the Countess Matilda as this one, according to those things which I have seen written about the Countess.

The holiness of three noble women or ladies.

Truly, three women are very dear to me, though perhaps not thought so highly of by others. They are Helena, Constantine's mother; Galla Placidia, the Emperor Valentinian's mother; and the Countess Matilda.

Marchesopolo, who went to live in the eastern empire.

After he married off his daughter Mabilia, Marchesopolo went seeking the Greeks whom he persecuted while he lived in the eastern empire [*Romania*], fighting and capturing and killing them, as David did the Philistines, of whom we read, I Kings 27 [.11]: "David saved neither man nor woman, neither brought he any of them to Geth, saying: Lest they should speak against us. So did David, and such was his proceeding all the days that he dwelt in the country of the Philistines." In like manner, Marchesopolo did with the Greeks, and, therefore, he was treacherously and wickedly killed by them in his own house. For "all things obey money" [Ecclesiastes 10.19]. Marchesopolo married his second daughter, Lady Isabella, to a rich, powerful, and noble man of the eastern empire. She was a wise and beautiful lady, save that she was lame and sterile. After the death of her husband, she inherited the castle called Budinitza, which she defended from the Greeks with strength, wisdom, and caution. The reason why Marchesopolo left Parma, it is said, is as follows: because of his nobility and aristocratic pride, he had contempt for the fact (and indeed would not tolerate it) that a mere bourgeois commoner or farmer had the right to send a messenger with a red cap to subpoena him to the communal palace for a trial.

His brother, Lord Rubino, continued living in Soragna, and his wife was Lady Ermengard de Palude, sister of Lord Guidotto de Canini. She was a beautiful lady, but lascivious, to whom the words of Solomon well apply, Proverbs 11 [.22]: "A golden ring in a swine's snout, a woman fair and foolish." She bore five sons

and as many daughters. The eldest of these daughters was named Mabilia, a very beautiful lady, who once confessed to me. She was married in Pontremoli to Uberto Pellavicino, who hoped through this marriage to gain control of her land. Lord Rubino was an old man, full of days, when he sent for me in the year 1259, the year of the high death rate and the year that Ezzelino da Romano was captured in battle. And he made his confession to me, put his soul in order, and died in a good old age, passing "out of this world to the Father" [John 13.1]. But his wife married again, a man named Giles Scorza, and, later, she fell from a solarium, died, and was buried.

Other members of the Pellavicini family also lived in the bishopric of Parma, in the place called Varano, which is a beautiful district between Medesano, Miano, Costamezzana, and Borgo San Donnino. And great numbers of them are there, and they are rich, powerful, courteous, and peaceful men, and they have always kept peace with Parma, because they are Parmese citizens. From that region came Lord Delfino Pellavicino, who was podestà of Reggio in 1238, and who added two hundred yards to the wall of the city, in accordance with the annual practice of each succeeding podestà. This suffices for the Pellavicini.

In Verona, as we said above, Lord Mastino ruled after the death of Ezzelino, but he was killed by certain powerful and violent men of Verona in the hope that they would be able to take over the city. But they were deceived, for Lord Mastino's brother, Albert della Scala, succeeded him. And he took full vengeance for his brother by killing his murderers. This man is still alive and still rules in Verona, where he is greatly beloved by the citizens, because he conducts himself properly. For he is a courteous and just man, who loves the poor, like his brother before him. Nevertheless, now another man is podestà in Verona.

In Imola those of the Church party are called Bricci; those of the Imperial party, Mendoli. But the Imperial party was totally destroyed in Imola. Yet because of ambition and envy the Church party there is divided into two parts, because the Alidosi wish to rule in the place of the Nurduli. This accursedness of division has also invaded Modena, and may be found in Reggio. May God keep it from coming to Parma, where there is already fear of it. Whence the Lord said, Luke 11 [.17]: "Every kingdom divided against itself, shall be brought to desolation, and house upon house shall fall," and Judges 5 [.15]: "Ruben being divided against himself, there was found a strife of courageous men." Thus it would be good to be in heaven, where there are no parties, and no divisions, and no ambitions; but there common possession of all things is the rule, and all things are possessed commonly by all, according to the words written in Psalms [121.3]: "Jerusalem, which is built as a city, which is compact together," and I Machabees 8 [.16]: "They all obey one, and there is no envy, nor jealousy amongst them."

The Church and Imperial parties in Tuscany.

Now, let us turn to Tuscany and expedite matters quickly, because there are many things to say which must not be neglected. The noblest cities of Tuscany, in my view, are Pisa and Florence. Pisa is ruled by the Conti and the Visconti, and is very Imperial in its leanings. And just as the Cremonese fought for the empire in Lombardy, so the Pisans in Tuscany. In Florence, the Guelfs ruled for the Church; the Ghibellines for the empire; and the names of these two parties became synonymous for the Church and Imperial factions throughout Tuscany, and they still are. But both parties have “drunk” from “the cup of” the “wrath” of God “even to the dregs” [Isaiah 51.17]. And those who have the upper hand cannot boast that they have escaped the sword of divine indignation and vengeance, for if they have brought about factions and divisions in the cities, they are at the same time “divided by the wrath of his countenance” [Psalms 54.22], that is, God’s countenance. Whence the Psalm [5.11] “Cast them out: for they have provoked thee, O Lord.” That was fully prefigured in Genesis 49 [.7], where Jacob said about his two sons who had sinned: “I will divide them in Jacob, and will scatter them in Israel.” See also Jeremiah 6 [.19]: “Behold I will bring evils upon this people, the fruits of their own thoughts: because they have not heard my words, and they have cast away my law,” and Jeremiah 11 [.11]: “Behold I will bring in evils upon them, which they shall not be able to escape: and they shall cry to me, and I will not hearken to them.” The Lord also said to Jeremiah, 15 [.1–4]:

If Moses and Samuel shall stand before me, my soul is not towards this people: cast them out from my sight, and let them go forth. And if they shall say unto thee: Whither shall we go forth? thou shalt say to them: Thus saith the Lord: Such as are for death, to death: and such as are for the sword, to the sword: and such as are for famine, to famine: and such as are for captivity, to captivity. And I will visit them with four kinds, saith the Lord: The sword to kill, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and to destroy. And I will give them up to the rage of all the kingdoms of the earth.

How true these things were, these eyes of mine have seen, and a great multitude of other people have too, but especially those who experienced them on their own bodies.

The many evils committed on behalf of the Emperor, for which he received full punishment, both he and those who did evil on his behalf.

All of these accursed parties and divisions—in Tuscany and Lombardy, in Romagna and the March of Ancona, in the March of Treviso and throughout all of Italy—were caused by Frederick, the sometime Emperor. But he received full punishment for this, for [Isaiah 40.2]: “she hath received of the hand of the

Lord double for all her sins," because he was totally punished in both body and soul. For the princes of his kingdom, whom he had raised up from nothing and exalted from the dust, "lifted up" their "heel against" him [John 13.18] and did not preserve faith, but were traitors, according to the prophecy, Abdiah 1 [.7]: "All the men of thy confederacy have deceived thee: the men of thy peace have prevailed against thee: they that eat with thee shall lay snares under thee: there is no wisdom in him," that is, in Frederick, who thought himself wise. The tyrants mentioned above did the same thing to him. But they themselves were also punished—not because they rejected Frederick, whom they knew to be an evil man, but because they committed many sins. I knew most of those that I have named, and they have suddenly disappeared from the world, most of them by a miserable death, because they "have walked after vanity, and are become vain" [Jeremiah 2.5]. "And their days were consumed in vanity, and their years in haste" [Psalms 77.33]. "But indeed for deceits thou hast put it to them: when they were lifted up thou hast cast them down. How are they brought to desolation they have suddenly ceased to be: they have perished by reason of their iniquity. As the dream of them that awake, O Lord; so in thy city thou shalt bring their image to nothing" [Psalms 72.18-20]. Then truly the passage from Baruch 3 [.16-19] can be said:

Where are the princes of the nations, and they that rule over the beasts that are upon the earth? That take their diversion with the birds of the air. That hoard up silver and gold, wherein men trust, and there is no end of their getting? who work in silver and are solicitous, and their works are unsearchable. They are cut off, and are gone down to hell, and others are risen up in their place.

Also, they themselves can repeat what is said by the damned in the book of Wisdom, 5 [.6-15]:

Therefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the light of justice hath not shined unto us, and the sun of understanding hath not risen upon us. We wearied ourselves in the way of iniquity and destruction, and have walked through hard ways, but the way of the Lord we have not known. What hath pride profited us? or what advantage hath the boasting of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow, and like a post that runneth on, And as a ship that passeth through the waves: whereof when it is gone by, the trace cannot be found, nor the path of its keel in the waters: Or as when a bird flieth through the air, of the passage of which no mark can be found, but only the sound of the wings beating the light air, and parting it by the force of her flight; she moved her wings, and hath flown through, and there is no mark found afterwards of her way: Or as when an arrow is shot at a mark, the divided air presently cometh together again, so that the passage thereof is not known: So we also being born, forthwith ceased to be: and have been able to shew no mark of virtue: but are

consumed in our wickedness. Such things as these the sinners said in hell:
For the hope of the wicked is as dust, which is blown away with the wind,
and as a thin froth which is dispersed by the storm: and a smoke that is
scattered abroad by the wind: and as the remembrance of a guest of one
day that passeth by.

A beautiful and useful treatise on the contempt of the world.

Thus did a certain man who wrote of the contempt of the world speak well:

Worldly prosperity and life's brevity deceive many men,
In the very midst of life suddenly they are cut off by death.
When the end of all things transient and passing comes,
Nothing can help, neither strength, nor power, nor wisdom.
Present praise, present glory—all, all pass like a cloud.
All the wonders of this world fade and pass away.
Whoever embraces the delights and riches of this world
Becomes ultimately a pauper, cut down by fortune's sword or death's.
Why then seek what quickly fades? It profits not.
All will soon be lost—all subject to change and death.
All things transitory are nothing; they have an inherent flaw,
And the man who delights in them is by very nature sinful.
All the joys of this world pass wretchedly away,
And whatever passes can give no lasting happiness.
What good is beauty? a pretty face? a healthy glow?
What good a wardrobe of gold-embroidered clothes?
Invidious, inexorable death pays beauty no heed.
Death recognizes no rule, no order, no hierarchy of things.
Impious death finally drags all worldly things down.
He corrupts everything worthy and beautiful.
Savage death closes lustful eyes with dust;
The lovely white flesh, at his touch, turns livid and gray.
The beautiful face, and soft, white, pleasing limbs,
At his touch, fall and become mere meat for worms.
And that which had given great joy in love,
Once closed in the tomb, horrifies and repels.
The lovely form of beauty putrifies in the sod,
Falls away, returns—dust to dust, ashes to ashes.
The riches of Tiberius, the glory of Julius, the eloquence of Mark,
All are like shadows, like dreams that are gone.
Once Virgil, the master poet, earned the whole world's praise,
And what is the worth of such laurels to a man who is dead?
The great Plato wrote learnedly of multiple souls,
Yet for all his wisdom he could not avoid inexorable death.

Neither grammar nor dialectic nor the rhetoric of Cicero
 Can teach one the art of escaping from death.
 The one single important thing in life, therefore,
 Is to please God, for this only the world cannot destroy;
 All the world will pass away but, secured by this,
 Ours will be the joy in that glory which is everlasting. Amen.⁴¹

St Gregory spoke on this subject at the end of the third book of the *Dialogues* in this manner: "We should despise this world even when it treats us well and even when it caresses us with prosperity. For afterward it always afflicts us with so many scourges, wearies us with such great adversity, and so greatly multiplies the suffering of daily life—what else is all of this save a crying out to us not to love it?"⁴² What Jerome says pertains to this subject: "O, if we could go up into some watchtower from which we could observe the whole world under our feet, then I could show you the ruins of the entire earth, nation clashing with nation, kingdom with kingdom: some being tormented, some killed, some overwhelmed by waters, some led into slavery. Here, weddings; there, weeping. Here, being born; there, dying. Some, swimming in riches; others, begging. But the men over the entire earth, now alive, will soon be dead. The world succumbs to the magnitude of the thing, and whatever we say is too little. Let us return to ourselves, therefore, and view our own extreme brevity of life. Are you yourself, I ask, aware of the changes in your own life: of being a child, a boy, a young man, an adult, an old man? Daily, we are dying, daily changing. And yet we believe ourselves to be eternal." And I do know this to be true that "the evils of the time allotted me are like the sands of the sea, and that the moments of our lives waste away in wave after wave. This benefit we have alone, that we can join ourselves to Christ in love."⁴³ Augustine: "Why do you wander through the many? Love one good in which all goods are contained, and it suffices. Desire a single good which is every good, and that is enough."⁴⁴ Also Augustine: "O, wretched flesh, you must embrace that life where there is life without death, youth without age, light without darkness, joy without sadness, peace without discord, desire without injury, a kingdom without change. You must seek these seven."⁴⁵

The twelve papal legates who were sent to Lombardy and Romagna.

Now, it remains for us to speak of the papal legates who were in Lombardy during our days. The first of these was Lord Ugolino, Cardinal for the Order of the Friars Minor; that is, he was governor, protector, and corrector of the fraternity and rule of St. Francis, who was his close friend. Later, Ugolino became Pope Gregory IX. He did many good things, which we describe elsewhere in more detail. The second was Lord Rainald, bishop of Ostia, who was likewise Cardinal for the Order of the Friars Minor in the same capacity as listed above. He later became Pope Alexander IV. When he was legate in Lombardy, Lord Thomas of Capua, Cardinal, was his companion in that legation. This Pope Gregory IX,

of whom I spoke above, composed the hymn *Proles de celo prodiit* in honor of the blessed Francis, the response *De paupertatis horreo*, the prose *Caput draconis ultimum*, and another prose on the Passion of Christ *Flete fideles anime*. And at the prayers of the Friars Minor, he elevated to the office of Cardinal the man who was to become Pope Alexander IV. This Pope Alexander canonized St. Clare and composed hymns and collects for her. Cardinal Thomas of Capua was a very fine secretary at the papal court, and it was he who wrote that letter which the High Pontiff sent to Frederick, sometime Emperor, vindicating the Roman Church and himself of the harsh criticism directed at them, reminding the Emperor of the benefits and services accorded him by the Church, and reproaching him for his many and various excesses. The following is the beginning of that letter: "You wrote us that our letter greatly surprised you, but yours is more astounding to us."⁴⁶ He also composed the hymn *In celesti collegio* in honor of St. Francis, and he wrote another hymn *Decus morum*, as well as the response *Carnis spicam*. Moreover, he wrote the words for the sequence *Virgo parens gaudeat* in honor of the Holy Virgin. But Brother Henry of Pisa wrote the music for this, and Brother Henry was my Custodian and my song-master. Brother Vita of Lucca, a Friar Minor, wrote the counterpoint to the sequence; he also was my teacher in music.

The next papal legate in Lombardy was Lord Ottaviano, Cardinal deacon. He was a handsome and noble man, one of the sons of Ubaldino de Musello in the bishopric of Florence. He had a high reputation in the Imperial party, but for his own honor he performed everything properly for the good of the Church on this mission, knowing that it was for this purpose that he had been sent. Thus, once, during the time that the Emperor was besieging Parma, I was at Lyons, and Lord William de Flesco, Cardinal deacon, nephew of Pope Innocent IV, asked me what the Parmese had said about Lord Ottaviano, the legate. And I replied, "The Parmese say that he will betray Parma, as he did Faenza." Then William said, "Ha, God! It is not to be believed." And I answered, "Whether it is to be believed or not, I do not know. Nevertheless, this is what the Parmese are saying." "Well, well," said Lord William.

Then I recognized the truth of what is sometimes said about the Cardinals, that sometimes they do not really love each other, and yet, for their own honor, they defend each other in order to make it appear to strangers that they love each other cordially. Therefore, I knew at this time that what I had heard was true. For they stood about me in so thick a group that the one was leaning over the shoulders of the other, all wishing to hear news of Parma. For the whole business of the Roman Church and of all the curial clerks hung on that one point, like spectators awaiting the outcome of a duel. For the Emperor at that time had been deposed, and the Roman curia was outside its own territory exiled in France, in the city of Lyons. And Parma had taken up the war for the Church and was fighting valiantly, always expecting help and victory from heaven. But Frederick, sometime Emperor, was besieging Parma violently [II Kings 17.8]: "as a bear raging in the wood when her whelps are taken away," proclaiming terribly with

a loud voice and lamenting horribly. When those standing about had heard me say such things, therefore, they marvelled and said to each other in my presence, "Never in our lives have we ever seen a friar so sure of himself, speaking with such self-confidence." They said this because they saw me sitting between the patriarch of Constantinople and a Cardinal, for the Cardinal had asked me to sit there, and I did not consider refusing the offer. Moreover, they heard me speaking so confidently of so important a man before such an august assembly. Yet at that time I was just a deacon and a young man twenty-five years old. Later, however, I recognized that Ecclesiasticus 8 [.22] gives good counsel: "Open not thy heart to every man: lest he repay thee with an evil turn, and speak reproachfully to thee," and Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31]: "Bring not every man into thy house: for many are the snares of the deceitful," and Ecclesiasticus 37 [.31]: "For all things are not expedient for all, and every kind pleaseth not every soul," and Job 21 [.6]: "As for me, when I remember, I am afraid, and trembling taketh hold on my flesh."

When I returned to Lombardy many years later, Lord Ottaviano, still papal legate, was in Bologna, and I ate with him on many occasions. And he always placed me at the head of his table, so that between me and him there was nobody except my companion friar, and he himself took the third place at the head of the table. Then I did what the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 23 [.1-2]: "When thou shalt sit to eat with a prince, consider diligently what is set before thy face. And put a knife to thy throat." And it was necessary to do this because the entire room of the palace was full. Truly, we ate abundantly and well, and [Esther 1.7]: "Wine also in abundance and of the best was presented," and every delicacy. Then I began to love the Cardinal, according to the words of Proverbs 19 [.6]: "Many honour the person of him that is mighty, and are friends of him that giveth gifts," and [Psalms 48.19]: "He will praise thee when thou shalt do well to him." And the Cardinal gave me and my companion a standing invitation to eat with him on any day we wished. But I thought it best to do as Ecclesiasticus 13 [.12-13] teaches: "If thou be invited by one that is mightier, withdraw thyself: for so he will invite thee the more. Be not troublesome to him, lest thou be put back, and keep not far from him, lest thou be forgotten," and Proverbs 25 [.17]: "Withdraw thy foot from the house of thy neighbour, lest having his fill he hate thee." It was said of this Cardinal that he was the son of Pope Gregory IX, perhaps because Gregory loved him with a special love.

Familiarity with women should be avoided.

Moreover, I saw this Cardinal's daughter as a nun in a certain monastery, and she asked me repeatedly to be her spiritual father [*devotus suus*], because she wished to be my spiritual daughter [*devota mea*]. And she did not know whose daughter she was, but I knew very well. And I answered her, "I do not wish to have you as a friend [*amicam*], because Patecchio says:

What's the good of a woman to whom I cannot speak.⁴⁷

His point is that it is a burden to have a friend [*amicam*] and not be able to talk to her, as it is with you enclosed in a monastery." And she answered me, "Yet if we cannot carry on a mutual conversation, perhaps we can love each other in our hearts and 'pray one for another, that' we 'may be saved,' James, last chapter [5.16]." And I thought that she wanted gradually to lead me on and attract me so that I might fall in love with her. And so I said to her, "The blessed Arsenius said to the Roman woman who had come from Rome to see him, 'I pray to God that he will erase your memory from my heart.' When she heard that, the woman was greatly disturbed, and she went back to Rome and began to grow feverish from sadness. When Theophilus the archbishop heard this, he went to console her, for she was a noble Roman lady. But she said, 'Behold, I die from sadness.' And the archbishop answered, 'Do you not know that you are a woman? And the enemy fights against holy men through women. That is why the old man spoke as he did. For he is continually praying for your soul.' And so, joyously consoled, she returned to proper things."⁴⁸

The Abbot of Syosi who wanted to go into solitude rather than to live with women, and his disciple was named Abraham. Thus Proverbs 21 [.9] says: "It is better to live in a desert land than with a brawling woman, and in a common house."⁴⁹

"We read about another father that when his disciple said, 'you have grown old, abbot, let us move nearer to the world,' he answered, 'Let us go where there are no women.' Then his disciple said to him, 'And where is a place without women, except perhaps solitude.' And the father replied, 'Therefore, take me into solitude!' Also, another brother wrapped his hands in a blanket when he had to carry his aging mother across a river. And when she asked, 'Why do you cover up your hands, son?' he answered, 'A woman's body is fire, and if I touch you, the memory of other women will come into my soul.' Whence the Wise Man said, Proverbs 4 [.15]: 'Flee from it, pass not by it: go aside, and forsake it,' and Proverbs 5 [.2-11]: 'Mind not the deceit of a woman. For the lips of a harlot are like a honeycomb dropping, and her throat is smoother than oil. But her end is bitter as wormwood, and sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down into death, and her steps go in as far as hell. They walk not by the path of life, her steps are wandering, and unaccountable. Now therefore, my son, hear me, and depart not from the words of my mouth. Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh the doors of her house. Give not thy honour to strangers, and thy years to the cruel. Lest strangers be filled with thy strength, and thy labours be in another man's house, And thou mourn at the last, when thou shalt have spent thy flesh and thy body.'"

The wiliness of Lord Ottaviano, Cardinal.

Lord Ottaviano was also a very wily man. Once when he was marching in a great procession, for example, a jongleur cried out in a loud voice as he passed by, "Make way, make way, let the man pass who has betrayed the curia and has frequently deceived the Church." When he heard this, the Cardinal quietly commanded one of his servants to give the man some money in order to close his mouth. For he knew that "all things obey money" [Ecclesiastes 10.19]. Thus in this way he bought off his source of irritation, for accepting the money the jongleur immediately moved to another place along the route and as the Cardinal passed by again, he praised him in glowing terms, saying that he was the best Cardinal of the entire curia and that he was worthy of the papacy. Micah 3 [.5] speaks of such matters: "If a man give not something into their mouth, they prepare war against him." But Proverbs 29 [.25] says: "He that feareth man, shall quickly fall: he that trusteth in the Lord, shall be set on high." Seneca also says: "You should be just as pleased to be praised by dishonorable men as to be praised for your own dishonorable deeds."⁵⁰ I have also heard it said that if Pope Innocent IV had lived a little longer, he would have deposed Lord Ottaviano from the college of Cardinals, on account of his excessive imperial leanings and his treacherous negotiations for the Church. Yet knowing that he had lost the good will of the Pope and knowing that this would be noised abroad by many men in the curia and by other parties, the Cardinal acted in the following way to prove to others that he still stood high in the good graces of the Pope: one day when all the Cardinals were hastening to leave the consistory to get back to their own quarters, Ottaviano took up his post in a chamber or little room on the Pope's route of exit, and he stood talking with the clerk until he knew all the Cardinals had left. He did this in order to make it appear to those in the palace that the Pope had detained him in friendly conversation and, as a close friend, was discussing important negotiations with him. Thus he appeared to be the most important Cardinal in the curia who had great influence with the Pope, and so they gave him gifts, thinking him a man who could aid them in their business with the Pope.

The lucrative wiliness of a certain man in a king's court.

Ottaviano's wiliness was similar to that of a certain man in a great king's court. For this man made a pact with the king that he would serve in his court for many years if the king would grant him an audience every day that he sat on his throne with his palace filled with people, an audience in which he would speak only one sentence in private to the king. The king gladly granted his request and the man's sentence every day was this: "I came to your court a wise man, and I may return a fool." When all the people in the palace, however, saw this man approach the king every day so boldly, almost on the run, and when they saw the king smile at his entrance and present his ear to him with such alacrity, they were assured that he was in the highest favor with the king, and, therefore, could work wonders.

And so they gave him lavish gifts, thinking that he was the best man to help them in their business with the king. This man, however, laid aside all the presents given him so that he would have them ready at his departure. Finally, after he had amassed a lot of treasure, he decided that it was time to leave, and going in to the king, he changed his usual speech and said, "I came to your court a fool, and I return a wise man. May God be with you, for I wish to leave." When the king heard this, he embraced him and said to the people standing about, "This young man came to us from a distant country and he has served well in my court for many days. Moreover, he has been a delightful diversion in my boredom here with you. Wherefore, it seems just to me to return some benefits to him." Then they all cried out, saying, "A splendid thought, O king, and we ask that it be fulfilled immediately." Then the king ordered a great feast to be prepared to which he invited everyone. And on that occasion he knighted this young man, making him gifts of clothing, horses, servants, and treasure; and he had him accompanied with great joy, so that he could return to his home with riches, honor, and peace. Whence the Lord said, Luke 16 [.8]: "And the lord commended the unjust steward, forasmuch as he had done wisely: for the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light."

Gregory of Monte Longo, who was legate in Lombardy for many years.

At the time that Lord Ottaviano was legate in Lombardy, Lord Gregory of Monte Longo was also legate in that same province. He was at one time one of the seven notaries in the curia, and he was legate in Lombardy for a long time. For when Ferrara was taken from the hand and rule of Salinguerra, he was there; and when the Emperor Frederick besieged Parma, he was present in the city. And he always pitched his pavillion in the region nearest the Emperor's. For he was a man of great heart, experienced in battle. He, in fact, owned a book on the subtle art of warfare. He knew well how to order the line of battle, and he knew how to feign and dissemble very well. For he knew when to lie quiet and when to overrun the enemy, in accordance with the words of Ecclesiastes 8 [.5-7]: "The heart of a wise man understandeth time and answer. There is a time and opportunity for every business, and great affliction for man: Because he is ignorant of things past, and things to come he cannot know by any messenger." But it is written of divine wisdom, Wisdom 8 [.8]: "she knoweth things past, and judgeth of things to come: she knoweth the subtilties of speeches, and the solutions of arguments: she knoweth signs and wonders before they be done, and the events of times and ages." Yet none of this is true for us, not with respect to knowing, for as Job says, 37 [.19]: "for we are wrapped up in darkness," and the Apostle, Ephesians 4 [.18]: "Having their understanding darkened," and II Corinthians 3 [.4-5]: "And such confidence we have, through Christ, towards God. Not that we are sufficient to think any thing of ourselves, as of ourselves: but our sufficiency is from God." Thus when Josaphath, king of Juda, had to begin fighting because he was being overrun by the enemy, we read that he said to the Lord,

II Paralipomenon 20 [.12]: "As we know not what to do, we can only turn our eyes to thee." Nor is it true with respect to speaking, because Ecclesiastes 1 [.8]: "All things are hard: man cannot explain them by word." Nor yet with respect to action, because the Lord said, John 15 [.5]: "without me you can do nothing." Thus, as in the above quotation: "as we know not what to do," etc. See also the Apostle in Hebrews 5 [.14]: "But strong meat is for the perfect; for them who by custom have their senses exercised to the discerning of good and evil." And one such man was Gregory of Monte Longo, for being so accustomed to war, he knew the proper time for battle and the proper time to cease battle, according to the words of Ecclesiastes 3 [.8]: "A time of war, and a time of peace." For as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 20 [.18]: "Designs are strengthened by counsels: and wars are to be managed by governments." Thus when an enemy is engaged in battle, the victory is expected from the Lord, who is "a helper in due time in tribulation" [Psalms 9A.10]. Whence the passage in Proverbs 21 [.31]: "The horse is prepared for the day of battle: but the Lord giveth safety." Thus it was with Gregory of Monte Longo, because, experienced as he was in war, he hoped for, and expected, the victory from God; and he had it when he captured Victoria. Therefore, the passage in Proverbs 24 [.5-6] is applicable to him: "A wise man is strong: and a knowing man, stout and valiant. Because war is managed by due ordering: and there shall be safety where there are many counsels."

The stratagems the Lord taught his captains.

And take note that the Lord taught his own leaders who fought for him certain stratagems. This is made clear in Joshua, to whom the Lord said, 8 [.18]: "Lift up the shield that is in thy hand, towards the city of Hai, for I will deliver it to thee." And there are many examples of craftiness in battle recorded in this chapter. Moreover, the whole of the twentieth chapter of Deuteronomy is given over to the doctrine, means, and art of battle. See also II Kings 5 [.23-25], where the Lord said to David:

Go not up against them, but fetch a compass behind them, and thou shalt come upon them over against the pear trees. And when thou shalt hear the sound of one going in the tops of the pear trees, then shalt thou join battle: for then will the Lord go out before thy face to strike the army of the Philistines. And David did as the Lord had commanded him, and he smote the Philistines from Gabaa until thou come to Gezer.

Whence David said [Psalms 143.1]: "Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight, and my fingers to war," and again [Psalms 17.38-41]:

I will pursue after my enemies, and overtake them: and I will not turn again till they are consumed. I will break them, and they shall not be able to stand: they shall fall under my feet. And thou hast girded me with strength unto battle; and hast subdued under me them that rose up against me. And

thou hast made my enemies turn their back upon me, and hast destroyed them that hated me.

Hear how he attributed to God whatever victory he won in battle. Also, Vegetius writing on military art to the Emperor Theodosius describes many stratagems of the art of battle in his books—all of which I have seen and read. And these books are extremely useful to anyone who wishes to go to battle. The books of Machabees also record many stratagems useful in the art of battle. Likewise, the books of Kings, Judges, and Judith. It is also written of Josephus that he made use of many stratagems when he was defending Jotapata, a city in Judea, from its besieging enemies. For he arose at night and sprinkled oil secretly over the wooden machines and instruments that the Roman enemies had built in order to capture the city. Thus the next morning when the enemy rose to do battle, they failed to notice the oil and fell headlong.

Gregory of Monte Longo did similar things in Parma at the time that Frederick was besieging the city. For when he heard the Parmese complaining, for example, because help did not arrive to oppose the dragon's (that is, Frederick's) cunning, he resorted to trickery. He invited a number of the more notable knights of the city to dine with him, and I myself was there at table in the bishop's palace on that occasion. And while we were at dinner, a messenger came to the door and knocked loudly, seeking entrance. Then one of the servants openly announced the arrival of the messenger to the legate, and he ordered him to be brought in without delay before them all. He was dressed like a traveller who had come a long way, with dusty sandals and a letter attached to his belt. And after the legate received the letter, he ordered the messenger to be taken out to a separate place, fed well, and given rest. The legate did this so that he would appear to be considerate of the messenger's hard journey. But he did it also to keep the diners from asking the messenger about news that he could give only stutteringly, or, rather, would not have been able to give at all. What more? The letter was read to all of us in the audience, and it gave news of help soon to come. The people who were there at that dinner made this known to the whole city, and the entire population rejoiced and awaited help untroubled. Yet two Friars Minor of Milan who were living with the legate—Brother Jacopo and Brother Gregory—told me they had composed that letter themselves the evening before in the legate's room. But the wily legate did such things cautiously many times in order to comfort the people. Thus David sent a message to Joab saying, II Kings 11 [.25]: "Encourage thy warriors against the city, and exhort them that thou mayest overthrow it." Truly, this is what Gregory of Monte Longo, legate in Lombardy, did. For he encouraged his "warriors against the city" of Victoria, which Frederick had built. As a result of such stratagems he eventually captured the city and destroyed it so completely [II Kings 17.13]: "that there shall not be found so much as one small stone thereof." Thus the prophecy of Isaiah appears to be applicable to the city of Victoria, 30 [.13-14]: "The destruction thereof shall come on a sud-

den, when it is not looked for. And it shall be broken small, as the potter's vessel is broken all to pieces with mighty breaking, and there shall not a sherd be found of the pieces thereof, wherein a little fire may be carried from the hearth, or a little water be drawn out of the pit."

Gregory of Monte Longo's faithfulness.

Also, it is worth knowing that the Emperor laid temptation before Gregory of Monte Longo many times, seeking to gain his friendship and attract him to his party, and he promised him that he would make him a leader in his court second only to himself. Thus the words recorded in I Machabees 10 [.15-20] about Alexander and Jonathan can be adapted to the Emperor Frederick:

And King Alexander heard of the promises that Demetrius had made Jonathan: and they told him of the battles, and the worthy acts that he, and his brethren had done, and the labours that they had endured. And he said: shall we find such another man? now therefore we will make him our friend and our confederate. So he wrote a letter, and sent it to him according to these words, saying: King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have heard of thee, that thou art a man of great power, and fit to be our friend: Now therefore we make thee this day high priest of thy nation, and that thou be called the king's friend, (and he sent him a purple robe, and a crown of gold,) and that thou be of one mind with us in our affairs, and keep friendship with us.

But Frederick, the tempter and deceiver, labored in vain by making such suggestions to Gregory. For the sun can deviate from its course more easily and quickly than Fabricius can be perverted. So with Gregory of Monte Longo, whom no one could swerve from faithfulness. Whence Proverbs 28 [.20]: "A faithful man shall be much praised" is applicable to him, and also Proverbs 25 [.13]: "As the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithful messenger to him that sent him, for he refresheth his soul." Such a man was Gregory of Monte Longo.

Gregory of Monte Longo's talking crow.

This Gregory, the legate, was accustomed to live in Milan, Parma, and Ferrara. Once, however, a long time ago when he was living in Ferrara, he owned a crow, which he placed in pledge for a huge sum of money, but which he later got back again by repaying the debt. For this crow could speak like a human being, and it was a great trickster. It would, for example, get up in the middle of the night and call the pilgrim guests out of their hostels by crying out, "Who is going to Bologna? Who is going to Doiolo? Who is going to Peola? Come, come, come! Quickly, quickly! Get up, get up! Come, come! Bring your things! Let's go, let's go! To the ship, to the ship! Get up, get up! Hoist the sails, hoist the sails, hoist the sails! Get moving! Steer the ship, steer the ship!" Therefore, all the new guests who were ignorant of this bird's tricks would get out of bed, take

all their baggage, and wait almost the whole night at the Po for the ship that was to take them to their destination. And they wondered who had fooled them when nobody came. This crow was also a pest to a certain blind man, because whenever the blind man was begging with naked feet and legs along the shore of the Po, the crow would always bite his feet and legs with its beak. Then it would draw back and insult the blind man, crying out, "Now, you have it, now you have it!" One day, however, the blind man hit the crow with his staff and broke its wing. Then he said, "Now, *you* have it, now *you* have it!" And the blind man said, "Keep what you have! Take what is yours and go! 'Dissemblers and crafty men prove the wrath of God.' [Job 36.13] I struck you 'once, and there shall be no need of a second time' [I Kings 26.8]. Go to a doctor to see if he can heal you, for 'thy bruise is incurable, thy wound is very grievous'" [Jeremiah 30.12]. After that, Lord Gregory gave the crow as a pledge for money and would not redeem it. He gave it up because it had been wounded. Many men act just like this, because they give up their servants when they begin to get sick. Such was the man who said to David, I Kings 30 [.13]: "I am a young man of Egypt, the servant of an Amalecite, and my master left me, because I began to be sick three days ago." Ecclesiasticus did not teach this, but rather, 33 [.31]: "If thou have a faithful servant, let him be to thee as thy own soul: treat him as a brother." The centurion followed this advice well, who said to the Lord, Matthew 8 [.6-7]: "Lord, my servant lieth at home sick of the palsy, and is grievously tormented. And Jesus saith to him: I will come and heal him."

Lord Gregory, the legate, was also like the man described in Ecclesiasticus 34 [.9-10]: "A man that hath much experience, shall think of many things: and he that hath learned many things, shall shew forth understanding. He that hath no experience, knoweth little." He also transacted the business of the Church faithfully. Thus he earned the patriarchate of Aquileia as his reward, and he ruled it for many years, until his death. Once, he held a friendly conversation with Ezzelino da Romano, and many men marvelled at this—that two such men would speak on a friendly basis with one another. For Ezzelino was reputed to be a limb of the devil himself and "a son of Belial" to whom "no man can speak" [I Kings 25.17]. But Lord Gregory was a high "cedar in Libanus" [Ezekiel 31.3].

Praise of chastity.

Furthermore, it is worth knowing that Gregory of Monte Longo had the gout, and, moreover, was not a chaste man. I myself know about one of his affairs. But many secular clerks, who hold high church offices and live in luxury, appear to care little about chastity. And they say that the Apostle said, "If you can't be chaste, be careful."⁵¹ But the Apostle did not say this. He said rather, I Corinthians 15 [.33-34]: "Be not seduced: *Evil communications corrupt good manners*. Awake, ye just, and sin not!" and he says elsewhere, Galatians 6 [.5, 7-8]: "For every one shall bear his own burden. Be not deceived, God is not mocked. For what things a man shall sow, those also shall he reap. For he that soweth in his flesh,

of the flesh also shall reap corruption. But he that soweth in the spirit, of the spirit shall reap life everlasting." See also Wisdom, 9 [.15]: "For the corruptible body is a load upon the soul, and the earthly habitation presseth down the mind that museth upon many things," and Ecclesiasticus 14 [.20-21]: "Every work that is corruptible shall fail in the end: and the worker thereof shall go with it. And every excellent work shall be justified: and the worker thereof shall be honoured therein." Hear, therefore, what the Apostle says of chastity, I Corinthians 7 [.1]: "it is good for a man not to touch a woman." Why? Hear Ecclesiasticus 13 [.1]: "He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled with it: and he that hath fellowship with the proud, shall put on pride." The devil is proud, and whoever communicates with him imitates him. Also the Apostle says earlier [I Corinthians 7.7]: "For I would that all men were even as myself: but every one hath his proper gift from God; one after this manner, and another after that," and I Corinthians 3 [.16-18]: "Know you not, that you are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? But if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy. For the temple of God is holy, which you are. Let no man deceive you," and II Corinthians 6 [.14-16]:

Bear not the yoke with unbelievers. For what participation hath justice with injustice? Or what fellowship hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath the faithful with the unbeliever? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? For you are the temple of the living God; as God saith: *I will dwell in them, and walk among them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.*

I have cited all these passages because certain worldly clerks who want to live carnally cite the authority of the Apostle for the mad saying, "If you can't be chaste, be careful." I believe I have heard them say this a hundred times. And by no means did the Apostle ever teach such a doctrine, although he does say, I Timothy 3 [.2, 4]: "It behoveth therefore a bishop to be blameless, having his children in subjection with all chastity," and below, Timothy 5 [.22]: "Keep thyself chaste." The Lord also says on this subject, Matthew 19 [.12]: "There are eunuchs, who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," and Luke 12 [.35]: "Let your loins be girt." Also the Apostle, Ephesians 6 [.14]: "Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth," and Ephesians 5 [.3-7]:

But fornication, and all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not so much as be named among you, as becometh saints: Or obscenity, or foolish talking, or scurrility, which is to no purpose; but rather giving of thanks. For know you this and understand, that no fornicator, or unclean, or covetous person (which is a serving of idols), hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words. For because of these things cometh the anger of God upon the children of unbelief. Be ye not therefore partakers with them,

and Hebrews 13 [.4]: "For fornicators and adulterers God will judge."

Ezzelino da Romano, the year in which he was captured in battle and died, and where he is buried.

It is worthy of record that Pope Alexander IV sought to change Ezzelino da Romano from a limb of the devil to a son of God and a friend of the Church, but there were two impediments to this change. First, because Ecclesiastes 7 [.14] says: "Consider the works of God, that no man can correct whom he hath despised." Whence John said in the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.11]: "He that hurteth, let him hurt still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still." Second, because Ezzelino was captured in battle in 1259, died in that same year, and lies buried in Sulcino in the bishopric of Cremona. In the following year, 1260, at the beginning of the devotion of the flagellants, Pope Alexander IV died, and it was ordained that his anniversary be celebrated on the Vigil of the translation of St. Francis, that is, on the ninth Kalends of June or May 24.

Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, who wanted to learn the art of black magic [nigromantie].

After Gregory of Monte Longo, Lord Philip, by grace of God and of the Church archbishop of Ravenna, was made legate of the Church. In his letter describing the boundaries of his office as legate, the Pope wrote as follows: "May everyone know so that there remains no doubt that the office of legate has been granted by us over the following territories: the patriarchates of Aquileia and Grado, the cities of Ragusa, Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, as well as the dioceses and provinces throughout the whole of Lombardy, Romagna, and the March of Treviso."⁵² This legate was born in Tuscany near the city of Pistoia, and while still a poor student he made his way to Toledo because he wanted to learn the art of black magic [nigromantie]. And one day as he was sitting in the city under a portico, a knight came by and asked him what he was seeking. And when the boy made it known that he was a Lombard and gave the reason why he had come to that city, the knight took him to an illustrious master of that art, a bent, old man. Then he recommended the boy to the master, beseeching him for his love to instruct him carefully in his art. The old man brought the boy into his room, gave him a book, and said to him, "Read until I return." Then he went out and closed the door, locking it carefully. While the young man was reading, however, demons suddenly appeared before him in all sorts of shapes and forms. For the whole room seemed to be full of mice, cats, dogs, and pigs running here and there throughout the chamber. But when he said nothing to them, he suddenly found himself outside the room sitting in the street. Then the master returned and said, "What are you doing here, son?" And the boy told him what had happened. The master then brought him back into the room and left him as before locking the door firmly. Again, as the boy read, there appeared to him many boys and girls running throughout the room. And when he said nothing to them, he found himself

sitting in the street again. When the master saw this, he said to him, "You Lombards are not for this art, and so leave it in the hands of us Spaniards, who are ferocious men like the demons themselves. But you, son, go to Paris and study Holy Scripture, for you have a great future ahead of you in the Church." Therefore, making his way to the University of Paris, he studied and learned very well indeed. Then he returned to Lombardy and stayed at Ferrara with Bishop Garsindino, one of the sons of Manfred of Modena and the brother of Pomposo the abbot. And this bishop made him his chamberlain. After the death of that bishop, another one was chosen, but after that one, this man was elected bishop of Ferrara. And he remained the elect of Ferrara for many years, until he became archbishop of Ravenna. But when Pope Innocent IV came from Lyons to Ferrara, this man⁵³ {...}

The nun who had decided to desert God, but whom God saved.

{...}

How God consoles his friends.

{...}

Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, gathers an army against Ezzelino.

"And it came to pass . . . at the time when kings go forth to war" [II Kings 11.1], Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna and papal legate, came to Ferrara. That time is called May when kings are accustomed to go out to war, because the weather is then serene, happy, and temperate, a time when the nightingale repeats her song and grass abounds for oxen and horses.⁵⁴ And when he was at Ferrara he called together all the citizens of the city, along with all the Paduans who were guests there, and made a speech to them at the door of St. George Cathedral. (In that same neighborhood was St. Romanus Church). And all the men of religion gathered there and all the common people from the highest to the lowest. For they expected to hear great things of God. I too was there near the archbishop, and Bonusdies Judeus, who was a friend of mine, sat next to me in order to hear. Then standing "in the gate of the house of the Lord" [Jeremiah 7.2], the legate began to speak out in a loud voice, and he preached to the people, but only a brief sermon, for the words should be short and to the point if they are to move the audience to action. And he laid out clearly how he had been made legate by the Pope in opposition to Ezzelino da Romano and how he wished to organize a crusading army for the purpose of recovering Padua, so that the exiled Paduans could return to their city. And whoever would join the army in that expedition, he made clear, would have indulgence and remission and absolution of all their sins. "And let nobody say: 'It is impossible for us to fight against so devilish a man, whom even the demons fear,' because it is not impossible to God, who will fight for us." Thus we read that Judas Machabeus said to his troops when he prepared to engage the enemy, I Machabees 3 [.18-19]: "It is an easy matter for

many to be shut up in the hands of a few: and there is no difference in the sight of the God of heaven to deliver with a great multitude, or with a small company: For the success of war is not in the multitude of the army, but strength cometh from heaven." Then the legate added, "In honor and praise of the omnipotent God, of his blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and not least of St. Anthony, whose body is venerated in Padua, I say to you that if I had in my army only the orphans, school boys, widows, and others afflicted by Ezzelino, I would still expect to have the victory over that limb of the devil and son of iniquity. For now the 'cry' of his evil ascends 'up to heaven' [I Machabees 5.31] and will thus battle against him from heaven. For Holy Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 35 [.16-19; 21-23]:

The Lord will not accept any person against a poor man, and he will hear the prayer of him that is wronged. He will not despise the prayers of the fatherless; nor the widow, when she poureth out her complaint. Do not the widow's tears run down the cheek, and her cry against him that causeth them to fall? For from the cheek they go up even to heaven, and the Lord that heareth will not be delighted with them. The prayer of him that humbleth himself, shall pierce the clouds: . . . And the Lord will not be slack, but will judge for the just, and will do judgment: and the Almighty will not have patience with them, that he may crush their back: And he will repay vengeance to the Gentiles, till he have taken away the multitude of the proud, and broken the sceptres of the unjust. "

And when the legate had ended his exhortation, the audience was overjoyed. Then with his army thus gathered he went at the proper time to do battle against Padua, which Ezzelino had strongly fortified with fifteen hundred knights, all powerful men experienced in war. Ezzelino, however, was living elsewhere, for he feared the fall of Padua as little as God fears that the heavens will fall, especially since he had fortified the city with three walls and had moats both inside and out, not to mention a host of knights and people. For he held those who would attack such a city and attempt to capture it as [Judith 5.27]: "men unarmed, and without force, and without skill in the art of war."

Brother Clarello, A Friar Minor, makes himself the standard-bearer of this army.

In this army there was a lay brother of the Order of the Friars Minor, a Paduan, whose name was Clarello, and I knew him very well. He was a man of great courage, and his highest desire was for the Paduans who had been exiled from the city for a long time to be able to return home. Seeing "that the time served him" [I Machabees 12.1] and knowing that "the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the strong" [I Corinthians 1.27], this man made himself the standard-bearer of this army. For he wished to discover whether God, who had once given victory to his people through Jonathan and his standard-bearer, would give salvation through his hand. He marched at the head of this army, and coming upon a farmer with three mares, he took one of

them away from him by force. Then he mounted the horse and holding in his hand a long pole like a lance, he rode back and forth crying out loudly, "Eia, soldiers of Christ! Eia, soldiers of St. Peter! Eia, soldiers of St. Anthony! Cast off your fear, 'be strengthened in the Lord, and in the might of his power' [Ephesians 6.10], for the Lord 'is strong and mighty: the Lord mighty in battle' [Psalms 23.8]. 'Do ye manfully, and let your heart be strengthened' [Psalms 30.25], because the Lord 'will give power and strength to his people. Blessed be God' [Psalms 67.36]. 'The Lord will give strength to his people: the Lord will bless his people with peace'" [Psalms 28.11]. What more? The army, excited and comforted by this man's cries, was ready to follow him wherever he went. And Brother Clarello added, "Let's go, let's go! Get them, Get them! 'Salvation is of the Lord: and thy blessing is upon thy people' [Psalms 3.9]. 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered: and let them that hate him flee from before his face' [Psalms 67.2]. Now, the words of the Scripture, Leviticus 26 [.7-9], must be fulfilled: 'You shall pursue your enemies, and they shall fall before you. Five of yours shall pursue a hundred others, and a hundred of you ten thousand: your enemies shall fall before you by the sword. I will look on you, and make you increase: you shall be multiplied, and I will establish my covenant with you.'" Therefore, the army followed this herald and standard-bearer, and laid siege to the city. And the Lord laid fear on the hearts of those inside, so that they did not dare to resist.

Another Friar Minor, by whose ingenuity and the help of God, Padua was captured.

There was another lay Brother in this army, a holy man devoted to God, and when this man was still a secular he had served as Ezzelino's master engineer in charge of making war machines—catapults and battering rams—all used to capture cities and castles. And so the legate commanded him, on his love of the Order, to divest himself of the robe of the Brothers and to put on a simple white garment and employ himself in constructing a battering ram by which the city could be taken suddenly. This Brother humbly obeyed, and, very quickly, he built a battering ram, in the front part of which there was fire and in the rear, armed men. And so the city was quickly captured. When the men of the Church party entered the city, however, they sought to injure no one: they neither killed nor captured nor took spoils nor laid waste, but they spared everyone and allowed them to leave freely. And they counted themselves blessed that they could accomplish so much without harm to anyone. "And all the city rejoiced and was glad" [Esther 8.15], and no wonder, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 29 [.8]: "Corrupt men bring a city to ruin: but wise men turn away wrath." Those men who left Padua were accursed men, of whom Isaiah 49 [.17] says: "Thy builders are come: they that destroy thee and make thee waste shall go out of thee." Those who left Padua were destroyers and wasters. But the men who entered were builders, to whom what we read of the Jews in Esther 8 [.16-17] is highly appropriate: "But to the Jews a new light seemed to rise, joy, honour, and dancing. And in all peoples, cities, and provinces."

St. Anthony's city of Padua was recovered from Ezzelino on the octave of Anthony's feast day.

Because the Paduans recaptured their city and gained the victory on the octave of St. Anthony,⁵⁵ they now celebrate this day even more splendidly than they did in the past. To this, the words of Assuerus at the end of the book of Esther are fitting [16.21-22]: "For the almighty God hath turned this day of sadness and mourning into joy to them. Wherefore you shall also count this day among other festival days, and celebrate it with all joy," etc., to the end of the book, all of which pertains to this subject. The men of the Church party of Bologna, however, truly cannot sing these verses, because they cannot even bear to hear this saint's name mentioned in Bologna. For it was on his feast day in the year of the Lord 1275 that at Ponto San Proculo their forces were killed and put to flight, captured, and imprisoned by the exiled Bolognese (called the Lambertaci) in league with the men of Faenza and Forlì. In the preceding year the Lambertaci themselves had been expelled from Bologna by the Church party on June 1, when the two forces first clashed together in civil war. Whence we read that David said, II Kings 11 [.25]: "Various is the event of war: and sometimes one, sometimes another is consumed by the sword," and he spoke the truth. Thus the poet says:

Frequently we see the victor conquered by the conquered.⁵⁶

The actions taken by Lord Philip, legate to Germany, after the death of the Landgrave.

Now, although he was famous before, after the capture of Padua, Lord Philip was even more famous for a long time. Years before, he had gone into Germany as papal legate on a mission to the Landgrave, who had been made Emperor after the deposition of Frederick. And at the time of his legation, there were three provinces of the Order in Germany, and there were some Brothers there who were contemptuous of discipline in the Order and refused to obey the Ministers. And so when they came to consult with the legate, he captured them and turned them over to the Ministers to execute judgment and justice on them according to the statutes of the Order. After this, however, the Landgrave suddenly died. And when he heard of the Landgrave's death, the legate was fearful of Frederick's son Conrad, who had taken over Germany, and so he commanded his servants not to open the door to anybody for a number of days, because he had decided to flee to avoid capture. Thus changing his dress and traveling secretly with a single companion, he made his way to a convent of the Friars Minor. And calling the Guardian aside, he said to him, "Do you recognize me?" And the Guardian answered, "Not at all." Then the legate said, "I know you very well. And I lay this command on you: the things which I am about to tell you are to be kept to yourself and not revealed to anyone until I give you permission. Moreover, you're never to speak to anyone save in my presence, and then not in German but in Latin. The Landgrave is dead, and I am the legate. Therefore, give me and my companion a robe of the Order and help us get away. Take me to a safe convent to prevent my being captured by Conrad." What more? All these things

were done obediently and gladly. Yet when they sought to go out of the city, they found the first gate closed and, likewise, the second and third. But at the third they saw a large dog going outside through a ditch under the gate, and they thought that perhaps they too could go out in that way. Yet when they attempted to do so, the legate was so fat that he got stuck, but the Guardian put his foot on his posterior and pushed until he squeezed through. And so when all four had got out, they hurried on and arrived that very day at a convent of sixty Friars Minor in a neighboring city. There, when he was asked whether these were friars that he was bringing with him, the Guardian answered, "The Lombards are great people. For the love of God, show these men love and courtesy; serve them well, and bring honor on yourselves. For honor becomes the one who extends it far more than the one who receives it. And the man who serves gladly and freely without thought of reward is truly courteous." Then the Guardian of that convent came with ten Brothers and ate with them in the guest house with great friendliness and hospitality, and they were made to feel completely at home. And after dinner when the legate was assured that he was in a safe place and had escaped all dangers, he gave permission to the Guardian who had brought him there to let them know who he was. Then the Guardian said, "Beloved, let me introduce you to the man with whom you are eating: this is the papal legate. I have brought him to you because the Landgrave is dead, and here we knew that we would not have to fear Conrad. Even my companion, who made the trip with me, was as ignorant of this as you until this moment." When the brothers heard this, they began to tremble like a reed in water. But the legate said, "Fear not, Brothers! [John 5.42]: 'I know you, that you have . . . the love of God in you.' You have ministered unto us like good servants. You have displayed love and courtesy and friendliness. May the Lord reward you! I have been a friend of the Order of the Blessed Francis, and I will be a friend all the days of my life." And he was indeed. For he gave the Church of San Pietro Maggiore in Ravenna to the Brothers, and in every case that lay in his jurisdiction he gave us the right of preaching, hearing confession, and giving absolution.

The harsh punishments the bishop of Ravenna laid on members of his household when they acted badly.

This bishop of Ravenna was surrounded by a group of fierce and violent servants. Yet they all revered the Friars Minor as if they were the very Apostles of Christ, because they knew that their lord dearly loved us. There were forty of these men, and the bishop always had them with him, armed, so that they might serve as his bodyguards. And they feared him like the devil himself. Even Ezzelino da Romano scarcely inspired more fear. For he laid the harshest kind of punishments on them. On one occasion, for example, when the archbishop was travelling from Ravenna to Strasbourg, the archepiscopal city, he had one of his men tied up and dragged through the marsh water like a fish — merely because he had forgotten to bring the salt. Another time, he had a man tied to

a long pole and turned like a spit over the fire. But when his servants saw such a cruel sight and wept over the man, he said to them, "You miserable creatures, now you are weeping!" Then he commanded the man to be taken off the fire, but he had been badly burned and had had great fear for his life. Moreover, he chained up his administrator and cast him into prison, a certain Tuscan named Amanato, and there he was eaten up by rats. Yet the only accusation he made against him was that he had wasted his goods. And he inflicted other cruelties on the men of his household and laid heavy punishments on them and inspired great fear in the others. And so God allowed him to be captured by Ezzelino while he was still legate. Ezzelino had him carefully guarded, and wherever he went he took him with him so that he could watch over him better. Yet Ezzelino treated him with honor and reverence, despite the fact that he had taken Padua away from him. But the Lord who freed Manassa from prison and restored him to his kingdom freed him, in the following way: a certain man from Reggio named Gerard de Campsori got him out of his cell and let him down from the roof by a rope; and so he escaped from the hands of Ezzelino in the name of the Lord. And the archbishop was not unmindful of this benefit, this great service, for he repaid Gerard well by making him canon of the cathedral of Ravenna. Also, he gave the bishopric of Cesena to Brother Enverardo, a member of his household who had been captured with him. Brother Enverardo, however, got out of prison only after Ezzelino's death, when all the prisoners held by that accursed man were freed.

This archbishop also had two nephews, Francis and Philip. But Philip was actually his son; he was twenty-five or thirty years old and as handsome as a second Absalon. And Philip, the archbishop of Ravenna and papal legate, loved him as his own soul, according to the words of the Apostle in Ephesians 5 [.29]: "For no man ever hated his own flesh; but nourisheth and cherisheth it." And so whoever would fill the hands of these two young men could have any ecclesiastical office he wanted from the archbishop. Thus these two became rich beyond measure. He also had a beautiful daughter, whom he sought to marry to Jacopo de Bernardo, but this lord would not take her, not only because she was illegitimate but also because he would not take a dowry from the goods of the Church — and finally, because he had decided to become a Friar Minor and die in the Order of the Blessed Francis, as he did.

How the archbishop of Ravenna gave me the relics of the prophet Elisha, which I took to Parma.

This archbishop was also a melancholic man, subject to fits of sadness and wrath, and he was "a son of Belial" to whom "no man" could "speak" [I Kings 25.17]. To me, however, he was always benevolent, friendly, courteous, and generous. Once, for example, he gave me the relics of the blessed Elisha, of whom we read in the book of Kings. These relics had been preserved in the monastery of St. Lawrence in a stone vault of the royal chapel in the former town of Cesarea near Ravenna. I took all the principal bones to the convent of the Friars Minor in Par-

ma and deposited them in the high altar, where they remain to this day. and I composed the following epitaph which I added to the original one in lead:

Here the bones of Elisha lie, relics and remains which I,
Salimbene, by God's grace brought to this place.⁵⁷

Yet I was unable to obtain the head of Elisha, because the Brothers of St. Augustine had already carried it off without permission.

But the archbishop concerned himself more with war than with the relics of saints. Once when he was legate, he came to Faenza, where I was living. The abbeſs of the monastery of St. Clare had asked to ſpeak with him and ſo he ſent for the Brothers to accompany him, both for the ſake of appearance and for his own honor. For he loved honor more than anybody in the world, it ſeemed to me, and, more than anybody in the world, he knew how to lord it over other men, as I have heard other people ſay and as it appeared to me. On this occaſion, there were ten of us Brothers who accompanied him. And after we warmed ourſelves — for it was a Sabbath day in January, early in the morning on the feaſt of St. Timothy⁵⁸ — the archbiſhop dressed himſelf in his eccleſiaſtical regalia ſo that he might honorably enter the monaſtery. But the ſleeves of his chemiſe were too tight, and he got upſet. Then the biſhop of Faenza ſaid to him, “It is not too ſmall for me; it fits me perfectly.” And the archbiſhop ſaid, “How is that? Is this your chemiſe?” “Yes,” replied the biſhop. “And where is mine?” asked the archbiſhop. Finally, it was diſcovered that one of his ſervants had taken it to Ravenna. And ſo the archbiſhop ſaid, “In truth, I marvel greatly at my patience. Yet I’ll puniſh him properly when he gets back. For what is delayed is not forgotten.” But I ſaid to the archbiſhop, “Be patient, father, for ‘patience hath a perfect work’ [James 1.4], and the Wiſe Man ſays in Proverbs 25 [.15]: ‘By patience a prince ſhall be appeaſed, and a ſoft tongue ſhall break hardneſs,’ and the bleſſed James ſays [1.20]: ‘the anger of man worketh not the juſtice of God.’ Moreover, Eccleſiaſticus 3 [.19] ſays: ‘My ſon, do thy works in meekneſs, and thou ſhalt be beloved above the glory of men.’” Then the archbiſhop ſaid, “But the Wiſe Man alſo ſays in Proverbs, 13 [.24]: ‘He that ſpareth the rod hateth his ſon: but he that loveth him correcteth him betimes,’ and the Lord himſelf ſays in Job 41 [.3]: ‘I will not ſpare him, nor his mighty words, and framed to make ſupplication,’ and Eccleſiaſticus 30 [.1] ſays: ‘He that loveth his ſon, frequently chaiſiſeth him, that he may rejoice in his latter end, and not grope after the doors of his neighbors.’” Seeing that the archbiſhop was firmly determined to puniſh the ſinner, I ſaid, “Let us change the ſubject, father, and talk of other matters. Will you celebrate Maſs?” And he replied, “No, I want you to ſing Maſs.” I answered, “I will obey you gladly.” Then the archbiſhop ſaid, “Would you like for me to prophesy to you about the next Pope?” For the papal chair was empty after the death of Pope Urban IV, who was from Troyes. And we ſaid, “Yes, father, tell us who the next Pope will be.” And he ſaid, “Pope Gregory IX greatly loved the Order of the Bleſſed Francis. Now, will come Gregory X, who will love

the Friars Minor even more." The archbishop believed that he was speaking of himself, for he desired to be Pope very much, and indeed expected to be. There were a number of reasons for his belief: first of all, because of his great love for the Friars Minor, and also because of the prediction by the magician of Toledo that he would become great in the Church of God. Moreover, he recognized that he was a great man and that during the disagreement of the Cardinals concerning the election of the Pope, his name had been brought up. Then I answered him and said, "Father, God willing, you will be this Gregory X. You have loved us and then you will love us even more." But it did not come to pass. Clement IV, not Gregory X, succeeded to the papacy. Thus the archbishop of Ravenna did not become Pope, that it might be shown that "It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy," Romans 9 [.16], and John 3 [.27]: "A man cannot receive any thing, unless it be given him from heaven."

After this conversation, the archbishop said, "These are the ones who shall go into the monastery: all of the Brothers who are here, but of my company only the bishop of Faenza, the archdeacon of Ravenna, and the podestà of this city." For the podestà of Faenza, Lord Lambertino de Samaritani of Bologna, was with us, and he was the son of the abbess's sister. The abbess was born in Faenza, and she could attract the hearts of all men to her when she wished with her words and gifts. For Cardinal Ottaviano was her friend and protector, and gladly granted all her requests. As we came up to the door of the church, we saw a lay Brother swinging a thurible. And after the legate had been censed, he took the thurible in his own hand and censed each Brother as he entered the church, saying, "*De l'incenso a li frati me'. De l'incenso a li frati me'. De l'incenso a li frati me'!*" — which is to say, "With incense to my brothers." Then we came to a set of stairs, and as we were going up (and later when we went back down and out), the archbishop leaned on me for support, both that I might assist him and that he might do me the honor. I supported him on the right side; the archdeacon of Ravenna, on the left. The church was in an upper room, and the entire congregation of those ladies, to the number of seventy-two, were gathered there. After the celebration of Mass and the completion of all business, we returned and found a huge, roaring fire prepared for us. And at that moment the ninth hour sounded. Then laying aside his vestments, the legate said, "I invite all of you to dinner with me." I believe he said this at least ten times, speaking in the Tuscan dialect, "*Mo' ve c'envito e si ve ce renvito*" — which is to say, "I invite you to dinner, and I invite you again." Yet the Brothers were so timid and embarrassed that I could persuade only two of them to stay. All the others went back to the convent to eat. When I came to the bishop's palace, the legate said to me, "Today is Saturday, and the bishop and the podestà want to eat meat. Let us send them away and go to the palace dining room, where we will have plenty to eat." And so we went, and he seated me next to himself at the table. Yet he told me over and over again that he took it very ill that I had failed to bring the other Brothers whom he had invited. And I did not dare to tell him that they did not wish to come, for he

would have been very angry. I told him instead that some other time he could have the entire convent, for he always rejoiced greatly in any honor shown him. The archdeacon had also joined us, and he sat apart at a lower table. He was a friend of mine and he sent me a gift.

The synod at Ravenna called together at Ursiana Church by the legate to discuss the Tartars.

At the instance of Pope Alexander IV, this archbishop of Ravenna called together a council of all the bishops of his district at Ravenna in Ursiana Church, the cathedral, because there were new rumors abroad about the Tartars. This council was called for the good of the Christian people, so that these bishops could set their churches in readiness to move against the Tartars in defense of Christianity if the Pope so ordered, and so that they might pray God once again to remove the threat of all barbarian nations from them and the Christian people. The council was attended by a huge number of priests, archpriests, canons, and clerks. Also, the archbishop had sent word to all the Guardians of the Order of the Friars Minor of the Bolognese province that they and their lectors should attend this synod. And they were preparing to go, but Brother Bonagrazia, the Minister General, wanted no one to attend except Brother Aldobrand of Fiegnano, who had once been Minister of Bologna and was at that time lector of Modena. I myself accompanied Brother Aldobrand all the way to Ferrara. Also, Brother Claro of Florence and Brother Manfred of Tortona — both of whom were great scholars and teachers — were to accompany Brother Aldobrand. For although he was Minister General, Brother Bonagrazia did not wish to attend, but instead delegated all of his authority to Brother Aldobrand.

Many enemies rise up against the Friars Minor and the Preachers, accusing them of four things for which they ought rather to have thanked them.

The clerks gathered together at this council then rose up against the Friars Minor and the Preachers. And they made the following accusations against them: that the Brothers fail to teach the doctrine of tithes; that they act as confessors, which office belongs only to the regular clergy; that they give burial to the dead; and that they exercise the office of preaching, which also belongs only to the regular clergy. In these four ways, the regular clergy are hindered in their means of livelihood.

Both Lord Obizzo, bishop of Parma, and Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, rise up in defense of the Minorites and Preachers.

Then Obizzo of San Vitale, bishop of Parma and nephew of the late Pope Innocent IV of good memory, rose up in defense of the Minorites and Preachers. And he said that none of those things the two Orders were accused of was a hindrance whatsoever to the regular clergy, but rather a help and assistance to them. With sound arguments he defended the Brothers in fine fashion, and confounded the clergy, so that, as it seemed to them, he became their worst enemy. The arch-

bishop also, seeing the Brothers condemned harshly for those four abovementioned deeds, came to their defense immediately, saying, "You stupid fools, I did not call you together so that you could rise up and attack these two Orders, who were sent by God to help your Church and to save the Christian people and all men who will be saved. I called this council together instead so that we might come to some decision with respect to the Tartars, as the Pope commanded me and the other archbishops." But when the clergy continued to murmur, the archbishop became angry and spoke again, saying, "You stupid fools, to whom shall I give the task of confessing the seculars, if not to the Friars Minor and the Preachers? I cannot give it to you with a clear conscience, for when the seculars come to you for confession seeking medicine for their souls, you give them poison instead. For you take the women behind the altar on the pretext of confessing them, and there you know them carnally [*eas cognoscitis*]: which is an evil to speak of and worse to do. Thus the Lord complains of you through his prophet Hosea [6.10]: 'I have seen a horrible thing in the house of Israel: the fornications of Ephraim there.' Therefore, you are complaining that the Brothers hear confession because you do not want them to know of your evil deeds, of which the Lord said to the Jews, John 3 [.19–21]: 'their works were evil. For every one that doth evil hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, that his works may not be reproved. But he that doth truth, cometh to the light, that his works may be made manifest, because they are done in God.' So also the Apostle in Ephesians 5 [.11–13]: 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them. For the things that are done by them in secret, it is a shame even to speak of. But all things that are reproved, are made manifest by the light; for all that is made manifest is light.' Shall I," the archbishop continued, "allow the priest Gerard (who is here present) to hear the confessions of women when I know well that his house is filled with sons and daughters? To this man is fitting the prophecy [Psalms 127.3]: 'Thy children as olive plants, round about thy table.' And should such a man, this priest Gerard, be alone in such matters without any witnesses?" After the archbishop had spoken about such matters so openly, all those who knew themselves to be guilty of the same sin blushed for shame. Thus was fulfilled the Scripture which says, Ecclesiastes 7 [.4]: "Anger is better than laughter: because by the sadness of the countenance the mind of the offender is corrected."

The satisfactory answer I made to three archpriests, my friends, concerning the accusations against the Friars Minor and Preachers at the Ravenna council.

At that time I was living in Modena, and one day as I was on my way to Bologna, I met three archpriests, friends and acquaintances of mine, who were returning from the abovementioned council. These men were the archpriest of Campogalliano; the archpriest of Cittanuova, the brother of Brother Boniface de Guidoni and a great decretalist; and the archpriest of Pieve Trebbio, Lord Ugolino. (Pieve Trebbio is situated in the Alps, and I myself was once there with Ugolino.) I asked these three what the occasion of the council had been and what matters

had been discussed there, if they were at liberty to say. And they answered, "The council was held to discuss the problem of the Tartars, and it was decided that all the clergy who, like us, have prebends be required to help defend the Roman Church for the common good of Christianity against the Tartar threat, if need should arise. But during the council large numbers of the regular clergy rose up in complaint against the Friars Minor and the Preachers, accusing you of four evils which you do to us, and which we can in no wise bear patiently. Yet we were not heard and no satisfaction whatsoever was given to us. Rather, we had to suffer insults and slander, and both our archbishop and the bishop of Parma came to your defense. Therefore, we ask you to come to us whenever you can so that we can discuss together the truth of these four accusations, because, as St. Gregory says, 'Nothing is fully known until it is broken with the teeth of debate.'"⁵⁹ And I answered, "I will hear you gladly."

As soon as we managed to get together, therefore, they said to me, "We, and all the regular clergy with us, complain of you two Orders that you have harmed us in four ways which we consider grievous. The first has to do with tithes, which you ought to exhort the seculars to pay us diligently in your sermons, especially since this is commanded by divine law. The second pertains to sepulture, because you seek to bury our dead, our parishioners who were obligated to us in life, and through this means our churches are defrauded of many temporal goods. The third is that against our will and to our harm you presume to hear the confessions of those committed to us. The fourth and last is that you have totally usurped the office of preaching so that the populace no longer desire to hear us."

About paying tithes, and proof from the prophets and kings of the requirement of tithes.

Then I answered and said, "We are not in a position to preach tithing, but you who receive them, and rightly receive them, can remind the people who pay them to you of this duty. For it does not seem right for us to interrupt a sermon about some apostle or some great saint and pursue the question of tithing. We marvel greatly, in fact, and take it very ill that you seek to impose such duties on us. You might as well complain of us because we do not harvest and winnow your crops for you. Thus the Apostle says in I Corinthians 6 [4]: 'If therefore you have judgments of things pertaining to this world, set them to judge, who are the most despised in the church.' Similarly, worldly business matters should be handled by the despised. Our intention, however, is to preach of greater things. Yet, sometimes, when we are preaching on the subject of ill-gotten gains, we do at that time preach of tithing. Yet we should not be required to incorporate a section on tithing in every sermon we preach, for that would be clearly disruptive, and the people would scorn it. On the other hand, you could, of course, reasonably complain of us if we preached against the doctrine of tithing. This, however, none of us ever do, for the Lord expressly says through Malachi, 3 [8-9]: 'In tithes and in firstfruits. And you are cursed with want, and you afflict me, even the whole nation of you.' The Lord spoke these words about those who ill

fulfilled the commandment to give a tenth and the first-fruits, calling them accursed for this reason. And in that same place [Malachi 3.10–12] the Lord adds:

Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house, and try me in this, saith the Lord: if I open not unto you the flood-gates of heaven, and pour you out a blessing even to abundance. And I will rebuke for your sakes the devourer, and he shall not spoil the fruit of your land: neither shall the vine in the field be barren, saith the Lord of hosts. And all nations shall call you blessed: for you shall be a delightful land, saith the Lord of hosts.

That the Lord's promise here was true we can clearly prove by II Paralipomenon 31 [.4–12]:

He commanded also the people that dwelt in Jerusalem, to give to the priests, and the Levites their portion, that they might attend to the law of the Lord. Which when it was noised abroad in the ears of the people, the children of Israel offered in abundance the firstfruits of corn, wine, and oil, and honey: and brought the tithe of all things which the ground bringeth forth. Moreover the children of Israel and Juda, that dwelt in the cities of Juda, brought in the tithes of oxen, and sheep, and the tithes of holy things, which they had vowed to the Lord their God: and carrying them all, made many heaps. In the third month they began to lay the foundations of the heaps, and in the seventh month, they finished them. And when Ezechias and his princes came in, they saw the heaps, and they blessed the Lord and the people of Israel. And Ezechias asked the priests and the Levites, why the heaps lay so. Azarias the chief priest of the race of Sadoc answered him, saying: Since the firstfruits began to be offered in the house of the Lord, we have eaten, and have been filled, and abundance is left, because the Lord hath blessed his people: and of that which is left is this great store which thou seest. Then Ezechias commanded to prepare storehouses in the house of the Lord. And when they had done so, They brought in faithfully both the firstfruits, and the tithes, and all they had vowed.

Thus with respect to the words of the Lord [Luke 12.31]: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you,' Jerome says, 'Let a man be what he ought to be and all his needs will be met.'⁶⁰

The first-fruits began with Abel, the tenth with Abraham.

"Take note that the giving of the first-fruits was begun by Abel, who was the first to bring them to God, Genesis 4 [.4]. The tenth was begun by Abraham, who gave it to Melchisadech after the victory over the five kings, Genesis 14 [.20]: 'And he gave him the tithes of all.' Jacob also promised to give a tenth to God, Genesis 28 [.21–22]: 'The Lord shall be my God: And this stone, which I have set up for a title, shall be called the house of God: and of all things that thou

shalt give to me, I will offer tithes to thee.' This tenth was also later commanded by the Lord, Exodus 22 [.29]: 'Thou shalt not delay to pay thy tithes and thy firstfruits,' and below, 23 [.19]: 'Thou shalt carry the firstfruits of the corn of thy ground to the house of the Lord thy God,' and again [.10-11]: 'Six years thou shalt sow thy ground, and shalt gather the corn thereof. But the seventh year thou shalt let it alone, and suffer it to rest, that the poor of thy people may eat, and whatsoever shall be left, let the beasts of the field eat it: so shalt thou do with thy vineyard and thy oliveyard.' When this was observed, as Josephus records, the fruit was so plentiful in the sixth year that it was sufficient for the seventh year and furnished seed for the eighth."⁶¹

About keeping the seventh year, which is called the year of rest and remission, and what Josephus says about it.

The tenth is required for three reasons: (1) it is required by divine commandment, (2) it is the food in the Lord's house, and (3) it is a sign of our redemption.

"Take note that this seventh year in which the earth rested was called the year of rest and the year of remission, because during this time no one was permitted to exact a debt from another, and if during that year anything grew up out of the old fruits, 'the poor of the people shall eat,' etc., as above [Exodus 10.11]. Take note that, as recorded in Luke 15, the woman of the gospel, that is, divine wisdom, had ten groats and lost one when Adam sinned, while nine orders of angels remained with her. Yet some of the angels fell, that is to say, those in whom 'he found wickedness,' as recorded in Job 4 [.18]; and some remained totally faithful to God, of whom it is recorded in Job 25 [.2-3]: 'Who maketh peace in his high places. Is there any numbering of his soldiers?' The point here is that although some fell, the number of those who serve him in war is still without measure. These are the soldiers of whom the Lord speaks in Zachariah 9 [.8]: 'I will encompass my house with them that serve me in war, going and returning.'

"Therefore, for that tenth groat which was lost and found again we are required to offer the tenth of all our goods to God in sign of the joy at its recovery. For it is not without reason that the tenth is commanded to be offered to God or that it was preceded by such a large number of types. Therefore, I consider God's intention when he said [Malachi 3.10]: 'Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in my house,' and I consider the great overabundance of food in the houses of so many of the secular clergy and the great lands they possess, so expansive that twenty teams of oxen cannot plow them. When I consider all these things, I do not in good conscience see how I could dare preach that a tenth should be given to them. And this is especially true when I see them giving the riches of the Church more freely to their rich relatives, to their lovers, concubines, and whores than to Christ's poor. For I have gone through a whole year begging alms without receiving a crust of bread from men such as this, and yet they know well that Holy Scripture says, Proverbs 21 [.13]: 'He that stoppeth his ear against the cry of the poor, shall also cry himself and shall not be heard,'

and Ecclesiasticus 4 [.7]: 'Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor,' and below [.8]: 'Bow down thy ear cheerfully to the poor, and pay what thou owest, and answer him peaceable words with mildness.' They prefer, however, to lavish their goods on the hosts of minstrels and jongleurs, despite the fact that the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 9 [.22]: 'Let just men be thy guests, and let thy glory be in the fear of God,' and again Ecclesiasticus 12 [.1-2]: 'If thou do good, know to whom thou dost it, and there shall be much thanks for thy good deeds. Do good to the just, and thou shalt find great recompense: and if not of him, assuredly of the Lord.'"

The right of choosing one's own place of burial.

The right of churches to receive the bodies of the dead for burial.

"Now, we come to the second accusation, burial of the dead. And we say that it is not without reason that the Roman pontiffs granted every man the right to choose his own burial place, according to the words of Ecclesiasticus 7 [.37]: 'restrain not grace from the dead.' It is for this reason that Booz, that just man, is praised in Ruth 2 [.20]: 'Blessed be he of the Lord: because the same kindness which he shewed to the living, he hath kept also to the dead.' And this is what the Friars Minor and the Preachers do when they give burial to their spiritual sons and daughters who choose sepulture in their convents. Thus Pope Leo III wrote:

In light of the laws of the Fathers, we decree that everyone has the right to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors, as is taught by the example of the patriarchs. Yet we do not deny anyone the right to choose his own burial place, even one not connected with his family. For this, as was proper, is what the Lord and Teacher did. But since 'the labourer is worthy of his hire' [Luke 10.7], we decree that a third part of his bequest be given to the church where he took communion, so that that church, in accordance with the words of the Apostle [II Corinthians 1.7], may be the companion of consolation as it was of his suffering. And so, finally, let a man choose his burial place according to his will. Under the threat of anathema, let it not be done otherwise, by the authority of our Lord, who spoke through the prophet, saying: 'Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set.'⁶²

Take note that this citation is from Proverbs 22 [.28] by Solomon, whom Pope Leo III called a prophet.

Clement III:

You wished for me to clarify that passage which is frequently cited in the privileges: 'The preservation of justice for those churches which receive the bodies of the dead.' Since there have been various decisions handed down by our predecessors — Pope Leo, for example, awarding to the collectors at

one time a third part and at another a half, and Pope Urban, a fourth—we offer the following resolution to such a variety of opinions: ‘Let every province exercise its own discretion.’ Therefore, the judgment with respect to the half or the third or the fourth is granted to the various places in accordance with the reasonable custom of the region.⁶³

Hearing confessions.

“Now we come to your third point about hearing confession. The regular clergy condemn us for hearing, without their permission, the confessions of their parishioners, an office which, they maintain, belongs solely to them.”

Whether confession to someone other than one's own proper priest is permitted.

“A meritorious question:⁶⁴

Whether confession to someone other than one's own proper priest is permitted. That one is indeed bound to confess to one's own priest is shown, first of all, by the authority of Holy Scripture, Proverbs 27 [.23]: ‘Be diligent to know the countenance of thy cattle.’ If, therefore, the countenance of the cattle is the conscience, and if nobody can know the countenance, that is, the conscience, save through confession, therefore, the parishioner is bound to confess to his priest, since the priest (who has the cure of souls) has been commanded to know the conscience. Also, Hebrews, the last chapter [13.17] ‘Obey your prelates, and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls.’ Therefore, if the priest, who has the cure of souls, is bound to render an account of the soul of the parishioner, it should be obvious that the parishioner must confess fully to him. This same point is established by the authority of a canon of Pope Innocent in general council: ‘All faithful, of both sexes, who have reached the age of discretion, must confess all their sins to their own priest.’ And in that same decretal: ‘If anyone with just cause wishes to confess to another, let him first ask for and obtain permission from his own priest.’ If the priest does not give permission, therefore, it is clear that he can by no means confess to another. Also, in the book of penitence, distinction VI, Urban II says: ‘It has been established that no priest may receive as a penitent anyone committed to the care of another priest without that priest's consent.’ Therefore, it is clear that no one may confess save to his own priest. Also, it follows by reason that one who has confessed to another is bound to confess again to his own priest, or he is not. If he is so bound, then the previous confession or absolution has no value. For a man truly absolved of some sin is not bound to be absolved again. If he is not bound, it is, therefore, clear that he is exempt from his own priest. But nobody is exempt without official exemption. Therefore, without such exemption or without permission of his own priest, nobody can confess to another. Also, every man is bound to receive the

sacraments (and, therefore, the sacrament of the Eucharist) from his own priest. But confession is the preparation for that sacrament. Therefore, a man is bound to confess to the one from whom he is bound to receive that sacrament. But that is his own priest. Therefore, whenever he confesses to another, he is bound to confess again to his own priest. Contra. Augustine writes in the book of penitence: 'Whoever wishes to confess his sins, let him seek a priest who knows how to loose and bind, lest both of them fall in the ditch.' Therefore, if a man's own priest is a simple-minded man, it is clear that, out of sincere devotion, he may confess to another man. Also, as St. Bernard says, 'What has been instituted out of charity cannot be used against charity.' Similarly, therefore, what has been instituted as a remedy cannot be used against the remedy. Take a case, for example, in which a priest solicits a woman to sin: if she confesses her sin to him, she is in danger. Therefore, if she is not bound to commit herself to danger, she is not bound to confess. Also, the power of hearing confession has been granted to preachers. But he who concedes the principle concedes that which goes with the principle. Therefore, if the Pope granted the power of absolution, he also by that very fact gave the power to sinners to go to them. Therefore, they can go to them against the will of their priests. Also, the power of jurisdiction descends from the higher to the lower. Therefore, since an inferior has no power over a superior, it is clear that if a bishop grants his authority to someone, every member of the faith may go to that person whether his priest likes it or not. Also, it is clear that a man who has already confessed is not bound to confess again in that year, for neither nature nor human ingenuity nor the grace or rule of the Holy Spirit does anything without a purpose. Therefore, it is superfluous to establish two remedies of the same kind against the same thing, especially when the one is efficacious. But the man who has confessed and been absolved by one who had this power from a higher authority is no longer bound to confess to his own priest. Also, if he were so bound, then that privilege or that authority would have been given in vain and a double tribulation would seem to arise from this. Therefore, since this is right neither in divine nor in human law, it follows that he is not bound to confess to his own priest.

This disquisition may be found in the fourth book of Brother Bonaventure's *Sentences*, distinction XVII, and the subject is continued under distinction XXI.

"But since I am in a hurry to get on to other matters, I have handled this matter briefly, giving only two authorities and drawing the conclusion. For I have intended to demonstrate that the Friars Minor and the Preachers have the authority to hear confession. I say, therefore, that the words of Augustine with respect to the choice of a priest are to be understood to refer to the time before a penitent subjects himself and commits the care of his soul to anyone. Urban's, however,

pertain to the period afterward, for from that time on he is bound to confess to his own priest, and to another only by special grant."

Five cases in which it is permitted to confess to someone other than one's own priest.

"There are five instances in which confession to someone other than one's own priest is permissible. The first is if the confessant is a vagabond without permanent residence. The second is if the confessant has changed his parish. The third is if the confessant has offended or sinned in a different parish. The fourth is if the confessant's own priest is ignorant or malicious, as, for instance, if he reveals the details of the confession, or solicits the confessant to evil deeds. The last is the case of necessity, as, for example, when the confessant is at the point of death, or on the point of entering a holy war."

A terrible, yet true story which Pope Alexander IV recounted to Brother Bonaventure, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor.

"Note that the Friars Minor received the privilege of hearing confession from Pope Gregory IX. And, once, Brother Bonaventure, the Minister General, asked Pope Alexander IV whether or not it pleased him that the Friars Minor heard confession, and the Pope answered, 'It pleaseth me very much. And I will give you a horrible example on this subject. There was a certain woman who confessed to the priest of her church. But this priest, wishing to know her carnally, began to solicit her sexually. And so in the very church itself behind the altar near the place where the Lord's body is kept, he sought to rape her. But the lady said to him, "This is neither the time nor the place for the work of Venus. Let us seek a more convenient time when we can do this thing together." She said this, however, merely in order to get away from him. Yet anticipating such future pleasure, the priest desisted from his actions and simply talked with her in a friendly fashion. As she was leaving, however, he said to her, "Remember our bargain, keep in mind our tryst." And she answered, "Oh, I will remember well." When she arrived home, however, she made a pie which appeared beautiful on the outside but which was filled with human excrement, and sent it to the priest as a gift, along with a vase full of fine, white wine. And this was the woman's only fault: she should have sent her own urine to the priest in the vase, just as she sent her own excrement in the pie. When the priest saw this fine pastry, he thought it would make a fine gift for his bishop, and so he sent it to him. Thus when the bishop was dining with his household, he ordered his servant to cut the pie and place it on the table before his guests. When the servant cut the pie in the other room, however, he discovered the excrement and was horrified. Then he set the pie aside to show the bishop later, and to the bishop's insistence that the pie be brought to the table, he said, "You have enough for now. Another time, the Lord willing, you will have better." What more can one say? When the bishop saw such a pie, he was "exceedingly angry" [Esther 5.9] against the priest. He had the offender brought before him and said, "Tell me, priest, where did you

learn to send such fine pies to your bishop? In what have I offended you? How have I earned such an insult from you. Why have you sent me a pie filled with human excrement?" When the priest heard this, he was stupified, and he said to the bishop, "Father, truly I did not make that pie myself. Such and such a lady sent it to me, and, thinking that such a fine gift was worthy only of you, I sent it to you in order to honor you, believing the whole time that it was a splendid pie." When the bishop "had heard" this "he was satisfied" [Leviticus 10.20]. But after the priest left, the bishop sent for the lady in order to find out the truth of the matter. And she "confessed, and did not deny" [John 1.20] that she was the one who had made the pie, but that she did it to get back at the priest who had attempted to seduce her during confession right in the church behind the altar. Then the bishop praised the lady highly for her deed, and punished the priest grievously.' And it was that very bishop who had received the gift who told the story to Pope Alexander IV, and Pope Alexander told it to Brother Bonaventure, the Minister General of the Friars Minor. Then the Pope added, 'Therefore, with a clear conscience and full permission, I believe absolutely that the Friars Minor ought to hear confession from the people in secular life.'

"Consider the truth of the Lord's words, for he said, Luke 12 [.2]: 'For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed: nor hidden, that shall not be known.' That priest spoken of above thought he could work his will in secret, but the bishop learned of it and so did the Pope, as is written in Job 34 [.21-22]: the Lord's 'eyes are upon the ways of men, and he considereth all their steps. There is no darkness, and there is no shadow of death, where they may be hid who work iniquity.' Thus that man was deceived, of whom it is written, Ecclesiasticus 23 [.25-29]:

Every man that passeth beyond his own bed, despising his own soul, and saying: Who seeth me? Darkness compasseth me about, and the walls cover me, and no man seeth me: whom do I fear? the most High will not remember my sins. And he understandeth not that his eye seeth all things, for such a man's fear driveth from him the fear of God, and the eyes of men fearing him: And he knoweth not that the eyes of the Lord are far brighter than the sun, beholding round about all the ways of men, and the bottom of the deep, and looking into the hearts of men, into the most hidden parts. For all things were known to the Lord God, before they were created: so also after they were perfected he beholdeth all things.

Whence Daniel said, 2 [.22]: 'He revealeth deep and hidden things, and knoweth what is in darkness: and light is with him.' Thus the Lord warned, Nahum 3 [.5-6]: 'I will discover thy shame to thy face, and will shew thy nakedness to the nations, and thy shame to kingdoms. And I will cast abominations upon thee, and will disgrace thee, and will make an example of thee.' That was made clear in David, who labored mightily to conceal his adultery. But the Lord said to him, II Kings 12 [.12]: 'For thou didst it secretly: but I will do this thing in the sight of all Israel, and in the sight of the sun.' See also Wisdom 17 [.3]: 'While they thought to lie

hid in their obscure sins, they were scattered under a dark veil of forgetfulness.' For the Lord warns, Amos 9 [.3]: 'Though they hide themselves from my eyes in the depth of the sea, there will I command the serpent and he shall bite them.' See Hebrews 4 [.13]: 'Neither is there any creature invisible in his sight: but all things are naked and open to his eyes, to whom our speech is.' Let nobody sin, therefore, thinking to hide it from God, for [Proverbs 28.13]: 'He that hideth his sins, shall not prosper.' For all sinners will have to say some time, when [Isaiah 28.19]: 'vexation alone shall make you understand what you hear.' [Psalms 89.8]: 'Thou hast set our iniquities before thy eyes.' Then as Jeremiah says, 20 [.11]: 'They shall be greatly confounded, because they have not understood the everlasting reproach, which never shall be effaced.' Thus Ecclesiasticus gives sound counsel, 5 [.5-9]:

Be not without fear about sin forgiven, and add not sin upon sin: And say not: The mercy of the Lord is great, he will have mercy on the multitude of my sins. For mercy and wrath quickly come from him, and his wrath looketh upon sinners. Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day. For his wrath shall come on a sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will destroy thee.

So it is that Jeremiah 17 [.10] says: 'I am the Lord who search the heart, and prove the reins: who give to every one according to his way, and according to the fruit of his devices,' and [Proverbs 28.13]: 'But he that shall confess, and forsake them, shall obtain mercy.' That was made clear in David, II Kings 12 [.13], because when he said: 'I have sinned against the Lord,' he immediately heard: 'The Lord also hath taken away thy sin: thou shalt not die.' It was manifested also in Ezechias, who said, Isaiah 38 [.15]: 'I will recount to thee all my years in the bitterness of my soul.' And he was immediately answered [.17]: 'But thou hast delivered my soul that it should not perish, thou hast cast all my sins behind thy back.'"

Another woeful tale.

"I knew a certain Brother Humile of Milan, who was Custodian of the custody of Parma. And while Brother Humile was living in the convent of the Friars Minor at Fano, he was very zealous in the office of preaching and hearing confession during the lenten season. And so the people of the mountains heard of him and they sent word to him begging him to come to them for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, for they wished to confess to him. Thus with his companion he went to them and preached among them for many days and heard confession. And he did many good things and gave salutary counsel. One day, however, a woman came to him, wishing to confess, and she said to him, 'woe is me, father! "I am an exceeding unhappy woman"' [I Kings 1.15]. And Brother Humile answered, 'Tell me your sins first and "tell if thou hast any thing to justify thyself" [Isaiah 43.26]. Therefore, confess yourself guilty of all your sins, and after you

have received absolution, you will be happy.' Then she said, 'One day as I was walking alone, a certain man came upon me and forcibly raped me. Therefore, I went to confess to a priest. But when I had confessed my sin to him, he took me behind the altar, and he too forcibly raped me, respecting neither my own weeping, nor the holy place, nor the honor of God. And the same thing happened to me again with a second and a third priest, because when I sought to confess to them, every one of them sinned with me behind the altar near the body of the Lord.' Then after this woman had faithfully confessed all of her sins to Brother Humile, he absolved her. But then he asked her, 'Why are you carrying that knife in your hand?' And she answered, 'Father, in truth, if you had sought to sin with me like the other priests, I was planning to kill myself and die in my despair.' Then Brother Humile said, 'I neither sought, nor will seek to do so. Rather, I invite you to the joys of paradise, which the Lord has given you if you love him and do penance. "Go thy way in peace" [Luke 8.48], beloved daughter, "Go and now sin no more"' [John 8.11]. Thus in this Brother the words of the blessed Job were fulfilled, 29 [.13]: 'I comforted the heart of the widow.' But in those priests were fulfilled the words that the Lord spoke through Ezechiel, 22 [.26]: 'Her priests have despised my law, and have defiled my sanctuaries: they have put no difference between holy and profane: nor have distinguished between the polluted and the clean,' and also Hosea 9 [.15]: 'for the wickedness of their devices I will cast them forth out of my house: I will love them no more.'"

The Friars Minor were given the right to preach and hear confession by the Roman Pontiffs.

"Because our days have seen the fulfillment of the words of Isaiah 24 [.2] and Hosea 4 [.9]: 'And there shall be like people like priest,' Pope Martin IV acted rightly in granting the privilege of preaching and hearing confession to the Order of the Friars Minor, despite the fact that the Franciscan Rule states, 'Let the Brothers not preach in any bishopric against the will of the bishop.'"⁶⁵ It is now the year 1284, the vigil of St. John the Baptist.⁶⁶ At the time that I spoke with these archpriests, however, Pope Alexander IV of good memory was occupying the papal throne.

"Let us now turn to the fourth objection made by the priests: they complain that we have usurped the office of preaching, which belongs to them alone by right of their obligation to their parishioners and their ecclesiastical duties. And we answer that indeed this office did belong to them when there was no one better to perform it. But because they made themselves unworthy through their evil lives and ignorance, the Lord called on better men. Thus the Lord says of a certain one of them, Hosea 4 [.6]: 'Because thou hast rejected knowledge, I will reject thee, that thou shalt not do the office of priesthood.' The Lord also said, Luke 11 [.52]: 'Woe to you lawyers, for you have taken away the key of knowledge: you yourselves have not entered in, and those that were entering in, you have hindered.' These are the men designated in the sons of Agar, of whom it is written, Baruch 3 [.23, 27-28]: 'The children of Agar also, that search after the wisdom

that is of the earth, . . . the way of wisdom they have not known, neither have they remembered her paths. . . . The Lord chose not them, neither did they find the way of knowledge: therefore did they perish. And because they had not wisdom, they perished through their folly.' Thus Jeremiah says, 6 [.30]: 'call them reprobate silver, for the Lord hath rejected them.' Such men do not have the divine wisdom necessary for the use and salvation of the souls committed to their care; on the contrary, they have turned themselves into sons of Eth, that is, they have turned to worldly knowledge. They study the decretals only in order to increase their riches and ecclesiastic offices. Thus Hosea 5 [.6-7] says of such men: 'With their flocks, and with their herds, they shall go to seek the Lord, and shall not find him: he is withdrawn from them. They have transgressed against the Lord, for they have begotten children that are strangers.' They do this to the very letter; they father children but say that they are their brothers' children. Thus the following verse says [Hosea 5.7]: 'Now shall a month devour them with their portions.' Jeremiah 11 [.18] speaks of these men: 'But thou, O Lord, hast shewn me, and I have known: then thou shewedst me their doings,' because as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 23 [.30]: '[They] study to drink off their cups.' So [Psalms 13.1]: 'They are corrupt, and are become abominable in their ways: there is none that doth good, no not one.' Thus the Lord says in Ezechiel 22 [.30-31]: 'I sought among them for a man that might set up a hedge, and stand in the gap before me in favour of the land, that I might not destroy it: and I found none. And I poured out my indignation upon them, in the fire of my wrath I consumed them: I have rendered their way upon their own head, saith the Lord God.' Moreover, such clerks and secular priests study only how to eat magnificently and splendidly. The Apostle speaks on this subject, I Corinthians 6 [.13]: 'Meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats'; add 'is obtained by them.' 'But God shall destroy both it and them,' and in a later chapter, 8 [.8]: 'But meat doth not commend us to God. For neither, if we eat, shall we have the more; nor, if we eat not, shall we have the less.' Thus Ecclesiasticus gives sound counsel, 37 [.32-34]: 'Be not greedy in any feasting, and pour not out thyself upon any meat: For in many meats there will be sickness, and greediness will turn to choler. By surfeiting many have perished: but he that is temperate, shall prolong life.'

"It is precisely because the secular priests and clerks study these things, that is, how to eat and drink well, that they are afflicted by venereal desire, that is, lechery, and so, as the blessed James says, 1 [.14-15]: 'But every man is tempted by his own concupiscence, being drawn away and allured. Then when concupiscence hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin. But sin, when it is completed, begetteth death.' Thus Jeremiah 5 [.27-28] records of them: 'Therefore are they become great and enriched. They are grown gross and fat: and have most wickedly transgressed my words,' and also Jeremiah 6 [.13]: 'For from the least of them even to the greatest, all are given to covetousness: and from the prophet even to the priest, all are guilty of deceit.' Moreover, they are spoken of in a psalm which St. Bernard expounded in the following way: 'I marvel at the clerks of our

time, at those who do not preach the gospel though they idly eat the bread of the altar. They neither labor like farmers, nor fight like soldiers, nor preach like clerks. And so because they adhere to no Order, they shall end where there is "no order, but everlasting horror dwelleth"⁶⁷ [Job 10.22]. [Psalms 72.5-9]:

They are not in the labour of men: neither shall they be scourged like other men. Therefore pride hath held them fast: they are covered with their iniquity and their wickedness. Their iniquity hath come forth, as it were from fatness: they have passed into the affection of the heart. They have thought and spoken wickedness: they have spoken iniquity on high. They have set their mouth against heaven: and their tongue hath passed through the earth.

Also, hear what the Lord says in Hosea 7 [.13]: 'Woe to them, for they have departed from me: they shall be wasted because they have transgressed against me: and I redeemed them: and they have spoken lies against me,' and below 9 [.15]: 'For the wickedness of their devices I will cast them forth out of my house: I will love them no more, all their princes are revolvers.' Thus the Lord said of the chief priests and the Pharisees, Matthew 21 [.43]: 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof.'"

The manifold kingdom.

The kingdom of God is described in seven ways in Holy Scripture.

"Take note that the kingdom of heaven is described in various ways in Scripture. First, the Son of God is called the kingdom, Luke 17 [.21]: 'For lo, the kingdom of God is within you.'

"Second, it is called the kingdom of heaven, Matthew 20 [.21]: 'Say that these my two sons may sit, the one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left, in thy kingdom.' And the Lord said to his disciples about this kingdom, Luke 22 [.29-30]: 'I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom; That you may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom: and may sit upon thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel.' The Lord also said to Pilate about this kingdom, John 18 [.36]: 'My kingdom is not of this world.' Thus the Psalmist says [144.13]: 'Thy kingdom is a kingdom of all ages,' because 'he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever. And of his kingdom there shall be no end' Luke 1 [.32-33].

"Third, the kingdom of heaven is called the Church militant, as St. Gregory explains: 'It is worth knowing that frequently in Holy Scripture the kingdom of heaven is said to be the temporal Church, of which the Lord speaks in one place [Matthew 13.41]: "The Son of man shall send his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all scandals." For there are no scandals to be collected in that kingdom of beatitude, where the highest peace is. And again it is said [Matthew 5.19]: "He therefore that shall break one of these least commandments, and shall so teach men, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." Now, the man who preaches with his mouth but does not fulfill with his life is indeed breaking

the commandment and teaching others to break it. But the man who does not live what he teaches can in no wise reach the eternal kingdom of beatitude. How, therefore, can he be called least in that kingdom which he in no wise is permitted to enter? What, therefore, can be understood by this passage except that the present Church is called the kingdom of heaven? For it is in this Church that the teacher who breaks the commandment shall be called least, because his life is despised and his preaching is scorned.⁶⁸

“Fourth, a holy and virtuous life is called the kingdom of God, as the Apostle says, Romans 14 [.17–18]: ‘For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but justice, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For he that in this serveth Christ, pleaseth God, and is approved of men.’

“Fifth, the entire kingdom of the world is called the kingdom of God, of which kingdom it is sung: ‘I have despised the kingdom of the world and all the ornaments of the earth on account of love for my Lord Jesus Christ.’ And it is recorded of this kingdom, Apocalypse 11 [.15]: ‘And the seventh angel sounded the trumpet: and there were great voices in heaven, saying: The kingdom of this world is become our Lord’s and his Christ’s, and he shall reign for ever and ever. Amen,’ and also in the last verse of Abdiah [1.21]: ‘And the kingdom shall be for the Lord.’

“Sixth, the separate kingdoms of the world (which are likewise from God) are called the kingdom of heaven, as he himself says, Job 41 [.2]: ‘All things that are under heaven are mine.’ And so he can give those to whomever he wishes, as Cyrus, king of the Persians, prophesied, Esdras 1 [.2]: ‘The Lord the God of heaven hath given to me all the kingdoms of the earth.’ See also Proverbs 8 [.15–16]: ‘By me kings reign, and lawgivers decree just things, By me princes rule, and the mighty decree justice,’ and Job 36 [.7]: ‘He placeth kings on the throne for ever, and they are exalted,’ and Daniel 4 [.14]: ‘The most High ruleth in the kingdom of men; and he will give it to whomsoever it shall please him.’ Thus Jeremiah said, 1 [.10]: ‘Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms,’ and Psalms [67.33]: ‘Sing to God, ye kingdoms of the earth: sing ye to the Lord.’ It is also written of the devil in Matthew 4 [.8–9] that he showed Christ: ‘All the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them, And said to him: All these will I give thee, if falling down thou wilt adore me.’ I marvel at his shamelessness in daring to say this, save that it is written in Job, 41 [.25]: ‘He is king over all the children of pride,’ and save that the Lord says of him, John 8 [.44]: ‘He was a murderer from the beginning, and he stood not in the truth; because truth is not in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father thereof.’ Truly, the Manicheans are worse than the devil, for they say that all visible things were created by the devil, while the devil himself says, Luke 4 [.6]: ‘For to me they are delivered, and to whom I will, I give them.’ Now, if they were delivered to him, he must have received them from another. From whom, therefore, if not from the one who says, Job 41 [.2]: ‘Who hath given me before that I should repay him? For all things that are under heaven are mine,’ and Isaiah 48 [.13]: ‘My hand also hath founded the earth, and my

right hand hath measured the heavens,' and Isaiah 40 [.26]: 'Lift up your eyes on high, and see who hath created these things: who bringeth out their host by number, and calleth them all by their names,' and below [.28]: 'Knowest thou not, or hast thou not heard? the Lord is the everlasting God, who hath created the ends of the earth: he shall not faint, nor labour, neither is there any searching out of his wisdom,' and the Apostle, I Corinthians 4 [.7]: 'What hast thou that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?'

"Seventh, spiritual understanding is called the kingdom of God in Holy Scripture, about which it is recorded, Matthew 21 [.43]: 'Therefore I say to you, that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation yielding the fruits thereof.' These are the words of the Lord to the chief priests and Pharisees. Numbers 23 [.19]: 'God is not a man, that he should lie, nor as the son of man, that he should be changed. Hath he said then, and will he not do? hath he spoken, and will he not fulfil?' Yes, it will be fulfilled, for he himself says [Psalms 88.35]: 'The words that proceed from my mouth I will not make void.' Whence the Apostle says, I Corinthians 1 [.19-21]: 'For it is written: *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the prudence of the prudent I will reject. Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?* Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For seeing that in the wisdom of God the world, by wisdom, knew not God, it pleased God, by the foolishness of our preaching, to save them that believe.' See also Isaiah 29 [.13-14]:

And the Lord said: Forasmuch as this people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips glorify me, but their heart is far from me, and they have feared me with the commandment and doctrines of men: Therefore behold I will proceed to cause an admiration in this people, by a great and wonderful miracle: for wisdom shall perish from their wise men, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid.

Thus the Lord said, Matthew 11 [.25]: 'I confess to thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to little ones,' that is, to the little ones about whom it is written, Zachariah 13 [.7-8]: 'And I will turn my hand to the little ones. And they shall be in all the earth, saith the Lord.'

"These little ones are the Friars Minor, as Joachim explains.⁶⁹ These are also the little ones of whom Jacob spoke, Genesis 33 [.5]: 'They are the children which God hath given to me thy servant.' The Lord also spoke of these little ones, Matthew 19 [.14]: 'Suffer the little children, and forbid them not to come to me: for the kingdom of heaven is for such.' But the clerks of our days, the priests and prelates, seek to prevent them from coming to Jesus and from preaching, although the Lord made a special promise about the Friars Minor and the Preachers, Jeremiah 16 [.16-17]: 'Behold I will send many fishers, saith the Lord, and they shall fish them: and after this I will send them many hunters, and they shall hunt

them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks. For my eyes are upon all their ways.' Joachim explains that these words are about the two Orders, that is to say, the Minorites and the Preachers. Moreover, these are the ones of whom the Lord spoke, Jeremiah 3 [.15]: 'And I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine,' and Jeremiah 6 [.3]: 'Every one shall feed them that are under his hand.' Of those others, however, that is to say, the secular clerks who have risen up against the Friars Minor and the Preachers, the Prophet says [Psalms 5.11]: 'According to the multitude of their wickednesses cast them out: for they have provoked thee, O Lord.' And hear Hosea's answer, 9 [.15]: 'For the wickedness of their devices I will cast them forth out of my house.'"

Here it is proved through ten examples that evil clerks ought to be rebuked and good ones received worthily.

"This passage from Hosea was foreshadowed in a number of figures. First, through Esau, who by his foolishness and guilt lost his birthright to his brother Jacob, Genesis 25 to the end of the chapter. Thus Esau said, Genesis 27 [.36]: 'Rightly is his name called Jacob; for he hath supplanted me lo this second time: my first birthright he took away before, and now this second time he hath stolen away my blessing.' Whence the Apostle says, Hebrews 12 [.16-17]: 'Lest there be any fornicator, or profane person, as Esau; who for one mess, sold his first birthright. For know ye that afterwards, when he desired to inherit the benediction, he was rejected; for he found no place of repentance, although with tears he had sought it.'

"Second, through Ruben, who likewise lost his birthright because of his guilt, 'because thou wentest up to thy father's bed, and didst defile his couch,' as recorded in Genesis 35 and 49 [.4]. And so Ruben's birthright was given to Joseph, who was chaste. Thus I Paralipomenon 5 [.1-2] records: 'Now the sons of Ruben the firstborn of Israel, (for he was his firstborn: but forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his first birthright was given to the sons of Joseph the son of Israel, and he was not accounted for the firstborn. But of the race of Juda, who was the strongest among his brethren, came the princes: but the first birthright was accounted to Joseph.)'

"Third, through Saul and David. For Saul lost his kingdom through his sin, and it was given to David, a man after God's own heart, I Kings 13 [.13-14]: 'Samuel said to Saul: . . . But thy kingdom shall not continue. The Lord hath sought him a man according to his own heart: and him hath the Lord commanded to be prince over his people, because thou hast not observed that which the Lord commanded,' and below 15 [.23]: 'Forasmuch therefore as thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord hath also rejected thee from being king,' and below in the same chapter [.28-29]: 'The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to thy neighbour who is better than thee. But

the triumpher in Israel will not spare, and will not be moved to repentance: for he is not a man that he should repent.'

"Fourth, through Adonias and Solomon. For Adonias' kingdom was given to Solomon, as Adonias himself said to Bethsabee, Solomon's mother, III Kings 2 [.15]: 'Thou knowest that the kingdom was mine, and all Israel had preferred me to be their king: but the kingdom is transferred, and is become my brother's: for it was appointed him by the Lord.'

"Fifth, through Abiathar and Sadoch, of whom it is recorded, III Kings 2 [.27, 35]: 'So Solomon cast out Abiathar, from being the priest of the Lord, and Sadoc the priest he put in the place of Abiathar.'

"Sixth, through Sobna, to whom it was said, Isaiah 22 [.19-21]: 'I will drive thee out from thy station, and depose thee from thy ministry. And it shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliacim the son of Helcias, And I will clothe him with thy robe, and will strengthen him with thy girdle, and will give thy power into his hand.'

"Seventh, through Nabuchodonosor, to whom it was said, Daniel 4 [.28-29]: 'Thy kingdom shall pass from thee, And they shall cast thee out from among men, and thy dwelling shall be with cattle and wild beasts.'

"Eighth, through Baltasar, to whom it was said, Daniel 5 [.28, 30-31]: 'Thy kingdom is divided, and is given to the Medes and Persians. The same night Baltasar the Chaldean king was slain. And Darius the Mede succeeded to the kingdom, being threescore and two years old.' At that time the words of Ecclesiasticus 10 [.8] were fulfilled: 'A kingdom is translated from one people to another, because of injustices, and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits.' All these evils were in this man, as Daniel showed him, saying, 'Know that the high God gave the kingdom to your father, but he did not acknowledge it. Therefore, he ate hay like the ox until he recognized'⁷⁰ that frequently 'vexation alone' makes 'you understand what you hear,' as it says in Isaiah 28 [.19]. Thus the Psalm says [82.17]: 'Fill their faces with shame; and they shall seek thy name, O Lord.' It is a great ingratitude not to acknowledge God's gifts. Thus Ecclesiasticus 20 [.21] says: 'A man without grace is as a vain fable.' Cyrus was not ungrateful, for he said, Esdras 1 [.2]: 'The Lord the God of heaven hath given to me all the kingdoms of the earth.' It was said further to Baltasar: 'You also, although you knew all these things, you also have raised yourself up against the God of heaven and have profaned his holy vessels by handling them with impure hands. And while drinking from them, you gave praise to your gods, who have neither sense nor life. You, therefore, have not glorified that God who holds your breath in his hands. Wherefore, these things were written in your presence: *Mane, thecel, phares*, which signify, number, weight, division.'

The story of the Jews about the release from the seventy-year Babylonian captivity. The stupidity of King Baltasar, who insulted the Jews because they were bitter to his soul.

"The Jews relate that Baltasar had believed that the seventy years of captivity predicted by Jeremiah had passed without the Jews being freed from his rule. Therefore, he exulted and gave thanks to his gods. Yet the seventy years had not passed, for the seventh decade was then current, and in that very hour the hand writing on the wall appeared against him. Take note that this Baltasar committed a great act of foolishness, for not only did he not take pity on the Jews, who were being afflicted, but he also derided them because they had not been freed from his hand, acting against the command in Ecclesiasticus 7 [.12]: 'Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for there is one that humbleth and exalteth, God who seeth all.' Also, in this man were fulfilled the words of Ecclesiasticus 5 [.9]: 'For his wrath shall come on a sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will destroy thee.'

"Ninth, through Achor, who at the entry into the promised land was totally cast out from the people of God, along with all his family, while the whore Rahab with her whole family was adopted into the people of God, so that ultimately from her line Christ was incarnated, Joshua 6 and 7. Whence the Lord said to the chief priests and elders, Matthew 21 [.31]: 'Amen I say to you, that the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before you.'

"Tenth, through the Jews, who were cast off and the gentiles taken up. Acts 13 [.46-48]:

Then Paul and Barnabas said boldly: To you it behoved us first to speak the word of God: but because you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold we turn to the Gentiles. For so the Lord hath commanded us: *I have set thee to be the light of the Gentiles; that thou mayest be for salvation unto the utmost part of the earth.* And the Gentiles hearing it, were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord: and as many as were ordained to life everlasting, believed.

The citation in this passage is from Isaiah 49 [.6]. Also Jeremiah 6 [.17-18] records the condemnation of the Jews and the calling of the gentiles: 'And they' that is, the Jews, 'said: We will not hearken. Therefore hear, ye nations.'

"We have cited these ten examples to show that no one ought to be presumptuous of his station nor of himself, but rather to fear as the Apostle teaches, Romans 11 [.20-21] 'Be not highminded, but fear. For if God hath not spared the natural branches, fear lest perhaps he also spare not thee.' Whence Proverbs 28 [.14]: 'Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil,' because 'A hard heart shall fear evil at the last,' as Ecclesiasticus says, 3 [.27]. This was made clear in Pharaoh, whose heart the Lord hardened, as recorded in Exodus 4. It is true that the Apostle once said, Romans 8 [.38-39]: 'For I am sure that neither death, nor life,' and the other things which he cites,

'shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' But he also said elsewhere, I Corinthians 9 [.27]: 'Lest perhaps, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway.' Gregory: 'It is a shameful thing for us to fall by neglect when we have sought to lift by preaching.'⁷¹ Also the Apostle, Philippians 3 [.12-13]: 'But I follow after, if I may by any means apprehend, wherein I am also apprehended by Christ Jesus. Brethren, I do not count myself to have apprehended,' and I Corinthians 10 [.12]: 'Wherefore he that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall,' and Romans 12 [.16]: 'Not minding high things, but consenting to the humble. Be not wise in your own conceits.' See also Proverbs 3 [.7]: 'Be not wise in thy own conceit,' and Apocalypse 3 [.11]: 'Hold fast that which thou hast, that no man take thy crown.' This is what the jailer did who received the crown of the man who became cowardly and became the one apostate in the group of forty martyrs. Thus it is said:

Happy is the man who takes warning by others' misfortunes,
For your things are safe while your neighbor's house burns.⁷²

Thus the Wise Man said, Proverbs 24 [.30-32]: 'I passed by the field of the slothful man, and by the vineyard of the foolish man: And behold it was all filled with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall was broken down. Which when I had seen, I laid it up in my heart, and by the example I received instruction.'"

The best response of the Friars Minor and the Preachers to the regular clergy who complain of them.

"But 'those whose coarse hearts have been hardened by ambition do not believe these things.' For they always believe that whatever is said is said for others, not for themselves. Ecclesiastes speaks of such men, 8 [.14]: 'There are wicked men, who are as secure, as though they had the deeds of the just: but this also I judge most vain.' Such are the priests and clerks of our time, who do not want the Friars Minor and the Preachers to live. And this is the height of cruelty, especially since the Brothers are more useful to the Church of God than they themselves, who possess Church goods but do not perform the duties for which they received them. Rather, they go against what the Lord said, Leviticus 25 [.36]: 'Fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee.' For they do not wish to allow us to live on alms, which we beg with great labor and embarrassment, and yet there are many men in these two Orders who, if they were not in the Order, would likely hold the prebends which these men now have. And it would be very likely indeed, for these Brothers were, and are, as noble, rich, powerful, learned, and wise as these men are themselves, and so they would be priests, archpriests, canons, archdeacons, bishops, archbishops, and perhaps patriarchs, cardinals, and popes, as these men now are. Thus they ought to recognize that we have given over all these things to them while we go begging for our sustenance from day to day,

and we do not have wine cellars and barns filled with grain, in which they abound, according to the words of the Psalm [143.13]: 'Their storehouses full, flowing out of this into that.' And yet we do their work for them: preaching, hearing confession, giving salutary and useful counsel, and still we 'hear bitter words' [Ecclesiasticus 29.31]. They themselves, however, 'are grown gross and fat' [Jeremiah 5.28], but neither from the riches of their parents nor from the labor of their own hands, but instead from the patrimony of Jesus Christ and from the sweat of the poor. They sleep in their ivory beds and they have no compassion for the Friars Minor or the Preachers, whom they see, with respect to such temporal things, in the greatest misery. Thus the Prophet curses such men, Amos 6 [.1, 3-8]:

Woe to you that are wealthy in Sion, and to you that have confidence in the mountain of Samaria: ye great men, heads of the people, that go in with state into the house of Israel. You that are separated unto the evil day: and that approach to the throne of iniquity; You that sleep upon beds of ivory, and are wanton on your couches: that eat the lambs out of the flock, and the calves out of the midst of the herd; You that sing to the sound of the psaltery: they have thought themselves to have instruments of music like David; That drink wine in bowls, and anoint themselves with the best ointments; and they are not concerned for the affliction of Joseph. Wherefore now they shall go captive at the head of them that go into captivity: and the faction of the luxurious ones shall be taken away. The Lord God hath sworn by his own soul, saith the Lord the God of hosts: I detest the pride of Jacob, and I hate his houses, and I will deliver up the city with the inhabitants thereof.

In my days I have seen the fulfillment of all these things in the clerks, and I expect to see more, for they have earned such misfortune. Thus the Lord says, Jeremiah 5 [.29]: 'Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? or shall not my soul take revenge on such a nation?' Yes indeed. Thus hear what the Lord commanded with respect to them, Jeremiah 15 [.1-3]:

Cast them out from my sight, and let them go forth. And if they shall say unto thee: Whither shall we go forth? thou shalt say to them: Thus saith the Lord: Such as are for death, to death: and such as are for the sword, to the sword: and such as are for famine, to famine: and such as are for captivity, to captivity. And I will visit them with four kinds, saith the Lord: The sword to kill, and the dogs to tear, and the fowls of the air, and the beasts of the earth, to devour and to destroy."

The letter which the princes of darkness sent the prelates of the Church. The evil which Pope Innocent IV sought to do to the Friars Minor and the Preachers at the instigation of certain clerks.

Pope Innocent IV was struck by God because he rose up against the Minorites and Preachers.

“Before the appearance of the Minorites and the Preachers in the world, it is certainly true that once when the secular clerks and prelates were gathered together in a synod, suddenly a letter was thrown into their midst, which read as follows: ‘The princes of darkness to the prelates of the Church. We send abundant thanks to you, for as many souls as are to you committed, just so many are to us transmitted.’⁷³

“Moreover, after the Minorites and Preachers came and did many good works, which were made manifest to the whole world, the secular priests and clerks became envious and spiteful toward the two Orders. And so they complained to Pope Innocent IV that they no longer received offerings at Mass, ‘because these two Orders celebrate Mass so well that all the people turn to them. Therefore, we ask you to do justice on them for us.’ And the Pope answered them, ‘Since some churches celebrate Mass at dawn, some halfway between Matins and Tierce, some after Tierce has been sung, I do not understand at what hour these Brothers could celebrate Mass if I granted your request. For they ought not to celebrate after lunch, nor after Nones, nor at the time when they should be saying the office of Vespers. Therefore, I deny your request.’ Yet the Pope later changed his mind. For because he wanted to satisfy the clerks who were constantly petitioning him about this matter and also because, as I heard, he had grown to hate the Order of the Preachers, he sent out a letter against both Orders—though he was planning later to exempt the Friars Minor—ordering them not to open their church doors from Matins until after Tierce, so as not to cheat the regular clergy out of their offerings. And immediately he was stricken by God, and suddenly he began to grow ‘sick of the illness whereof he died’ [IV Kings 13.14]. Thus the word of the Lord appeared to be verified [*verificatum apparuit*], Zachariah 2 [.8]: ‘he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye.’

“The Minister General, Brother John of Parma, however, sent Brother Hugh Zapoldo of Piacenza to Pope Innocent asking him for the love of God and of St. Francis, as well as for the honor and good of all Christian people to destroy that letter. (Brother Hugh was a good physician and a lector in theology in the Order of the Friars Minor, and while he was at the curia he stayed with the Pope’s nephew, Lord Ottobono, who later became Pope Adrian V.) But the Pope would not heed Brother Hugh, because God wished to kill him, as indeed he did. And Pope Innocent IV became so ill that he was able to repeat only two verses of the following Psalm [38.11–12]: ‘The strength of thy hand hath made me faint in rebukes: thou hast corrected man for iniquity.’ He repeated this verse over and over again until he died and sent forth his spirit. And the Pope lay on straw naked and neglected by everybody, in the manner of the Roman Pontiffs when they

end their days. And two Friars Minor were there from Germany, and they said to the Pope, 'Of a truth, Lord Pope, we have remained in this country for many months hoping to speak with you and conduct our business, but we were not allowed through your door and could not see your face. Now, however, nobody cares to watch over you because they no longer expect anything from you. Nevertheless, we will wash your body, for the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 7 [.37]: "Restrain not grace from the dead."'"

Pope Alexander IV destroyed the letter that Innocent IV wrote against the Friars Minor and the Preachers. Innocent's vicechancellor is punished by God.

"After a few days a new Pope was elected, Alexander IV, who had been Cardinal Protector, Governor, and Corrector of the Friars Minor. Alexander IV immediately destroyed Innocent's letter. Innocent's vicechancellor, a Parmese named Guilielmino de Gatadego, also did not escape unpunished. For in like manner God struck him, because he did not love the religious Orders and because he had been the instigator of all those evils done them, for he was high in the favor of Innocent IV. And when he became infirm, he had himself carried to Assisi, for he hoped that the native air would restore health to his body. But he died in Assisi and lies buried there in the convent of the Blessed Francis, that the words of Isaiah 60 [.14] might be fulfilled: They 'shall come bowing down to thee; and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet.'"

When I had said all these things to these friends of mine, the archpriests, they marvelled and said, "We have never heard such things. 'Blessed are they that have heard thee, and were honoured with thy friendship,' Ecclesiasticus 48 [.11]. We were friends and now we will be even closer friends." I ate with these men many times and preached in their parishes, and they were my very good friends, according to the words of Proverbs 24 [.25]: "They that rebuke him, shall be praised: and a blessing shall come upon them," and Proverbs 28 [.23]: "He that rebuketh a man, shall afterward find favour with him, more than he that by a flattering tongue deceiveth him."

The bishop of Modena, Lord Matthew de Pio, and the archpriest of Campogalliano are both expelled from Modena by the Imperial party.

It happened after many years when I was living in the convent at Faenza that a friend of mine, Lord Matthew de Pio, bishop of Modena, was expelled from Modena and came to live in convents of the Friars Minor, now at Faenza, now at Forlì, now at Ravenna, going as a guest from house to house. And the archpriest of Campogalliano, another friend of mine (one of the three I spoke of above), was with him, because he was related to the bishop. And they said to me, "Brother Salimbene, we have been expelled from our homes by the Imperial party, as you know, and we must travel as vagabonds in the world. Therefore, we remember your words to us, for now truly 'vexation alone' makes 'you understand what you hear' [Isaiah 28.19], and our 'sins have withholden good things' from us [Jeremiah

5.25], and 'comfort is hidden from' our 'eyes' [Hosea 13.14]. Then I answered, "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 24 [.10]: 'If thou lose hope being weary in the day of distress, thy strength shall be diminished.' Moreover, see Ecclesiastes 7 [.15]: 'In the good day enjoy good things, and beware beforehand of the evil day: for God hath made both the one and the other, that man may not find against him any just complaint,' and Ecclesiasticus 11 [.27-28]: 'In the day of good things be not unmindful of evils: and in the day of evils be not unmindful of good things: For it is easy before God in the day of death to reward every one according to his ways,' and Proverbs 15 [.13]: 'A glad heart maketh a cheerful countenance: but by grief of mind the Spirit is cast down,' and Proverbs 12 [.25]: 'Grief in the heart of a man shall bring him low, but with a good word he shall be made glad.'"

Matulino tells me the reasons why the regular clergy hate us Minorites and Preachers.

When I was living in Faenza (before that city was betrayed into the hands of the men of Forlì), I was walking one day along the way, thinking of the Lord, when suddenly I was accosted by a man in secular life named Matulino, a man of Ferrara. This Matulino, was a great talker, a composer of songs and poetry, and a close observer and critic of the religious Orders. At this time he was sitting under a fig tree asking questions of a couple of friars, and he called out to me, "Brother, come and sit with us!" After I had taken a seat, he said to me, "I have been questioning these Brothers, but they excuse themselves, telling me that I should talk with you, for you are always prepared with an answer for everything. Therefore, I ask you, if you please, to answer my questions." I answered, "Ask anything you like." And he said, "You know that you Minorites and Preachers are hated and despised by the secular clergy. The other day I was eating with the bishop of Forlì, and a large number of clerks and priests were also eating there. They were saying many evil things about you Brothers, all of which I carefully noted, so that I could recount them to you to see if you could excuse yourselves from such criticism. First, they complain that you do not preach that tithes ought to be paid to them. Second, that you bury the dead in your convents. Third, that against their will you hear confessions of their parishioners. Fourth, that you have completely taken over the office of preaching from them, causing the people to have contempt for their preaching. Fifth, that you make problems for them on solemn feast days because your conventual Mass draws away all of their offerings. Sixth, that you are great ladies' men, that is, you like to talk with women and look upon them, which is against the teaching of the Scripture." Then I answered, "Anything more?" And he said, "This should be enough for the moment."

The satisfactory answer to all criticisms of the Brothers which I made to Matulino, who afterward became a close and faithful friend of mine.

Then I said, "The Blessed Gregory says in *Pastoral Care* that 'There are some men who in order not to appear dull participate too avidly in learned discussions and are caught in their own super-subtleties.'⁴ And the Blessed Jerome says, 'Do

not pollute your mouth with the sins of others. Attend to your own vice; leave others' alone. Take care to correct yourself, and do not seek out what does not pertain to you.⁷⁵ These words are directed to you, Matulino. With regard to the bishop of Forlì, you are well aware that he bears no love for the religious Orders, and so, as a result, he himself is not loved by God, because the Lord says [Luke 10.16]: 'He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.' And the Apostle says, Romans 8 [.31]: 'If God be for us, who is against us?' Thus the blessed Job says, 17 [.3]: 'Deliver me, O Lord, and set me beside thee, and let any man's hand fight against me.' Yet there are some men, as St. Jerome says, 'who consider themselves learned if they criticize others.'⁷⁶ And so St. Augustine had the following lines inscribed on his table against the scourge of detraction:

Whoever loves to backbite those not present,
Let him be aware that he is not worthy to sit at this table.⁷⁷

Once, for example, when St. Augustine's close friends and fellow bishops had turned their tongues to idle gossip and backbiting, he reprimanded them harshly, saying that he would either cross out those useless verses or would himself leave the table. If the bishop of Forlì had done this at his table, he and his clerks would have had very little to gossip about with respect to the Minorites and the Preachers. Thus Daniel said, 11 [.27]: 'They shall speak lies at one table, and they shall not prosper.' Also to these clerks and priests who complained of the Friars Minor and the Preachers at the bishop of Forlì's table can be fittingly applied the words of the Wise Man in Proverbs 29 [.12]: 'A prince that gladly heareth lying words, hath all his servants wicked,' and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2]: 'As the judge of the people is himself, so also are his ministers: and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein.' Moreover, it is clear that these secular priests and clerks always plot against us and slander us gladly. Therefore, what Micah 2 [.2] says is suitable for them: they have 'oppressed a man and his house,' that is, the blessed Francis and the Friars Minor, 'a man and his inheritance,' that is, the blessed Dominic and the Preachers. Cassiodorus: 'A calumniator is one who strives with all his subtle ingenuity to cast blame on an innocent man.'⁷⁸ Such a calumniator is the whole class of priests and secular clerks in their opposition to the Minorites and the Preachers. And although David says [Psalms 118.134]: 'Redeem me from the calumnies of men: that I may keep thy commandments,' and his son in Ecclesiastes 7 [.8]: 'Oppression troubleth the wise, and shall destroy the strength of his heart.' Yet he says elsewhere, Proverbs 12 [.21-22]: 'Whatsoever shall befall the just man, it shall not make him sad: but the wicked shall be filled with mischief. Lying lips are an abomination to the Lord: but they that deal faithfully please him.' Thus the Lord says, Jeremiah 7 [.19]: 'Do they provoke me to anger, saith the Lord? is it not themselves, to the confusion of their own countenance?'

"To the first objection with regard to tithes, however, I say we marvel and marvel

beyond measure at their foolishness. They say that we ought to preach that a tenth be given to them, but the Apostle says of himself in I Corinthians [1.17]: 'For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.' Just so we do not believe that we were placed here to preach the paying of tithes, but for the salvation of souls, so that we may regain for God the souls that the devil seeks to carry off. Yet at times we do preach tithing when the subject arises and the time and place is appropriate, as with the passage [Luke 18.10, 12]: 'Two men went up into the temple to pray,' of whom the one who said, 'I give tithes of all that I possess' was condemned. For it is written in Ecclesiasticus 7 [.5]: 'Justify not thyself before God, for he knoweth the heart.' About the other one, however, it was said: 'The just is first accuser of himself' Proverbs 18 [.17]. The Lord, therefore, said about him, Luke 18 [.14]: 'I say to you, this man went down into his house justified rather than the other: because every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled: and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted.' Also, in Tobias there occurs another passage on the subject of tithing, because Tobias himself offered 'faithfully all his firstfruits, and his tithes, So that in the third year he gave all his tithes to the proselytes, and strangers' Tobias 1 [.6-7]. In any case, the Friars Minor and the Preachers have never preached that one should not pay his tithes. Why, therefore, do they complain of us? Now, we do not complain of them for not coming to wash our dishes or cook for us, and if we did they would consider us foolish, because they were not called to such duties. Therefore, we consider them foolish when they speak of this matter, that is, preaching about tithes.

"With respect to the second point, that is, right of sepulture, we say that the Preachers were doing this long before us, although it is our right as well as theirs. But we refrained out of love for the clerks, seeking to remain at peace with them, in accordance with the words of Romans 12 [.18]: 'If it be possible, as much as is in you, have peace with all men.' But because they themselves did not recognize this, in accordance with the words of Proverbs 26 [.8]: 'As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury: so is he that giveth honour to a fool,' we now receive the dead, for a man is free to choose his tomb wherever he wishes. Up until that time we were subject to condemnation and we committed the grossest kind of impropriety (which we now recognize), because we refused burial to St. Elizabeth, the daughter of the king of Hungary, and to the Count of Provence, the father of the queens of both France and England. For the Count wished to be buried in the convent of the Friars Minor at Aix (where I once lived), and he had been a very great friend of ours. Moreover, Ecclesiasticus 7 [.37] says: 'Restrain not grace from the dead.' The burial of the dead is also highly commended in Tobias 1. Similarly, Esdras in the apocrypha says: 'When you find any who are dead, give them burial and mark the place, and I will give you the first place in my resurrection.' To the third objection we simply reply that through the privileges conceded to us we can by the grace of God hear confessions everywhere.

"To the fourth we say that we did not usurp the office of preaching. For if they had the knowledge and a good life, they could preach in their own churches if

they wished and would not be scorned by the people. We, on the other hand, have made the people accustomed to hearing preachers with both knowledge and a good life, and therefore they hear us gladly. But these priests bring themselves into scorn because of their evil lives. Thus Gregory says, 'It follows that a man who leads a despicable life will be scorned in his preaching.'⁷⁹ And again, 'A man who wishes to preach to others should be wary lest he be pierced with his own spear, since preaching without works is scorned.'⁸⁰ Thus Cassiodorus says, 'A man in whom I find nothing to imitate can teach me nothing.'⁸¹ And Bernard, 'A learned man lacking good morals is an enemy armed against God.'⁸² And Jerome, 'A man whose word is destroyed by his work loses credibility.'⁸³ See also Proverbs 18 [.9]: 'He that is loose and slack in his work, is the brother of him that wasteth his own works.' Pope Gregory wrote the four books of the *Dialogues*, in which he described many holy men, because in the primitive Church, and for a long time thereafter, there were large numbers of very holy men. And this was fully prefigured in I Machabees 4 [.42-43] where it is written that Judas 'chose priests without blemish, whose will was set upon the law of God: And they cleansed the holy places.' If anyone now sought for material for such a dialogue, however, he would, with few exceptions, more likely find excrement [*feces*] than holy men. And this also was fully prefigured in the second book of Machabees, 4 [.14-15]: 'The priests were not now occupied about the offices of the altar, but despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the games, and of the unlawful allowance thereof, and of the exercise of the discus. And setting nought by the honours of their fathers, they esteemed the Grecian glories for the best.'"

The faults and shameful deeds of certain priests with regard to the holy ministry.

"Therefore, preaching is scorned on account of the wicked life of certain priests, because [Psalms 105.35-36]: 'They were mingled among the heathens, and learned their works: and served their idols, and it became a stumblingblock to them.' Also, the Lord said to his disciples, Matthew 5 [.13]: 'You are the salt of the earth. But if the salt lose its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? It is good for nothing any more but to be cast out, and to be trodden on by men.' I have seen some priests who were devoting themselves wholly to usury and gaining property, so that they could give it to their bastards [*spuriis suis*]. And I have seen some others who were running a tavern selling wine at the sign of the circle with the whole house filled with bastard children, and they sleep with their whore [*focaria*] during the night and rise up to say Mass the next day. And if after Mass, some Hosts are left, that is to say, the body of the Lord himself, they stuff them in the cracks in the walls. And they commit many other shameful and unheard of horrors, which I will not repeat for the sake of brevity. Yet in their churches these priests have indecent missals, parchments, and ecclesiastical vestments which are crude, stained, and filthy; and they have small rusty tin chalices filled with bitter wine or vinegar for the Mass. And their holy wafers are so small that they can scarcely

be seen between their fingers, and they are not round but square, and, moreover, are befouled with fly specks. Furthermore, many women have better strings in their shoes than the holy vestments of these priests. Once, a certain Friar Minor whom I know well was celebrating Mass on a feast day in one of these churches, and he was forced to make use of the girdle of the priest's whore to which was attached a large number of keys. Thus whenever he turned about in the service to say *Dominus vobiscum*, the congregation heard the keys clanking. But such was not Aaron's girdle, as recorded in Ecclesiasticus 45 [.10-11]: 'And he compassed him with many little bells of gold all round about, That as he went there might be a sound, and a noise made that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people.' And it is for priests like this that I am supposed to preach on tithing! For them that I should give up celebrating Mass so that they can have their offerings to spend so well! Far be it from me. Far be it from me! Hear how the Lord feels, like me, about such matters, for he says in Jeremiah 5 [.29]: 'Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? or shall not my soul take revenge on such a nation?' And Jeremiah curses them, Lamentations 1 [.22]: 'Let all their evil be present before thee: and make vintage of them, as thou hast made vintage of me for all my iniquities.'

"Here, thus, is the answer to the fifth criticism about Holy Mass and the priests' offerings in Mass. And even if no secular person came to our Mass, we would still sing it solemnly."

A reasonable answer of the good religious Orders to their critics, who seek to put "a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33].

"To the sixth criticism that we are ladies men, that is, that we love to look on women and talk familiarly with them, we say that this is the malicious slander of those who seek to put 'a blot on the elect' [Ecclesiasticus 11.33]. They are like the jongleurs, minstrels, and the so-called 'court-knights,' who think to excuse their own vanity and lasciviousness by defaming others."

Then Matulino answered, "In truth, I tell you, Brother Salimbene, these were the words of the bishop of Forlì, not some jongleur's. And seeing me there, he leapt up from the table, got a Bible, and showed me the passage in Ecclesiasticus 9 [.12-13]: 'Sit not at all with another man's wife, nor repose upon the bed with her: And strive not with her over wine, lest thy heart decline towards her, and by thy blood thou fall into destruction.' And he said that you Friars Minor and Preachers go against this Scripture every day, and all his clerks agreed and confirmed his words." Then I answered, "The bishop of Forlì is the kind of man described in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33]: 'For he lieth in wait and turneth good into evil, and on the elect he will lay a blot,' and [.35]: 'Take heed to thyself of a mischievous man, for he worketh evils: lest he bring upon thee reproach for ever.' But the good bishop would do better if he would act according to the passage in Ecclesiasticus 9 [.17]: 'Be not pleased with the wrong done by the unjust, knowing that even to hell the wicked shall not please.' And with respect to his clerks,

I tell you that they are 'the congregation of bulls with the kine of the people; who seek to exclude them who are tried with silver' [Psalms 67.31]. I certainly do not wish to be praised by them, for Seneca says, 'You should be as pleased to be praised by base men as to be praised for base deeds.'⁸⁴ We Minorites and Preachers are poor mendicants, who necessarily live by alms, and women are among those who treat us well, in accordance with the passage in Ecclesiasticus 36 [.27]: 'where there is no wife, he mourneth that is in want.' This was written because women are more merciful in giving to the poor and more compassionate toward the afflicted than men are, whose hearts are harder. Thus when women send for us, we are obliged to go in order to do some good for them in their distress or tribulation, lest we are found ungrateful, because the Apostle says, Colossians 3 [.15]: 'Be ye thankful.' And we do not talk with any woman while drinking wine, for our rules forbid us to drink in the cities, save with members of religious orders, prelates, or lords of the land. For we know the passage in Ecclesiasticus which reads, 42 [.12-13]: 'Tarry not among women. For from garments cometh a moth, and from a woman the iniquity of a man.'

A certain bishop of Faenza who was strangled.

"I, however, once knew a bishop who used to get his thrills by undressing a young woman and putting her to bed, where he would spend a long time ogling and fondling her. And he would place gold florins (which he later gave her) all over her body, especially her thighs. And he used to say that he was no longer pure. He was an old man 'grown old in evil days' [Daniel 13.52]. But, later, during the night he was suffocated by a relative, who carried off all his treasure. And I myself was present at the funeral of this bishop. This man had been bishop of Faenza, and a young Dominican, who was a student at Padua, succeeded him. And when he came to Faenza, this young man was consecrated immediately, and he spent lavishly for those in religious orders and his own fellow citizens, for he himself was from Faenza and he laid out a lavish feast for everyone. For the treasure of the preceding bishop had been held for him in the convent of his Brothers.⁸⁵ This young man was of the party of Lord Alberghetto, and he had been made bishop as it were by violence and simony. And this event was the cause of the destruction of Faenza, because out of the envy and hatred provoked by it, the other party, the son of Lord Accarisio and his followers, brought in the men of Forlì and expelled their opponents from the city. This bishop then went to Bagnacavallo and hid fearfully in a bell tower at night, for he feared for his skin. In fact, he didn't last long, and a new bishop was consecrated, according to the words [Psalms 108.8]: 'May his days be few.'

A canon who was strangled by the devil.

"I know a certain canon also who was strangled by the devil, and he was buried in a cesspool near a pig pen. This man was an expert in law, and when the Friars Minor would go to him early in the morning to inquire about some point of law,

they found him many times in bed with a certain noble woman whom he kept as his lover. His name was John de Bondeno of Ferrara, and he had been a Dominican for ten years. Later, however, he became apostate and entered the Order of the canons of St. Frediano of Lucca and remained with them for many years. But he left that Order also and became a canon in the cathedral in Ferrara. Later, when he was living in the church of St. Alexis and was keeping there as his mistress a certain noble lady, a poor Paduan who had been exiled by Ezzelino, he was discovered in bed by the devil and, without confession or viaticum, was strangled. This church of St. Alexis was in the vicinity where Lord William de Marchesella had once had his palace.

"It would take far too long to recount all the lascivious and shameful deeds of the clerks. But it is not necessary, for the Apostle says, Galatians 6 [.5]: 'Every one shall bear his own burden,' and I Corinthians 3 [.8]: 'Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour,' and Romans 14 [.12]: 'Every one of us shall render account to God for himself,' and II Corinthians 5 [.10]: 'For we must all be manifested before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the proper things of the body, according as he hath done, whether it be good or evil.'" After I had said all these things, Matulino answered, "You have answered all my questions very well. I now hold you and the Preachers excused, and I will be your defender against the priests and clerks who seek to slander you. For I believe that envy and malice were urged against you, just as the chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees were moved by envy to kill Christ. And Jeremiah curses these when he says to God, 18 [.23]: 'Forgive not their iniquity, and let not their sin be blotted out from thy sight: let them be overthrown before thy eyes, in the time of thy wrath do thou destroy them.'" Then I said to Matulino, "I have lived in Ravenna for five years and not once have I entered the house of Lord Marco Michele, who is one of the leaders, one of the richest and most noble men of this city." And he said to me, "I have been there a hundred times, and I have eaten with him." Then I said, "Who then is the greater ladies' man, you or I?" And he answered, "All right. You have checkmated me. I have nothing more to say."

Here chastity is commended.

And I said to Matulino, "The Lord says in the gospel, Matthew 5 [.28]: 'Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.' And the blessed Job says, 31 [.1]: 'I made a covenant with my eyes, that I would not so much as think upon a virgin.' And St. Gregory says, 'It is not permitted to look, because it is not permitted to lust after.'⁸⁶ Similarly, the Apostle says I Corinthians 7 [.1]: 'It is good for a man not to touch a woman.' See also Ecclesiasticus 13 [.1]: 'He that toucheth pitch, shall be defiled with it.' Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 6 [.29]: 'So he that goeth in to his neighbour's wife, shall not be clean when he shall touch her.' The Lord also commanded chastity when he said, Luke 12 [.35]: 'Let your loins be girt.'

St. Gregory comments on this passage, 'We gird up the loins when we restrain the lust of the flesh by continence.'⁸⁷ The Apostle also commanded chastity in I Timothy 5 [.22]: 'Keep thyself chaste.' Judith's chastity was also praised by the priests, 15 [.11]: 'Thy heart has been strengthened, because thou hast loved chastity, and after thy husband hast not known any other.' Since we pay heed to all these exhortations, therefore, we are not the ladies' men that our friends accuse us of being. Rather, 'we are the children of saints' and servants of the most high God, 'and look for that life which God will give to those that never change their faith from him' [Tobias 2.18].

What more? As a result, Matulino became my close friend, and I always found him ready at our service. And, I must say, he gained thereby, because I gave him a wife, the daughter of certain man of Ferrara who was living at Ravenna, from whom he received a large dowry. Lord Guido de Polenta and Lord Adegherio de Fontana aided me in this by interceding with the Marquis. Her father was glad that I had managed this, for when I confessed him in the "illness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.14], he said to me, "Brother Salimbene, may the Lord reward you, for my daughter would have remained in the taverns after my death and would have perhaps become a whore if you had not married her off. Now, I may die happy, because my daughter has made a good marriage."

The death of Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna.

Now, let us return to our principal subject. Lord Obizzo, the bishop of Parma, held his clerks completely under his control, and he loved the Order of the Friars Minor, for which he fought against their critics. Lord Philip, the archbishop of Ravenna, did the same. And after he had fought many battles and won many victories, Lord Philip, an old man "ancient of days" [Daniel 7.9], became "sick of the illness whereof he died" [IV Kings 13.14]. And desiring to die in his native land, he had himself carried in a wooden bed by twenty men, ten each taking turns. When he arrived at Imola, he had himself brought into the convent of the Friars Minor, where I was living at the time. And we turned over the entire refectory to him, but he remained with us only one day. Then he went on to Pistoia, where he sent for Brother Thomas of Pavia (a friend of mine from the old days), who confessed him and set his life in order for the salvation of his soul. And he rested in peace and was buried in the convent of the Friars Minor at Pistoia.

Brother Thomas of Pavia, Minister of Tuscany.

This Brother Thomas of Pavia was a holy, good, and very learned man, who was lector in theology at Parma, Bologna, and Ferrara for many years. He was in the Order of the Friars Minor for many, many years, a wise man of sound counsel. He was a cheerful, friendly man, humble, blessed, and devoted to God, and he was a pleasing and fruitful preacher. He was Provincial Minister in Tuscany for many years. He wrote a lengthy chronicle, for he knew many things and he was very facile in writing. He also compiled a collection of sermons. Moreover,

he wrote a wide-ranging theological work, which he entitled *The Ox* because of its magnitude. As Minister, he did a good job of reforming the province of Tuscany. He was a very good friend of mine, for I lived with him for many years in the convent at Ferrara. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God! Amen.

Now, when he was living in the villa Argenta near Padua, Lord Philip, the archbishop of Ravenna and papal legate, used to walk throughout his palace from corner to corner singing a response or antiphon in praise of the Glorious Virgin. And in the summer time as he walked, he would always be drinking, for, great drinker that he was, he had a container of the finest kind of wine chilled in ice-cold water in every corner of his palace. And he despised watered-down wine, and so he loved Hugh Primas' poem on not mixing wine with water. For the benefit and enjoyment of some people, perhaps we will give the text of that poem here. It should be noted, however, that it is a very good thing to mix water with wine, for diluted wine does not gnaw the stomach or make the head throb; it does not make one drunk nor give a stench to one's breath; it neither thickens the tongue and makes it stumble nor loosens it with an avalanche of words — and it does not provoke lust. For as Jerome says, "A stomach heated with pure wine quickly boils over into libido."⁸⁸ Wine mixed with water, however, makes its way to parts of the body where it cannot go by itself. Ecclesiasticus 31 [.37]: "Sober drinking is health to soul and body." On this subject see the last chapter of II Machabees [15.40]: "It is hurtful to drink always wine, or always water, but pleasant to use sometimes the one, and sometimes the other." Whence the Apostle in I Timothy 5 [.23] says: "Do not still drink water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thy frequent infirmities."

Primas' poem on not mixing water with wine.

Here begins Primas' poem on not mixing water and wine:

In naked truth,
 Verily, forsooth,
 for reasons various,
 One should never mix and mingle
 What God intended single,
 By very nature contrarious.
 Water and wine in a single glass!
 Where's the courtesy, Where's the class?
 Such a bourgeois dilution,
 A low, foul, unspeakable shame,
 A petty drink which deserves the name:
 A despicable solution.

Feeling himself so foully diluted,
 Wine complains he's been polluted

With rough asperity:
"Hence! Out! This is too much!
Whence, whore, obtained you such
Audacious temerity.
On the earth, rather, you should spurt
And mix and mingle with the dirt
to make up mud;
Vile, low, without shame,
Go, fill up cracks of ill fame
With your flood.
At whatever table, whatever station
Destroyed is all conversation
By your presence;
Where before was joy and laughter,
With you — sober silence ever after,
lost all eloquence.
Who has of you mistakenly partaken
Finds himself of health forsaken
With sudden violence.
His belly rumbles by wind inflated,
And, courteously restrained, undisseminated,
Oh, the pain intense.
Yet the belly constricted by such distress
Finds its relief, release nonetheless
Through the lower throat;
The noise roars from the belly distended,
The guests, holding noses, are vastly offended
by such a table d'hote."

Water rises up in her own defense:
"You have no honor, you have no sense,
Out with your din!
You know full well you corrupt good morals,
Dessicate lives and raise up quarrels,
enticing to sin.
Who drinks of you is filled with conceit
But he stumbles with his tongue, stumbles with his feet,
Slobber on his chin.
Faulty in his speech, faulty in his vision
Converted in a trice to an object of derision
With a silly grin.
Imbibing and partaking of your potation
He turns himself to murder, not to mention fornication.

You play the host
In stews and dens and lowly places;
Of peasant men with peasant faces,
 You blithely boast.
You are, my friend, by your wicked depravity
Restrained, restricted by your specific gravity
 To squalid dives.
But I, in this world, am one of the great,
Companion of men in every state
 Of noble lives.
I, for body, a salutary libation,
For immortal soul, a means to salvation
 Comprehensible,
Carrying pilgrims from all states and nations
For the good of their souls on peregrinations
 Indispensable.”
Incensed, indignant, wine testily replies,
“You have proven yourself a master of lies
 And deceitful ploy;
Toward ships you float on your immensity,
You display an evil propensity
 To sink and destroy,
And clearly unable to drink you dry
Sailors are drowned and forced to die,
 A pitiful demise;
Unwisely believing and trusting in you,
Then they begin their pilgrimage new
 With their dying cries.
I, however, am a god divine
With the power (witness Ovid) to make men fine
 And eminently wise;
A teacher lacking me is lacking in sense,
A lawyer lacking me loses his defense,
 And soberly sighs;
How impossibly hard that nice separation
Of true from false, lacking my ministration
 All the while;
Through me, the blind gain sight, the lame man walks;
Through me, the needy grow rich, the deaf-mute talks
 And the mournful smile;
Through my power, youthfulness, rejuvenation;
Through you, impotence, age, dessication,
 Depleted sexuality.

Through my power, the world waxes and multiplies,
Which distinction to you one never applies
In all actuality."

"You're a god, all right, a god of evil intentions,
Through whom a man goes from bad to worse, to worst declensions,
To speak grammatically;
You fill one with words when he can barely mutter,
And give him drunken eloquence when he can only stutter
And babble erratically.

May such a god be damned and accursed,
The beginner of evil and author of the worst
Gratuitously;

Whoever partakes of you, peasant or sage,
Loses his dignity in a drunken rage
Ignominiously.

But I, with my moisture, bring all things to birth;
I give fruitfulness to all of the earth,

Verdant fields and lovely flowers;
Sans me all the world grows sere and dry;
The crops of the field fade and wither and die
Lacking my sustaining showers;

Your own tendriled mother puts forth in vain,
Shriveled and sterile with life-giving rain;
Barren and thwarted,

Languidly she rustles in a dry wind,
And you, in her thirst, my intoxicating friend:
Casually aborted.

Hunger rules the world when I abdicate,
And terrifies the people of every rank and estate,
Famine with his bane;

And the people cry out, to the gods they sue
The Christian and the pagan, as well as the Jew,
Praying for rain."

"You sing of yourself," replies wine with urbanity,
"Your words are so large and so is your vanity;
The truth is otherwise.

You abbreviated the description of your wide demesne,
And neglected to mention the cloaca and latrine;
Let us not euphemize.

You are filled with loathsome crud, piss and feces,
Pollution and filth of all kinds and species,
And foul decay;

Refuse of bladder and bowel: urine and defecation,
Cesspools and pisspots, your ultimate habitation;
What more can one say?"

"Your words can't harm me, but it does sound odd
To hear such locutions from the mouth of a god,
Without a doubt.
No longer, no more, I've come to this resolution
Never to put up with you or any pollution;
I cast you out."

"Such high-sounding sentiments mouthed in defeat
Don't mitigate your fault or conceal your deceit,
That's a surety!
You're never going to change, the evidence plainly shows,
You'll never cleanse yourself, as everybody knows,
Of your low impurity."

Hearing herself bested in the hardy dispute,
Water, confounded, goes absolutely mute,
Resigned to her fate.

"Why so quiet?" cries Wine with triumphant grin:
"Tis clear that I, with my reasons, have done you in
And won the debate."

I, the poet, will end this disputation
And provide here a proper termination;
May all people attend:
"Let whoever joins what God has put asunder
Be deprived forever of the celestial wonder
World without end!"
Amen.

The death of Pope Urban IV.

Once, Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna had willingly secluded himself in his palace in the village of Argenta because of trouble with the Marquis of Este and the Marquis Pellavicino. And he would see nobody, save servants and very close friends. A certain Pisan named Peregrino, however, was living at that time with the archbishop. Peregrino was a good, holy man; he was a master of grammar, and he was engaged in teaching the children of Argenta. He was an acquaintance of mine, and he dearly loved the Friars Minor. One day he was ministering to me at dinner in the archbishop's residence near the Po, and because I had just arrived from Ravenna, I said to him, "Master Peregrino, I would like to speak to the archbishop if you would allow me to see him. I have news for him." But he answered me, "Tell me your news, and I will relay it to him, because

he allows no one to see him except members of his household." Then I said, "Pope Urban IV is dead!" And so immediately Peregrino ran to the archbishop and reported the news. The archbishop was overjoyed because he expected to become the next Pope himself, since he was papal legate and a man of great fame who had labored hard for the Church, and also, of course, because the magician of Toledo had predicted that he would become great in the Church. And so when he heard the news about the death of the Pope, he sent me as a gift half a fish pie. And the young man who brought the gift said, "My master sends you this gift from his table, and asks if you are certain that the Pope is dead." Three or four other servants had also come with him in order to hear the news. Then I said, "I am absolutely certain that the Pope is dead and the papal throne vacant." And when they reported this, the archbishop sent me another gift, then a third, always inquiring about the death of the Pope. Finally, growing tired of sending messages, I said to the archbishop's servants, "Do you want me to settle this matter competely for you?" And they answered, "Yes, father." Then I said, "There is a certain Friar Minor lying sick in a ship on the Po in the harbor at Ravenna, and four days ago he was at the papal court where he witnessed the Pope's funeral. This man can tell you all you want to know." Therefore, they hurried out to talk with him, and I was able to eat in peace with my companion. When we arrived at Ferrara with the sick Brother, however, we found the whole city buzzing with the news of the Pope's death, for the archbishop had sent word ahead in order to have the honor of being the first to tell the news.

Master Martino, bishop of Mantua.

Master Martino of Parma succeeded Lord Philip as papal legate, and he was assigned to preach the Crusade and consecrate other men for the same task, exhorting the people to take up the cross in defense of the Holy Land. This Master Martino was reared in the house of the Puzulesi family of Parma, and Pope Innocent IV made him bishop of Mantua. He was a courteous man, humble and good and generous. He himself was a great drinker, and in his generous and courtly manner he spread lavish feasts for his many guests. He was extremely generous to Brother Rigaud of Mantua and his whole retinue when he stopped over with him on his way to the curia. And on Brother Rigaud's departure, Martino wanted to send his steward ahead to make arrangements and pay his expenses all the way to Bologna. But Brother Rigaud would not allow it, for he said that he and his whole household could live splendidly on half his own income and the other half was superfluous. On this trip Brother Rigaud had a fine retinue mounted on some eighty horses. When he was in Ferrara, Brother Rigaud invited four Friars Minor who had come to visit him to eat with him at his own table. And he had two huge silver vessels on the table before him which were used to collect the food to be distributed to the poor. And his servant always carried two trays filled with all kinds and varieties of food which he placed before Brother Rigaud. Brother Rigaud, however, would keep only one of these for himself; the other

he emptied into the vessels reserved for the poor. And he always did this with whatever food was set before him.

Brother Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen.

Brother Rigaud, a Friar Minor, was archbishop of Rouen and one of the finest scholars in the world.⁸⁹ He was a professor at the University of Paris, and he taught theology for many years in the convent of the Friars Minor. He was exceedingly adept in disputation and a very pleasing preacher. He wrote a book on the Sentences. he was a friend of St. Louis, king of France, and the king worked hard to see that he was made the archbishop of Rouen. Brother Rigaud greatly loved the Order of the Preachers, as well as his own Order of the Friars Minor, and he was very generous to them both. He was ugly in the face, but pleasing in his way of life and all his works. He was a holy man, totally devoted to God, and he died a good death. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God! He also had a brother in the Order, a handsome man and a fine scholar, whose name was Adam li Rigaud. I have seen both these men many times in all sorts of places.

Moreover, Master Martino of Parma, bishop of Mantua and papal legate, once came to Ravenna in order to perform the duty given him by the Pope, and during his stay there he was guest in the monastery of St. John the Evangelist, which had been built by the Empress Galla Placida. And since I was then living in Ravenna, I went to see him because he was a friend of Brother Guido de Adam, my own brother, who died in the Order of the Friars Minor. And while I was standing at the window with the bishop after we had visited together for a long time, he asked me to point out the convent of the Friars Minor. And so I showed him the convent with its large church and great bell tower, and I said, "Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, gave that convent to us, for because of his great love for our Order, he was very generous to us." The bishop said, "God bless him, for he has acted wisely and well. For Ecclesiasticus says, 4 [.7]: 'Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor,' and Ecclesiasticus 12 [.1-2]: 'If thou do good, know to whom thou dost it: and there shall be much thanks for thy good deeds. Do good to the just, and thou shalt find great recompense: and if not of him, assuredly of the Lord.'" Then he added, "Brother Salimbene, do you believe that we bishops who are so absorbed by the cares, labors, and anxieties of our office could be saved if it were not for the intercession of you men in religious Orders who are so firmly joined to God?"

Then wishing to comfort the bishop, I said to him, "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 15 [.13]: 'A glad heart maketh a cheerful countenance: but by grief of mind the spirit is cast down,' and also in Proverbs 12 [.25]: 'Grief in the heart of a man shall bring him low: but with a good word he shall be made glad.' Also in his exposition of the Song of Songs St. Bernard says many good things for bishops, reprimanding those in religious Orders who judge them:

Brothers, let us honor our bishops and their heavy labors. If we think about the labors, we will not seek out the honors. Let us recognize our own powers unequal to the task, and let us not delight in laying burdens on soft, effeminate shoulders of men. Let us not just obey them, but rather honor them. For you are indeed grossly unfair for condemning a man's works whose burdens you refuse to accept yourself. A woman at her spinning wheel safe at home all too rashly condemns a man who is returning from war. For I say that if the cloistered man sees a man who works among the people sometimes acting less strictly and circumspectly than himself, let him be gracious. He should not be hasty in judging him for his words, his eating, his sleeping, his laughing, his anger, or his judgments. Let him rather remember the words of the Scripture [Ecclesiasticus 42.14]: 'Better is the iniquity of a man, than a woman doing a good turn.' For you indeed can watch and do well in your cells, but the man who exerts himself to help many people is doing better and more worthily. If sometimes he does not succeed in this without some flaw, that is, without some defect in his life or conversation, bear in mind that [I Peter 4.8]: 'Charity covereth a multitude of sins.'⁹⁰

St. Bernard wrote these words against that double temptation to which the devil incites men of religious orders against bishops: either themselves seeking to gain their high honors or rashly criticizing them for their excesses." After I had said all these things, therefore, the bishop said, "May God reward you, Brother Salimbene, for you have given me great comfort. You are indeed, as Ecclesiasticus 32 [.22] says, 'A man of counsel' who 'will not neglect understanding.'"

Later, another papal legate was sent to Lombardy, that Cardinal and bishop of Embrun whom I spoke of above and therefore will keep silent about here, with this single exception: he was an excellent singer and a good scholar, and he loved the Halleluia *O Patriarch pauperum* written in honor of St. Francis so much that using it as a model he composed a hymn in honor of the Glorious Virgin. And here is the verse:

O Mary, consoler of the poor,
By your pleas increase the number of your saints
In the love of Christ!
Those whom through your humble Son
You have snatched from the jaws of death,
O Mother.⁹¹

This man also wrote a Summa, which is called *Copiosa*.

Later, a certain chaplain was sent as papal legate who sought to enlist soldiers from every city to help King Charles in his war with Manfred, son of Frederick.⁹² And Lombardy and Romagna responded well, providing a fixed contingent of soldiers, and fighting with Charles and the French army, they won

the victory over Manfred. And when this legate came to Faenza seeking soldiers, the Friars Minor and the Preachers gathered together in the bishop of Faenza's palace, where the bishop was also present with his canons. I was there and I heard what the papal legate had to say. He explained everything in a few words in the manner of the French, unlike the Cremonese who love to expound at large. In our presence he condemned and roundly criticized Manfred. Then he told us that the French army was already on its way, a fact which I later verified with my own eyes some time near Christmas. Third, he said that the battle would soon be over with the victory in their hands. And so it turned out, although some in the audience said jeeringly, "*Ver, ver, cum bon baton,*" which is to say, "The French will win the victory with good sticks!"

Later, another chaplain was sent as papal legate to Lombardy. And this man managed very well in bringing those Cremonese of the Church party back into Cremona, for they had long been exiles and vagabonds. He also wisely expelled Buoso de Dovaria and Pellavicino and took from them the reins of power in Cremona, which they had held for a long time, committing many evil deeds. And so the Cremonese of the Church party rendered to them evil for evil in the Lombard manner, by destroying their towers, homes, and palaces, and by taking over their lands and possessions.

Later, the papal legate to Lombardy was Cardinal Latino, a young, slender man, a Dominican whom Pope Nicholas III had made Cardinal and legate as a favor to his family. This legate upset the women very much by his constitutions. For he established the law that women were no longer to wear dresses with long tails, in which they had so greatly offended before. He also ordered that all women who went out had to wear veils. Most especially did he offend the women of Bologna by prohibiting that egregious sign of pride and vainglory, the mantle which they wore over their shoulders, called in the vernacular a *regolium*.

After all of these, Lord Bernard, Cardinal, a man of Provence, was papal legate in Lombardy and Romagna, sent by Pope Martin IV. And he sent Brother Fattibuono, Guardian of the Friars Minor in the city of Forlì, as his messenger to Lord Pinamonte, asking him to bring about peace among his neighbors and fellow citizens, so that they could all live a quiet and peaceful life. And Lord Pinamonte received the Cardinal's messengers courteously, both because they were Friars Minor and because they were sent by so great a lord. And yet, before that, he had laid down the law that whoever was caught bearing letters in Mantua was to be beheaded. Moreover, in honor of these messengers, he sent a wagonload of good wine and half a pig to the Friars Minor. And one of his sons sent a large, splendid pie and many other gifts to the Brothers. And so those Brothers returned to the Cardinal with a letter from Lord Pinamonte. What was in it, God knows. These things took place near the feast of All Saints, the year of the Lord 1283.

Here a warning is given by the example of Lord Pinamonte, who boasted that all things prospered under his rule.

This Lord Pinamonte was a citizen of Mantua, and he forcibly took over the rule of his city, expelling his fellow citizens and taking over their property. He destroyed the homes and towers of those he considered enemies, and he was feared like the devil himself. He was an old man, completely white-headed, and he had a huge number of children. One of these was a Friar Minor, called Brother Philip, a good, honorable man, who lectured on theology. He was also an Inquisitor seeking out heretics, and he captured, put to flight, and destroyed many of them in the region called Sirmilione. Lord Pinamonte, however, used to boast that no misfortune ever took place under his rule, but all things prospered according to his wishes. But this was an extremely foolish boast, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 27 [.1]: "Boast not for to morrow, for thou knowest not what the day to come may bring forth." Also in the *Poetria novella* it is recorded:

If a man has prospered, look not to the beginning, but to the end.
Describe the day not from the rising, but the setting of the sun.
In the best state always beware of worse things to come.⁹³

Thus Ecclesiasticus 11 [.27]: "In the day of good things be not unmindful of evils: and in the day of evils be not unmindful of good things." And the poet:

When you are happy, beware of adversities.⁹⁴

And the Apostle, Romans 11 [.20]: "Be not highminded, but fear," and Job 15 [.12]: "Why doth thy heart elevate thee, and why dost thou stare with thy eyes, as if they were thinking great things?" and III Kings 20 [.11]: "Let not the girded boast himself as the ungirded," and Ecclesiasticus 18 [.25-27]: "Remember poverty in the time of abundance, and the necessities of poverty in the day of riches. From the morning until the evening the time shall be changed, and all these are swift in the eyes of God. A wise man will fear in every thing." Thus Jerome says, "It is wise to fear whatever may happen."⁹⁵ See also the Apostle, I Corinthians 10 [.12]: "He that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall." For Lucifer fell, Adam fell, the Jewish people fell, and even the Apostle Peter fell. Proverbs 24 [.16]: "For a just man shall fall seven times and shall rise again: but the wicked shall fall down into evil," and Proverbs 28 [.14]: "Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind shall fall into evil."

The tenth Pope Gregory X required from all men of the Church, which was to be used for the recovery of the Holy Land, but which Pope Martin later spent for other things.

Moreover, since we have come to the rule of Pope Martin IV, who sent this last legate into Romagna, let us mention that in his official capacity he spent some hundred thousand gold florins on fourteen different occasions. In the siege of

Meldola alone (which lasted for five months), Pope Martin IV spent three hundred thousand imperial pounds while Lord Bernard was legate. And this money was the tenth which Pope Gregory X had collected from all men of the Church for the recovery of the Holy Land, but Pope Martin diverted it elsewhere.

The twelve men listed above were the most noble ecclesiastical princes and legates which the Church sent into Lombardy and Romagna, not for the salvation of souls alone but in opposition to the craftiness of the dragon, that is, Frederick, who with his princes and followers sought to subvert ecclesiastical liberty and to destroy the unity of the faithful. Thus is shown the truth of the passage in Ecclesiasticus 33 [.15]: "Good is set against evil, and life against death: so also is the sinner against a just man. And so look upon all the works of the most High. Two and two, and one against another." And because Isaiah says 32 [.7]: "The vessels of the deceitful are most wicked: for he hath framed devices to destroy the meek, with lying words, when the poor man speaketh judgment." I have decided to describe some of Frederick's princes in order to have a record of past men. For as Daniel says, 5 [.18-21]: "The most high God" had given to Frederick

a kingdom, and greatness, and glory, and honour. And for the greatness that he gave to him, all people, tribes, and languages trembled, and were afraid of him: whom he would, he slew: and whom he would, he destroyed: and whom he would, he set up: and whom he would, he brought down. But when his heart was lifted up, and his spirit hardened unto pride, he was put down from the throne of his kingdom, and his glory was taken away. And he was driven out from the sons of men.

Frederick, sometime Emperor, fulfilled this to the letter, by killing and destroying the nobles of Sicily, Apulia, Calabria, and Terra di Lavoro, and substituting others, according to the words of Job 34 [.24]: "He shall break in pieces many and innumerable, and shall make others to stand in their stead."

The princes under the Emperor Frederick II.

These, therefore, are Frederick's princes:

Walter, Count of Manoppello.

Thomas, Count of Acerra.

Richard, Count of Caserto.

Lord Bertoldo, Marquis of Hohenburg.

The Marquis of Lancia. His sister or niece was the mother of Prince Manfred, who ruled the kingdom after the death of his father and his brother Conrad. King Charles killed him in battle and took over the kingdom.

Lord Richard of Montenegro.

Lord Marino of Eboli.

Lord Richard Filingeri.

Lord Tebaldo Francesco.

Lord Peter of Calabria, marshall.

Lord Pandolfo de Fassanello.

Lord Piero delle Vigne. He was the Emperor's secretary or chancellor, and a very important man in the Imperial court.

Judge Taddeo of Sessa.

Lord Odovrandino Cacciaconte.

And the Emperor had many other men in power in the cities of Italy for the defense of the empire and the destruction of the men of the Church. But I scorn to record anything about them, because they do not seem to me worthy of record, for the Scripture says of evil men, Psalms [68.29]: "Let them be blotted out of the book of the living; and with the just let them not be written," and Job 18 [.17]: "Let the memory of" them "perish from the earth, and let not" their "name be renowned in the streets." They are worthy only to be cursed, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.28]: "When the wicked rise up, men shall hide themselves: when they perish, the just shall be multiplied," and below, 29 [.2]: "When just men increase, the people shall rejoice: when the wicked shall bear rule, the people shall mourn."

And note that the Emperor Frederick was accustomed to say when he raised someone up to positions of honor and riches, "I never failed to use the lard of a pig I raised." He meant that later he would despoil him of the honor and riches and take them for himself. And that was true to the letter. So great was his avariciousness that he found "Occasion of word against" [Job 19.28] some prince as if he were a traitor of the empire; and so "oppressed a man . . . and his inheritance" [Micah 2.2], which he took over after he had killed the prince. Yet he did not escape unpunished, and he well merited what he received. Thus the words of Isaiah 16 [.4] are suitable for him: "For the dust is at an end, the wretch is consumed: he hath failed, that trod the earth under foot." The following words written of him fit him precisely: "In that man, also, the empire will come to an end, because even if he has successors they will be deprived of the supreme honor of the imperial name of Roman."⁹⁶ This prophecy has proved to be true.

The dragon of Apocalypse 12, as Joachim described it in the Book of the Figures.

The seven persecutions of the New Testament.

The seven ages of the seals in Apocalypse.

The opening of the seals.

Now let us speak after Joachim of the diabolic dragon, which is described in Apocalypse 12 [.3-4]: "Behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns: and on his heads seven diadems: And his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and cast them to the earth." There is further material on this subject in Apocalypse 17 [.3], where it speaks of the woman sitting "upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns." And the angel there explains [.9-14]:

The seven heads are seven mountains, upon which the woman sitteth, and they are seven kings:

Five are fallen, one is, and the other is not yet come: and when he is come, he must remain a short time.

And the beast which was, and is not: the same also is the eighth, and is of the seven, and goeth into destruction.

And the ten horns which thou sawest, are ten kings, who have not yet received a kingdom, but shall receive power as kings one hour after the beast.

These have one design: and their strength and power they shall deliver to the beast.

These shall fight with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them, because he is Lord of lords, and King of kings, and they that are with him are called, and elect, and faithful.

[Psalms 103.26]: This sea dragon which thou hast formed to play therein.

Job 40 [.24]: Shalt thou play with him as with a bird, or tie him up for thy handmaids? [Psalms 73.14]: Thou hast broken the heads of the dragon:

thou hast given him to be meat for the people of the Ethiopians.

In the Book of the Figures Joachim places the following words over the heads of the dragon that we spoke of above:⁹⁷

The first persecution by the Jews. The age of the Apostles. Herod. The first seal.

The second persecution by the pagans. The age of the martyrs. Nero. The second seal.

The third persecution by the heretics. Time of the doctors. Constantine. The third seal.

The fourth persecution by the Saracens. Time of the virgins. Mohammed. The fourth seal.

The fifth persecution by the sons of Babylon, spiritually speaking, not literally. Muthselmutus. The fifth seal.

Sixth: the present. Saladin. The sixth seal. "There are ten kings," and another shall rise up after them, and he will be mightier than the preceding ones.

The seventh shall follow. An age of calamity and misery. Here is the seventh king, who is rightly called Antichrist, although another shall come after him in the future, no less malicious than he, and he is designated by the tail.

The time of the first seal: from the patriarch Jacob to Moses and Joshua.

The time of the second: from Joshua to Samuel and David.

The time of the third: from David to Elijah and Elisha.

The time of the fourth: to Ezechiel.

The time of the fifth: from Ezechiel to the Babylonian captivity.

The time of the sixth: from the Babylonian captivity to the death of Esdras and the prophet Malachi.

The time of the seventh: from the death of Malachi to the father of John the Baptist.

In the New Testament the opening of the first seal, from Zachariah to the death of St. John the Evangelist.

The opening of the second; from the death of St. John to the Emperor Constantine.

The opening of the third: from Constantine to Justinian.

The opening of the fourth: from Justinian to Charles.

The opening of the fifth: from Charles to the present day. In these days shall be the opening of the sixth and the Babylonian persecution. After this will come the Holy Sabbath to the people of God, who "shall delight in abundance of peace" [Psalms 36.11], until the final Antichrist who is signified by the tail of the dragon. And in this Sabbath the opening of the seventh seal will take place. After this, Satan will be loosed, who then will be hidden in few things; from his prison he will incite foreign people through the last Antichrist (who is figured in the dragon's tail) to destroy the name of Christian, and he will kill many saints, and in a short time he himself will be killed by the Lord. After this, the day of Judgment.

*The destruction of the kingdoms, according to Haymo's exposition.*⁹⁸

Haymo's commentary on the last part of chapter twenty of Isaiah:

God's providence is to be considered, how he destroyed and reduced to nothing all those kingdoms raised up against him in pride. Against God's will Israel had faith in Damascus and the Syrians. And so both those who gave help to God's enemies and those who believed in them were laid waste and captured by the Assyrians. Juda, that is, two tribes, had faith in Egypt, and Egypt in the Ethiopians. Yet they too were conquered by the Assyrians and Chaldeans. The Assyrians were proud, thinking they were victors by their own power, but their kingdom perished through the Chaldeans. The Chaldeans and the Babylonians lifted up their heads against God, and they were overcome by the Medes and the Persians. And the Medes and the Persians, in turn, by Alexander the Great. But thinking himself to be God, Alexander the Great perished by poison, and his kingdom, divided, was overrun by the Romans and added to their empire. The Roman empire which tore the flesh of saints with iron teeth appears to be destroyed even now in part and will be destroyed on the Day of Judgment when the kingdom of Christ comes.

God did all these things "That the nations might know his power, that it is not easy to fight against God," Ecclesiasticus 46 [.8]. Thus it is recorded in Job 9 [.4]: "He is wise in heart, and mighty in strength: who hath resisted him, and hath had peace?" and Isaiah 31 [.2]: "But he that is the wise one hath brought evil, and hath not removed his words: and he will rise up against the house of the wicked, and against the aid of them that work iniquity."

It is manifest that the empire must be subordinate to the Roman Pontiff, as is proved by Deuteronomy 17 [.8]: "If thou perceive that there be among you

a hard and doubtful matter in judgment," etc., until the place where it says [.14]: "when thou are come into the land," where it speaks of the king, the kind of man he ought to be and the kind of life he ought to lead.

The Friars Minor and the Preachers were given to the world to aid in its salvation.

And take note that just as in the Old Testament prophets were sent from God to assist kings and priests and the whole Jewish people (who were then God's people), so in the New Testament religious men were given who prayed for the peace of the Church and the kingdom, that is, the empire, in accordance with the words of the Apostle, I Timothy 2 [.1-4]: "I urge therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings be made for all men; for kings, and for all in high positions, that we may lead a quiet and peaceful life in all piety and worthy behavior. This is good and agreeable in the sight of God our Savior, who wishes all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth." Thus Jeremiah says, 29 [.7]: "Seek the peace of the city, to which I have caused you to be carried away captives; and pray to the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof shall be your peace." The Friars Minor and the Preachers, therefore, were specifically sent for this purpose. For the Lord promised with respect to them, Jeremiah 3 [.15]: "I will give you pastors according to my own heart: and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine." Of the prophets of the Old Testament it is recorded in Jeremiah 7 [.25-26]: "I have sent to" them "all my servants the prophets from day to day, rising up early and sending. And they have not hearkened to me: nor inclined their ear: but have hardened their neck, and have done worse than their fathers." Thus was fulfilled in them what Azarias, the son of Obed, said through the spirit of God, II Paralipomenon 15 [.3]: "And many days shall pass in Israel, without the true God, and without a priest a teacher, and without the law." The same is recorded in Hosea 3 [.4-5]: "For the children of Israel shall sit many days without king, and without prince and without sacrifice, and without altar, and without ephod, and without theraphim. And after this the children of Israel shall return, and shall seek the Lord their God, and David their king: and they shall fear the Lord, and his goodness in the last days." And since, in the words of Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2]: "As the judge of the people is himself, so also are his ministers: and what manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein," it is necessary that the High Pontiff of the Church of God be a good man, by whose example his subordinates may live, so that he may speak of them the words of III John 1 [.4]: "I have no greater grace than this, to hear that my children walk in truth." He will be able to say this, however, if he does what Ecclesiasticus teaches, 32 [.1-2]: "Have they made thee ruler? be not lifted up: be among them as one of them. Have care of them." It is also recorded of the king of Israel, Deuteronomy 17 [.20]: "And that his heart be not lifted up with pride over his brethren, nor decline to the right or to the left, that he and his sons may reign a long time over Israel."

The conspiracy of the members of the body against the stomach.

This is like a conspiracy of subordinates against a prelate.

Peace between the stomach and the bodily members by the mediation of reason and the counsel of the heart.

Master Philip, chancellor of the University of Paris, describes the life of a prelate and his subordinates extremely well through the metaphor of the members of the body:

'Gainst belly's gluttony and lack of restraint

The bodily parts once raised a complaint;

Nay, rather, an insurrection!

"Why are we subjected to such an onerous plight,

Laboring and sweating for mere belly's delight?"

That was the question.

The first to speak up was the invidious eye:

"Why do we seek belly's food supply?

A task to me so pleasureless,

Working and laboring for one so rapacious,

Attempting to fill a cavern so capacious,

An appetite simply measureless."

"Why is it my job," said the querulous ear,

"To labor for one who can't even hear?

Of all duties this must be the worst,

To be servile and low with no satisfaction,

To labor to the point of pure distraction,

For insatiable hunger and thirst."

The nose spoke up with an angry flair,

"I am simply disgusted at sniffing the air

For some fragrance delicious,

Which the belly then converts to a fetid stench,

So strong and putrid as to make one blench

At an odor so vicious."

"Of all these delights I do get a taste,"

Tongue confesses, "but they pass in such haste,

It is simply tittilation.

These foods and wines not prepared for me

Benefits the belly who receives them all free,

Tis pure exasperation."

The hands cry out, of affliction complaining,

"Why should you, belly, all labor disdaining,

expect satisfaction;
You supply nothing, we supply all;
In your smugness you're asking for a fall
and a rough counteraction."

"Ha!" said the feet, "he must weigh a damn ton,
With me underneath always on the run,
Not a moment to tarry.
Worn with all this running til it's torture just standing
While belly fattens in ease, his girth expanding,
Adding more weight to carry!."

"Let us bring to an end our common complaint,
Let us cease all our labors, let the belly grow faint
and wither and die;
For one so useless that'll be a just fate;
Let's end our selfless work for such an ingrate!
Now let him lie!"

Thus the conclusion,
Pact long lasting;
Then mass confusion
After long fasting:
The ears ache,
The hands shake,
The feet quake,
Eyes grow weak,
Tongue can't speak,
Then, near the final breath,
The final sensation,
Reason defies death,
Saves the situation,
Offering this imprecation:

"What a stupid assumption!
What foolish temerity!
What damnable presumption!
What a blind conspiracy!

What are you doing, you stupid dolts;
This is senseless, an insane revolt.
The stomach's function is to you acceptable,
For he is merely a common receptacle,
Serving with impunity
The entire community.

He's your faithful servant, at your beck and call,
 Providing sustenance for you one and all
 at every opportunity.

But if you persist in this stupid injunction,
 He cannot perform his necessary function,
 Giving nourishment to you,
 So go ahead, deprive him of your work and your labor,
 Go ahead, treat him with distaste and disfavor,
 It is you who will rue!

And so, once again, becoming true accessories,
 They provide, once again, all the necessities
 For the bodily community.
 Thus health returns with renewed intenseness,
 And they have discovered how stupid and senseless
 Was their vain disunity.

If you think this a tale of a mere, vain quarrel,
 Throw out the chaff, but preserve the moral,
 For the body is the Church, whose head is the Lord,
 Where all working together receive their reward;
 This man the eye, that one the foot—yet brothers all,
 When every man works in accordance with his call
 The leader, like the stomach, servant to the others,
 All men equals, all men brothers;
 There can be no anarchy
 In a proper hierarchy.
 But just as peace is confounded in a nation
 By disruption of authority, insubordination,
 So in Christ the Savior's peaceable community
 These forces lead to friction and disunity.⁹⁹

King Conrad, son of Frederick II, sometime Emperor.

Now let us turn to Conrad, son of Frederick, sometime Emperor. In 1250 King Conrad, Frederick's son by the daughter of King John, came into Apulia by sea in order to take over the kingdom of Sicily on the death of his father. And capturing the city of Naples, he tore down its walls. But in the next year of his reign he began to grow ill, and while being administered an enema (which the doctors had prescribed for him) poison was pumped into him so that he died. And when his body was being borne through Messina on the way to Palermo, the traditional burial place of the kings, the citizens of Messina seized the body and scattered his bones in the sea. They did this in revenge because of their hatred of his father who had once destroyed huge numbers of the leaders and finest citizens

of their city. Conrad himself had also offended them, and so finally they were avenged.

The king of Dacia, who was drowned in the sea by his brother.

In that same year in Dacia, Henry, the famous king of the Danes, was drowned in the sea by his younger brother Abel, so that he might gain the throne. But Abel gained little thereby, for the very next year he was killed in a battle with the Frisians, whom he had sought to conquer.

The gathering of pastors in France who wanted to cross the sea to avenge the king of France.

In the year of the Lord 1251, a huge number of pastors gathered together in France, saying that they should cross the sea to kill Saracens in vengeance for the king of France. And large numbers of men from various cities in France followed them, and nobody dared to offer resistance to them, but, instead, gave them food and whatever else they desired. Therefore, pastors deserted their flocks in order to join them. For the leader of these men said that it had been revealed to him by God that the waters of the sea would part and that he himself should lead the multitude to avenge the king of France. When I heard such things, however, I said, “Woe to the pastors’ [Jeremiah 23.1] who leave their flock! Where the king of France with the French army could do little, what shall these do?” Yet the common people of France had faith in them, and they rose up in anger against the religious Orders—especially the Preachers and the Minorites—because they had preached the Crusade and given men the cross to accompany the king, who had been conquered by the Saracens. Therefore, at that time the French who had remained at home rose up in anger against Christ—so much so that they dared to blaspheme against the name of Christ, that name blessed above all names. For they “gnashed” their “teeth” [Psalms 36.12] against the Friars Minors or Preachers who asked alms of them, and in their very presence called some other poor man and gave him their money, saying, “Take this in the name of Mohammed who is more powerful than Christ.” Thus the words of the Lord were fulfilled in them, Luke 8 [.13]: “They believe for a while, and in time of temptation, they fall away.” How wretched! Although the king of France bore all patiently without anger, they were disturbed beyond measure. Moreover, that group of pastors destroyed a convent of the Preachers in one city so completely that not one “stone upon a stone” [Matthew 24.2] remained. And they did this merely because the Brothers dared to speak out against them. In these men, however, were fulfilled the words of the wise Gamaliel, Paul’s teacher, Acts [5.38]: “If” their “council or . . . work be of men,” it will not stand, but will be destroyed. These words are true certainly, because in that same year that entire multitude was brought to naught and almost completely destroyed.

In May of that same year Castellano was captured by the exiles of that city. Castellano is situated near the river Secchia in the bishopric of Reggio. Also, in that same year Lord Uberto Vicecomite de Pellavicino went to Piacenza and

brought about a peaceful settlement between the Piacenzans and the Cremonese. And in May the knights of Piacenza were forced by the citizens to leave the city, and they took refuge in the Piacenzan castles. Then Lord Uberto de Iniquitate, a citizen of Piacenza, became podestà of the city.

Pope Innocent IV's return to Lombardy from Lyons.

In that same year Pope Innocent IV left Lyons (where he had remained for many years) and came to Genoa, the city of his birth. He arrived there in May, and he gave a wife to one of his nephews. He himself attended the wedding along with his Cardinals, and there were some eighty bishops there. At that wedding feast there was an immense variety of food served in a huge number of courses, and all kinds of the very best wines. Each of these courses cost many marks. This was the grandest and most elaborate wedding that I have ever seen, both with respect to the guests and the courses of food—so much so that if the Queen of Sheba had seen it, she would have marvelled.

Then Pope Innocent went to Milan and remained there a month or more. And while he was there the Milanese army went to Lodi and entered the city. When Lord Uberto Pellavicino (who was at that time ruler of Cremona) learned of this, he too came to Lodi with a large Cremonese army and a contingent of Piacenzans, and ensconced himself in the Emperor's castle. (For the Emperor always built a castle or palace in whatever city he gained control of.) And Uberto remained there for more than a month. While those two armies were there during the months of July and August, the Cremonese burned the outlying territories of that city, pulled down part of the wall, and filled up the moats. Then they returned to their own city and left the Milanese there without further conflict.

Later, Pope Innocent went to Brescia, then to Mantua, and then to the Benedictine monastery which is situated between the Po and the Larione, where the Countess Matilda rests in peace in a stone tomb. And there at the tomb the Pope and the Cardinals sang the psalm *De profundis*, in memory of the good deeds that the Countess had done for the Roman Church and the Popes.

Then the Pope came to Ferrara, where I was then living. And when he was about to enter Ferrara, he sent word to the Friars Minor asking them to come out and meet him on the way and to remain always near him. And we did so, meeting him in St. Paul street. His messenger was a Friar Minor of Parma named Brother Buiolo, who was related to the Pope and lived with him. The Pope's confessor was a certain other Friar Minor, my friend Brother Nicholas, and the Pope later made him bishop of Assisi. Moreover, my friend and companion Brother Lawrence was also living with the Pope, and the Pope later made him bishop of Antivari. There were, furthermore, two other Friars Minor who were members of the Pope's household. The Pope remained for many days in Ferrara, until near the Octave of St. Francis.¹ And he preached from the window of the bishop's palace. Many Cardinals stood about him as he preached, and one of them, Lord William, his nephew, made confession in a loud voice after the sermon was over.

There was a huge number of people there as if gathered together for the Judgment. The Pope preached on this text [Psalms 32.12]: "Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord: the people whom he hath chosen for his inheritance." After the sermon the Pope said, "The Lord has watched over me in my sojourn in Lyons and now in my return. May he be blessed forever! This is my city, and I beseech you to live in peace, for that lord, the sometime Emperor and persecutor of the Church, is now dead." And I was near enough to the Pope that I could have touched him whenever I wished, because he rejoiced to have Friars Minor around him. Then Brother Gerardino of Parma, Brother Bonagrazia's teacher, punched me and said, "Hear that? The Emperor is dead! And you would never have believed it until now. Therefore, lay aside your Joachim and [Proverbs 27.11]: 'Study wisdom, my son, and make my heart joyful, that thou mayst give an answer to him that reproacheth.'"

Moreover, during the stay at Ferrara, the Cardinals sent us many slaughtered and dressed pigs which had been given to them. And we shared them with our Sisters of the Order of St. Clare. Moreover, the Pope's dispenser sent word to us saying, "Tomorrow the Pope leaves for Bologna. Therefore, send some carriers to me, and I will send you so much bread and wine that you will no longer be needy." And we did so. When the Pope arrived at Bologna, he was received ceremoniously by the Bolognese. But he remained with them only a short time, and in distress, left them like an unwelcome guest, because they asked that Medicina be given to them, a territory of the Church in the bishopric of Bologna, which they had held for a long time by force. The Pope did not grant it, however, but said, on the contrary, "You have taken over the Church's land by force, and now you ask that I give it to you! Go with God, for I will not hear you." When the Pope left the city, a great multitude of noble and beautiful ladies of Bologna came from the surrounding villas and stood in the street that he was to take so that they might see him. And the Pope blessed them in the name of the Lord, and went his way and dwelt in Perugia.

In that same year King Conrad came to Lombardy, first to Verona, then to Cremona. From Cremona he returned to Verona and then went to Apulia. This was in the month of November. And in that same month the castle in Lodi was captured, and the men in the castle were beheaded, save for the men from Pavia who were allowed to leave without harm. And in that same year a large number of men from Tortona were captured by the Alessandrins and the Milanese. And in that same year Brescello was captured by Lord Uberto de Pellavicino and the Cremonese in the month of October. The castle of Brescello is in the bishopric of Parma, and it was once a city, before the Longobards completely destroyed it.

Ghiberto de Gente takes control of Parma with the help of the butchers.

In the year 1252 Lord Ghiberto de Gente, citizen of Parma, took over the rule of Parma with the help of the Parmese butchers, and he ruled for many years. And he did two good things during his reign. First, he brought peace to the citizens

of Parma, and second, he fortified some gates of the city. But he also did many evil things, which became apparent to the Parmese, so that they finally rose up against him, deposed him, destroyed his houses both in Parma and in the village of Campegine, and sent him into exile to Ancona, where he remained until his death. Yet after he had been deposed and was merely a private citizen in Parma before being sent into exile, he was podestà of Pisa, and afterward of Padua. And he was in Padua at the time that the body of the blessed Anthony was translated to the new church. Brother Bonaventure, the Minister General, was there at that time also.

The eight foolish acts of Lord Ghiberto de Gente during his rule in Parma, and four additional ones which make up twelve.

See below, folio 462.

These were the evil deeds of Lord Ghiberto de Gente. First, he did not stay with the Church party, but rather allied himself with Pellavicino. Nevertheless, he did not allow Pellavicino to enter Parma, since he preferred to rule there himself.

Second, he was a covetous and avaricious man beyond measure. Thus he established a law that no seller of foodstuff could sell his wares except through city hall. Thus he made himself their partner, so that he could receive a part of the money from every sale. Therefore, the Wise Man says in Proverbs 29 [.4]: "A just king setteth up the land: a covetous man shall destroy it," and Proverbs 28 [.16]: "A prince void of prudence shall oppress many by calumny: but he that hateth covetousness, shall prolong his days," and Proverbs 23 [.4]: "Labour not to be rich: but set bounds to thy prudence." For as the Apostle says, I Timothy 6 [.9-10]: "For they that will become rich, fall into temptation, and into the snare of the devil, and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the desire of money is the root of all evils; which some coveting have erred from the faith, and have entangled themselves in many sorrows," and Ecclesiastes 5 [.9]: "A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money: and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them," and Ecclesiasticus 5 [.1]: "Set not thy heart upon unjust possessions, and say not: I have enough to live on: for it shall be of no service in the time of vengeance and darkness," and a little lower [.10]: "Be not anxious for goods unjustly gotten: for they shall not profit thee in the day of calamity and revenge." And he was so avaricious that when a certain knight requested a gift of him, he replied that he would give him a Bolognese penny to buy figs with. I myself once experienced his boorishness, avarice, and general shittiness [*merditatem*] when I went to Campegine with Brother Bernardino de Buzea, and this despite the fact that I went to do him a great service. Ecclesiasticus 10 [.9-10] speaks on this subject: "But nothing is more wicked than the covetous man. Why is earth and ashes proud? There is not a more wicked thing than to love money: for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale: because while he liveth he hath cast away his bowels," and Ecclesiasticus 14 [.3-4]: "Riches are not comely for a covetous man and a nig-

gard, and what should an envious man do with gold? He that gathereth together by wronging his own soul, gathereth for others, and another will squander away his goods in rioting," all the way up to the verse [.9]: "The eye of the covetous is insatiable."

His third evil was that he built for himself magnificent palaces both in Campegine and in Parma from the riches of his fellow citizens, although earlier he had been a poor knight. Thus he provoked them to envy so that they later destroyed his palaces. Whence the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.16]: "He that maketh his house high, seeketh a downfall," and Ecclesiasticus 21 [.9]: "He that buildeth his house at other men's charges, is as he that gathereth himself stones to build in the winter."

Of judgment and justice.

Ghiberto de Gente's fourth foolish act was that he condemned some men unjustly to physical punishment, as it was believed he did with Cavazza, whom he had beheaded. Others he hit hard in the purse, as Jacopo of San Vitale can very well testify. Moreover, he spared some men because they gave money; yet he was harsh with others, because they would not. And there is evidence for all of this. Thus the Lord says, Leviticus 19 [.15]: "Thou shalt not do that which is unjust, nor judge unjustly. Respect not the person of the poor, nor honour the countenance of the mighty. But judge thy neighbour according to justice," and below near the end of the chapter [.35-36]: "Do not any unjust thing in judgment, in rule, in weight, or in measure. Let the balance be just and the weights equal, the bushel just, and the sextary equal." Ghiberto de Gente falsified all of these things. See also Deuteronomy 16 [.18-20]:

Thou shalt appoint judges and magistrates in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God shall give thee, in all thy tribes: that they may judge the people with just judgment, And not go aside to either part. Thou shalt not accept person nor gifts: for gifts blind the eyes of the wise, and change the words of the just. Thou shalt follow justly after that which is just: that thou mayst live and possess the land, which the Lord thy God shall give thee,

and below 17 [.6]: "By the mouth of two or three witnesses shall he die that is to be slain. Let no man be put to death, when only one beareth witness against him," and Deuteronomy 24 [.16-17]: "The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, nor the children for the fathers, but every one shall die for his own sin. Thou shalt not pervert the judgment of the stranger nor of the fatherless." But they failed to preserve this later, as Isaiah 1 [.23] says: "They all love bribes, they run after rewards. They judge not for the fatherless: and the widow's cause cometh not in to them," and Jeremiah 5 [.28-29]: "They have most wickedly transgressed my words. They have not judged the cause of the widow, they have not managed the cause of the fatherless, and they have not judged the judgment of the poor. Shall I not visit for these things, saith the Lord? or shall not my soul

take revenge on such a nation?" and Deuteronomy 27 [.25]: "Cursed be he that taketh gifts, to slay an innocent person: and all the people shall say: Amen." Whence the just man is praised, Psalms [14.5]: "He that hath not put out his money to usury, nor taken bribes against the innocent," and Proverbs 15 [.27]: "He that is greedy of gain troubleth his own house: but he that hateth bribes shall live," and Ecclesiasticus 20 [.31]: "Presents and gifts blind the eyes of judges, and make them dumb in the mouth, so that they cannot correct," and Isaiah 5 [.22-23]: "Woe to you. . . . That justify the wicked for gifts, and take away the justice of the just from him." Thus it is written, Proverbs 17 [.15]: "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, both are abominable before God," and Proverbs 21 [.7]: "The robberies of the wicked shall be their downfall, because they would not do judgment," and Proverbs 24 [.23-24]: "These things also to the wise: It is not good to have respect to persons in judgment. They that say to the wicked man: Thou art just: shall be cursed by the people, and the tribes shall abhor them," and Proverbs 28 [.15]: "As a roaring lion, and a hungry bear, so is a wicked prince over the poor people." Ghiberto de Gente was such a man over the Parmese during the time of his rule. And below [.21]: "He that hath respect to a person in judgment, doth not well: such a man even for a morsel of bread forsaketh the truth."

The fifth foolish deed of Ghiberto de Gente was that he received too large an annual salary in payment for his governance, far more than the Parmese were accustomed to pay their other podestà. And he ought not to have done this, especially since he was in his own city where he had his own property. So it was that the Parmese expelled him, both from the rule and from the city. Thus the Lord says, Ezechiel 18 [.17]: "That hath turned away his hand from injuring the poor, hath not taken usury and increase, but hath executed my judgments, and hath walked in my commandments . . . but living he shall live." It was also said to Amasias, IV Kings 14 [.10]: "Be content with the glory, and sit at home," and because he did not do so, it turned out badly for him. Thus it is written, Proverbs 16 [.18]: "Pride goeth before destruction: and the spirit is lifted up before a fall," and Proverbs 18 [.12]: "Before destruction, the heart of a man is exalted," and Ecclesiasticus 29 [.29]: "Be contented with little instead of much, and thou shalt not hear the reproach of going abroad."

Ghiberto de Gente's sixth foolish deed was that he called all the people of Parma together in the city square, and proclaimed himself ruler of Parma and his heirs after him forever. But it is written, Isaiah 7 [.7]: "It shall not stand, and this shall not be." Why? Hear why, Ecclesiastes 5 [.7-8]: "For he that is high hath another higher, and there are others still higher than these: Moreover there is the king that reigneth over all the land subject to him," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.4]: "The power of the earth is in the hand of God, and in his time he will raise up a profitable ruler over it." But Lord Ghiberto de Gente was not such a man, because he usurped the rule of Parma by the help of the butchers. Thus Ecclesiasticus says, 20 [.8]: "He that taketh authority to himself unjustly shall be hated." That

was fulfilled in this man, as in Abimelech, Judges 9, and in Absolon, II Kings 15, and Adonias, III Kings 1.

Ghiberto de Gente's seventh foolish act was that he devalued the money of Parma, so that it no longer had the value that it formerly had. And in doing so, the bankers say, he harmed the city as much as a quarter of the worth of the entire city. And note that the people were disturbed by two things. First, the scarcity of wheat, of which it is written, Proverbs 11 [.26]: "He that hideth up corn, shall be cursed among the people: but a blessing upon the head of them that sell." Second, the counterfeiting of money. And one is disturbed at this with reason, for a man who counterfeits money is judged by the people to be worthy of burning. The Lord asked the Pharisees about money, Matthew 22 [.20-21]: "Whose image and inscription is this? They say to him: Caesar's." Therefore, whoever counterfeits this money will be punished. Thus Psalms [72.20]: "O Lord; so in thy city thou shalt bring their image to nothing." Thus the Apostle says, I Corinthians 3 [.17]: "If any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy." Therefore, Lord Ghiberto de Gente did an evil act in devaluing the money of Parma, because he looked more to his own advantage than to the city's. Thus the Apostle says, Philippians 2 [.21]: "For all seek the things that are their own; not the things that are Jesus Christ's," and Proverbs 22 [.28]: "Pass not beyond the ancient bounds which thy fathers have set," and Job 24 [.2]: "Some have removed landmarks."

Ghiberto de Gente's eighth foolish act was that he had in mind to do four things to augment his magnificence and his rule. First, he formed a society of fifty men in Parma, who would accompany him with arms whenever he wished. I have seen these armed men accompanying him for the sake of ambition and pride, honor and boastfulness, as well as for protection, when they came bearing candles on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, according to the Parmese custom. Second, he was planning to make his blood brother (who was abbot of the Benedictine monastery in Leno in the bishopric of Brescia) the bishop of Parma. Third and fourth, he desired to add two neighboring cities—Modena and Reggio—to his rule. And he wanted me to be his agent in ruling Modena. But I did not want to mix myself up in such matters, for the Apostle says in II Timothy 2 [.4] that "No man, being a soldier to God, entangleth himself with secular businesses; that he may please him to whom he hath engaged himself." Indeed, he did gain control in Reggio, but the people of Reggio soon expelled him and took away his power, when they became aware of his exactions and perversities, as we shall explain below.

The sermon that I made to Lord Ghiberto de Gente, asking him to enter the Order of the Friars Minor.

When Ghiberto de Gente was deposed from his rule in Parma, I remember that once in his house in Campegine I said to him, "What are you doing, Lord Ghiberto? Why do you not enter our Order, the Order of the Blessed Francis,

the Order of the Friars Minor? Because the Wise Man says in Proverbs 16 [.19]: 'It is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud.' And Jacob the patriarch said, Genesis 30 [.30]: 'It is reasonable therefore that I should now provide also for my own house.' Then he replied to me, "And what would you do with me now that I am sixty years old?" And I said, "You would give a good example to others and you would save your own soul. For 'There is that buyeth much for a small price,' as it says in Ecclesiasticus 20 [.12]. This is made clear in the example of St. Boniface, who was a great sinner, but who suddenly became a great saint. 'For it is easy in the eyes of God on a sudden to make the poor man rich. The blessing of God maketh haste to reward the just, and in a swift hour his blessing beareth fruit,' as recorded in Ecclesiasticus 11 [.23-24]. You have a clear example also in the thief to whom the Lord said on the cross, Luke 23 [.43]: 'Amen I say to thee, this day thou shalt be with me in paradise.' Why? because as Ecclesiasticus 11 [.13] says: 'Yet the eye of God hath looked upon him for good, and hath lifted him up from his low estate, and hath exalted his head: and many have wondered at him, and have glorified God.'" Then he answered me, "I know that you are giving me useful counsel, but I cannot hear you, for my heart is occupied with other matters." Then I said to him, "It is written in Proverbs 28 [.11]: 'The rich man seemeth to himself wise: but the poor man that is prudent shall search him out,' but Proverbs 21 [.30] says: 'There is no wisdom, there is no prudence, there is no counsel against the Lord.' It is not wisdom because 'he is wise in heart, and mighty in strength,' Job 9 [.4]. It is not prudence because 'his wisdom has struck the proud one,' Job 26 [.12]. It is not counsel against the Lord because he himself says, Isaiah 46 [.10]: 'My counsel shall stand, and all my will shall be done.' Thus Jeremiah says, 23 [.20]: 'In the latter days you shall understand his counsel,' and it is written in Proverbs 12 [.15]: 'The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsels,' and Proverbs 19 [.16]: 'He that keepeth the commandment, keepeth his own soul: but he that neglecteth his own way, shall die.'"

What more can one say? I labored hard, but "he would not understand that he might do well," for "he hath devised iniquity on his bed." For he hoped to take revenge on the men of Parma and Reggio because they had deposed him from his rule. And in order to expedite this, he gave his daughter, Lady Mabilia, in marriage to Lord Guido de Corigia. But it is written, Leviticus 19 [.18]: "Seek not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens," and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.6]: "Remember not any injury done thee by thy neighbour, and do thou nothing by deeds of injury." And take note that just as Ghiberto de Gente had banished and expelled Lord Bertolino, son of Bertolo Tavernerio, from Parma, so he himself was banished by the Parmese, and was forced to live in exile in the March of Ancona, where he died and is buried. And he bequeathed some of the annual revenues of his meadows in the bishopric of Parma for a specified number of years to the Minorites and Preachers in recompense for certain ill-gotten gains for which no proper restitution could be made. The two Orders made good use of this

bequest. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God! Amen.

The peace settlement among the citizens of Reggio in the year of the Lord 1252.

In that same year of 1252 peace was established between the Roberti and the Fogliani and all the other exiles from Reggio. And this was brought about through the agency of Brother Giles of Verona, a member of the Order of the Holy Trinity of Campagnola and Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio, on the seventeenth of August. And the former exiles were made elders for the good of the city of Reggio, and twelve of them were elected by lot to the general council. On that same Saturday, the seventeenth of August, by the will and consent of the city council, in accordance with custom, these councilmen gathered together in the communal palace of Reggio and confirmed by oath to Lord William, bishop of Reggio, as representatives of the exiles to uphold the peace between the regular citizens and the exiles, to the honor of God, St. Prosper, and St. Grissante for the welfare of the city of Reggio. And in that same year on Sunday, May 19, there was a great hoar frost which destroyed the vineyards in many places.

Lord Ghiberto de Gente, seeing that "the time served him" I Machabees [12.1], took a hand in the peace settlement of the citizens of Reggio.

In 1253, Indiction XI, Lord Guido de Gente, citizen of Parma, was made podestà of Reggio through the intervention of Ghiberto de Gente, his brother, then podestà of Parma, during the peace settlement between the citizens of Reggio and the exiles. And on Tuesday, October 28, the feast of the blessed Apostles Simon and Jude, Lord Ghiberto de Gente came to the gate of the Holy Cross accompanied by the chief members of the fraternity of St. Mary the Virgin of Parma and by other good men of his city. And they led the venerable bishop of Reggio, William de Fogliani, along with all the other exiles, into the city of Reggio with great joy in a procession with crosses, banners, priests, and men of the religious Orders. And on Wednesday, the 29th of that same month, Lord Ghiberto in full council in the public square of Reggio, amidst the ringing of bells and sounding of trumpets, made a peace settlement between the citizens and the exiles, and this was a written contract which was made a part of the law of the city of Reggio. And on that same day Lord Guido de Gente was made podestà of Reggio by means of his brother Ghiberto, podestà of Parma.

The death of Pope Innocent IV and the election of Pope Alexander IV.

In that same year of 1253, the 7th Ides of December, on the evening of the feast of St. Ambrose a little after twilight, Pope Innocent IV, of renowned memory, died at Naples in the twelfth year of his pontificate. And on the following day Lord Stephen, Cardinal presbiter of Santa Maria Trasteverina, died. Both their bodies rest in peace in the cathedral in Naples. Amen. Lord Bertolino Tavernerio of Parma was at that time podestà of Naples, and he closed the gates of the city and refused to allow the Cardinals to leave before they elected a Pope, which they

did without delay. And because they could not come to a unanimous agreement, they worked out a compromise. And Lord Ottaviano, Cardinal deacon, placed the mantle on the best man of the curia, as he maintained, that is, on Lord Rainald, bishop of Ostia. And he became Pope Alexander IV near Christmas day,² so that we heard rumors of the decision in Ferrara by the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury.³

Pope Alexander IV was a good man, who during his pontificate performed and promoted many good things.

Alexander IV became Pope in 1253 and sat for seven years. He was born in the city of Anagni in Campania, and he was called Lord Rainald, bishop of Ostia. He was Cardinal to the Order of the Friars Minor many times and had in fact been made Cardinal by Pope Gregory IX at the prayers and request of the Friars Minor. He canonized the blessed Clare, whom St. Francis had converted to Christ, and he composed collects and hymns for her. He had a sister in the Order of St. Clare and a nephew in the Order of the Friars Minor; and he made neither the sister an abbess nor the nephew a Cardinal. For he made no Cardinals at all, although there were only eight at that time. He was a learned man, diligent in the study of theology, and he preached, celebrated Mass, and consecrated churches frequently and gladly. He unified all of the hermits into one Order, where before there had been five. He gave the privilege which is called *Mare magnum*⁴ to the Order of the Friars Minor. He always remained a very faithful friend, as was made clear in Brother Rainald de Tocca, a Friar Minor, whom he loved so much that the friendship between Jonathan and David or Amis and Amile⁵ can scarcely be compared to theirs. For if the whole world had slandered Brother Rainald, the Pope would not have believed it, nor lent his ears to the rumor. He would even go in his bare feet to open the door for Brother Rainald whenever he knocked at his door, as another Friar Minor, who was in audience with the Pope, once saw him do. This was Brother Mansueto of Castiglione Fiorentino, a friend of mine, from whose mouth I heard all these things which I have reported here. This pope did not concern himself with wars, but lived all his days peacefully. He was a fat, that is, a corpulent man, and as large as a second Eglon [see Judges 3.17]. He was good, merciful, and pious, "just and devout" [Luke 2.25], a man devoted to God.

Pope Alexander IV condemns two harmful books and excommunicates Manfred.

During the pontificate of Alexander IV, Manfred, son of Frederick, the former Emperor, while serving as teacher for Conradin, Frederick's grandson, put out false rumors of Conradin's death, and assumed the crown himself. And since this was done to the prejudice of the Pope, he first excommunicated Manfred and afterward gathered a great army against him, though it was never mobilized. This Pope also, as I have said, canonized St. Clare of the Order of St. Francis at Anagni. During this Pope's time also, the Roman empire was lacking an Emperor — both

because of Frederick's deposition by Pope Innocent IV and because of Frederick's death. The princes of Germany, however, elected a number of men Emperor. The first was the Landgrave of Thuringia and, later, Count William of Holland, both of whom died before they were consecrated Emperor. Then after the death of Frederick, there was a division among the electors, and they chose as Emperor both the king of Castile and Count Richard of Cornwall, the brother of the king of England. And this schism lasted for many years.

This pope also condemned two harmful books. One of these maintained that all members of religious Orders who preach the word of God while living wholly on alms could not be saved. Guillaume of St. Amour wrote this book and published it at Paris, and thereby he prevented many men, both teachers and scholars, from entering the two Orders of the Minorites and the Preachers. But he himself did not remain unpunished, for he was expelled from the University of Paris by both the king of France, St. Louis, and by Pope Alexander IV, without any hope of ever returning there "for ever and ever" [Micah 4.5]. Thus it is written, Proverbs 24 [.8]: "He that deviseth to do evils, shall be called a fool." Guillaume of St. Amour was just such a man. And the next verse reads [.9]: "The thought of a fool is sin: and the detractor is the abomination of men," and Ecclesiasticus 27 [.30-31]: "A mischievous counsel shall be rolled back upon the author, and he shall not know from whence it cometh to him. Mockery and reproach are of the proud, and vengeance as a lion shall lie in wait for him." The Apostle also says in I Corinthians 11 [.19]: "For there must be also heresies: that they also, who are approved, may be made manifest among you." Thus Gregory says: "Abel refused to be the kind of man that Cain in his malice would not persecute."⁶ Whence the verse:

Good men are always in the midst of battles and wars,
And the pious mind always has someone to fight.⁷

Here it is shown by citations that the second book contained many evil and foolish things.

The second book contained many lies against the teaching of the Abbot Joachim, which the Abbot had never written. For it maintained that the gospel of Christ and the teaching of the New Testament had never led anybody to perfection and that they were to be superseded in the year 1260.⁸ But on the contrary, Proverbs 12 [.19]: "The lip of truth shall be steadfast for ever." The lip of truth was the lip of our Lord Jesus Christ, who says [Psalms 88.35]: "The words that proceed from my mouth I will not make void." Whence he said, Matthew 24 [.35]: "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my words shall not pass." See also Matthew 5 [.18-19]: "For amen I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot, or one tittle shall not pass of the law, till all be fulfilled. He therefore that shall break one of these least commandments, and shall so teach men, shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven." Whence the Apostle said, Galatians 1 [.6-9]:

I wonder that you are so soon removed from him that called you into
the grace of Christ, unto another gospel. Which is not another, only there

are some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach a gospel to you besides that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. As we said before, so now I say again: If any one preach to you a gospel, besides that which you have received, let him be anathema,

and I Corinthians 3 [.11]: "For other foundation no man can lay, but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus." Thus the Apostles said, Acts 4 [.12]: "For there is no other name under heaven given to men, whereby we must be saved." So also the Song of Songs 1 [.2]: "Thy name is as oil poured out: therefore young maidens have loved thee," and Psalms [51.11]: "I will wait on thy name, for it is good in the sight of thy saints," and Isaiah 26 [.8]: "Thy name, and thy remembrance are the desire of the soul."

And note that it was Brother Gerard of Borgo San Donnino who wrote this book. Gerard was reared in Sicily and in secular life taught grammar there. After he entered the Order of the Friars Minor, he was sent in the process of time to the University of Paris for the province of Sicily, and he became lector in theology. And he wrote this little book in Paris and made its contents known to certain ignorant Brothers. But he was properly punished, as I have shown above, according to the Scripture, Joshua 7 [.25]: "Because thou hast troubled us, the Lord trouble thee this day." He was sent back to his own province, and because he would not recant his foolish errors, Brother Bonaventure, who was in France, sent for him.

I spoke with Brother Gerard at Modena and questioned him about the Antichrist, and he told me that the Antichrist had already been born and was a grown man and that he knew him well—but he spoke falsely.

And when Brother Gerard came through Modena, I was living there, and I told him that I had been with him in Provins and Sens in the year that the king of France, St. Louis of good memory, went abroad on his first Crusade. Therefore, I said to him since he was an acquaintance of mine, "Shall we debate about Joachim?" Then he said to me, "Let us not debate but let us simply compare notes in some secluded place." Therefore, I led him behind the dormitory and we seated ourselves under a vine. And I said, "I wish to know when and where the Antichrist will be born." Then he answered, "He has already been born and is a grown man, and soon 'the mystery of iniquity . . . worketh' [II Thessalonians 2.7]. And I said, "Do you know who he is?" And he said, "I have never seen his face, but I know him well through the Scripture." And I said, "What Scripture?" And he said, "It is in the Bible." "Then tell me where," I said, for I know the Bible very well." But he said, "By no means, unless we have a Bible in hand." Then I brought a Bible, and he interpreted the entire 18th chapter of Isaiah with respect to a certain king of Spain, that is, the king of Castile. This chapter of Isaiah begins [.1-2]: "Woe to the land, the winged cymbal, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia,

That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, and in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters. Go, ye swift angels, to a nation rent and torn in pieces: to a terrible people, after which there is no other," etc., to the end. And I said to him, "Are you therefore saying that the king of Castile who is now reigning is the Antichrist?" And he answered, "That accursed one is, without a doubt, the Antichrist, of whom all the doctors and saints who have concerned themselves with this matter have spoken." And in derision I said to him, "I trust in my God that you will find that you have been deceived." And furthermore I said, "It is written in Ecclesiasticus 16 [.23]: 'He that wanteth understanding thinketh vain things: and the foolish, and erring man, thinketh foolish things.' Beware, therefore, lest you be one of these." And just as I said this, a large number of Brothers and men of secular life came into the meadow behind the dormitory, talking together in sorrowful tones. And Brother Gerard said to me, "Go and listen to what they are saying, for they appear to have sad news." I went and returned to him with the news: "They say that Lord Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, has been captured by Ezzelino." And he said, "See, the mysteries now begin."

There was a certain man of Verona at Parma who sought to succeed the Abbot Joachim in foretelling the future, but his books were erased through a kind of simple-mindedness.

Then Brother Gerard asked me if I knew a certain man of Verona living in Parma who had the spirit of prophecy and wrote about future events. And I said, "I know him, and know him well, and I have seen his writings." And he said, "I would like to have his writings. I beg you to acquire them for me if you can." And I answered, "He gladly makes them public and rejoices greatly when someone wishes to have them. For he has written many homelies, which I have seen. This man gave up his trade as weaver in Parma, and betook himself to the Cistercian monastery at Fontevivo, and although he is still in secular life, he has been given a room in the monastery where he writes all day long. Thus he lives in the monastery, and writes of future events. And you yourself can go to him, for the place is scarcely two miles off your route." But he said to me, "My companions do not wish to turn aside from the way. Therefore, I beseech you as a favor to me to go there and get them for me." Then he went his way, and I never saw him again.

But I went to that monastery when I found the time, and I found there a certain friend of mine named Brother Albert Cremonella. He had entered the Order of the Friars Minor with me, and we were both received on the same day in 1238 by Brother Elias, the Minister General, in Parma. But he had left the Order in his novitiate, and remained in the world to study medicine. Later, he entered the Cistercian Order and the monastery of Fontevivo, where he was considered to be a great man. And when he saw me, it seemed to him, as he told me, that he saw an angel of God. For he loved me dearly. Then I said to him that he would do me a great favor if he would let me have all the writings of that man from Verona. But he said to me, "May you know, Brother Salimbene, that I am a great

and powerful man in this house, and the Brothers love me, both because of their goodness and because of my knowledge of medicine. And so if you were to ask for all the works of St. Bernard, I could get them for you. But that man you ask after is dead, and not a single scrap of his writings remain in the world, because with my own hand I myself erased all of his books. And I will tell you how and why. There was a certain Brother in this monastery who was well-versed in the art of erasing MSS, and he said to the abbot, 'Father, the blessed Job says to God, 30 [.23]: "I know that thou wilt deliver me to death, where a house is appointed for every one that liveth." And Ecclesiastes also says, 9 [.4]: "There is no man that liveth always, or that hopeth for this," and the Apostle, Hebrews 9 [.27]: "It is appointed unto men once to die." Since therefore it becomes clearer and clearer to me that I must die—for "I am no better than my fathers"[III Kings 19.4]—I beseech you, father, if it seems good to you, to assign some disciples to me so that they may learn the art of erasing. Then after my death they can be useful to this monastery.' But nobody wished to do so except me. So after the death of my master and after the death of this man from Verona, I erased all of his books so that not a single letter remained in them. And I did so not only to practice my art of erasing but also so that no great scandal would arise against us on account of those prophecies." When I heard all of this, I said in my heart, "The book of Jeremiah the prophet was also once burned up, but the one who did it did not escape punishment, as is recorded in Jeremiah 36. Also, the law of Moses was burned by the Chaldeans, but Esdras restored it again through the Holy Spirit."⁹ Thus arose in Parma a certain simple man who had the gift of prophecy, for "his communication is with the simple" of the Lord, Proverbs 3 [.32].

I, Brother Salimbene, had Brother Gerard's book burned when it came into my hands.

Many years afterward when I was living in the convent at Imola, my Guardian, Brother Arnulfo, came to my cell bringing a little book written on papyrus. And he said to me, "There is a certain notary in this territory, who is a friend of the Brothers, and he lent me this book to read which he had copied when he was in Rome with the Roman senator Lord Brancalone of Bologna. He prizes the work very highly because it was written by Brother Gerard of Borgo San Donnino. Therefore, you read it, you who study the works of Joachim, and tell me if it contains anything good. And after I had read it, I said to Brother Arnulfo, "This book is not consonant with the opinion of the ancient doctors and it contains many frivolous words worthy only of scorn. It was for this reason that the book was condemned. Thus I counsel you to throw it in the fire and burn it, and tell that friend of yours to hold his patience for the love of God and of the Order." It was thus done; the book was burned.

Brother Gerard's good qualities, which were destroyed by the perversity of his opinions.

And take note that this Brother Gerard who wrote the book that we have been talking about seemed to have many good qualities. For he was a friendly, courteous, generous, religious, honorable, modest, well-mannered man, temperate in word, in dress, in food, and in drink, a man obedient "with all humility and mildness" [Ephesians 4.2]. Truly, "a man amiable in society," who "shall be more friendly than a brother," as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 18 [.24]. But the perversity of his opinions destroyed all of these good qualities. Thus Ecclesiastes 9 [.18] says: "He that shall offend in one, shall lose many good things," and James, 2 [.10]: "Whosoever shall keep the whole law, but offend in one point, is become guilty of all," and the Apostle, I Corinthians 5 [.6]: "A little leaven corrupteth the whole lump." For this is what the devil, who always lays snares to catch the sons of God, labors for, and "on the elect he will lay a blot" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33], so that he may deceive others and lead them into despair and damnation. Thus Gregory says: "The enemy of mankind observes the habits of every man and puts before his eyes what he knows will most readily sway his spirit."¹⁰ Thus Gregory also says in the fourteenth book of the *Morals*: "In his temptations, the devil lays different traps for different men according to their differing temperaments. For he tempts the joyous with lechery, the sad with discord, the timid with despair, the proud with presumption."¹¹ And again: "The intention of the demons is totally evil and is directed to the harassment of good men."¹² Whence Pope Leo says: "Transforming himself into an angel of light, the ancient enemy does not cease laying his traps of deception everywhere in order to corrupt the faith of the believers. For he knows within whom to place the heat of cupidity, to whom to offer the enticements of gluttony, before whom to place the incitement to lechery, in whom to pour the virus of envy. He knows who will be confounded by sorrow, who will be cheated by joy, who will be oppressed by fear, and who will be seduced by admiration. He dissects the habits of men, learns their cares, and scrutinizes their affections; thus he discovers every man's own peculiar bent and uses it to destroy him. Moreover, he has many disciples learned in his art, whose tongues and minds are used by him to deceive others."¹³

Here it is shown that many men are deceived through the actions of the devil.

Note that the devil puts forth all his efforts to snatch someone away from the Church. Whence Job 40 [.18]: "He will drink up a river, and not wonder," that is, he holds it no great thing to devour the faithless. For "He trusteth that the Jordan may run into his mouth" [Job 40.18], that is, devour the baptized, and he especially presses hard upon the perfect, holy men. Whence Habacuc 1 [.16]: "his meat dainty."¹⁴ Thus Jerome says, "He desires to overthrow Job, and, having devoured the Jew, longs for the power to destroy the Apostles."¹⁵ But although "we are not ignorant of his devices," as the Apostle says, II Corinthians 2 [.11], he lies "craftily in wait for" us [I Kings 23.22]. Therefore everyone should

follow the teaching of Ecclesiasticus 33 [.23–24]: “In all thy works keep the pre-eminence. Let no stain sully thy glory.” For “Blessed is he that . . . hath not served such as are unworthy of him,” Ecclesiasticus 25 [.11]. Yet the devil himself shall not escape punishment, for as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 11 [.31]: “If the just man receive in the earth, how much more the wicked and the sinner.” Thus the blessed Gregory says in the thirty-third book of *Morals*: “When the Day of Judgment comes, that enemy the devil, a cruel and powerful beast, shall be led captive into the midst of the entire heavenly host, and with his whole body he shall be cast into the eternal flames of hell, and there this monstrous beast shall be a strange spectacle before the eyes of the elect.”¹⁶

It is shown here that idolatry should be detested.

I do not marvel if people who do not know God follow idolatry because they have no instructors. But it is a matter of wonder how the Jewish people could fall into idolatry, although the Lord said to them, Exodus 20 [.22–23]: “You have seen that I have spoken to you from heaven. You shall not make gods of silver, nor shall you make to yourself gods of gold.” Surely, a single epistle of Jeremiah’s should have been enough to keep them from idolatry. Moreover, they had the Mosaic law and the writings of all the prophets, and still they became idolators. Thus they cannot be excused [Romans 1.21–25]:

Because that, when they knew God, they have not glorified him as God, or given thanks; but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. For professing themselves to be wise, they became fools. And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds, and of fourfooted beasts, and of creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, unto uncleanness, to dishonour their own bodies among themselves. Who changed the truth of God into a lie; and worshipped and served the creature rather than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.

Therefore, whoever thinks like them is not worthy to dwell with him in heaven, according to the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.15]: “Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and unchaste, and murderers, and servers of idols, and every one that loveth and maketh a lie.”

Heretics are treated here in like manner: it is a great wonder how they could go astray when the Son of God is so clearly revealed in the Gospel.

But it is a marvel beyond measure how there could have been heretics in the New Testament, for the Lord says, Exodus 22 [.31]: “You shall be holy men to me,” and “much food is in the tillage of fathers,” Proverbs 13 [.23]. Also the Son of God says, John 8 [.42]: “For from God I proceeded, and came; for I came not of myself, but he sent me,” and below 10 [.10]: “I am come that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly,” and below 12 [.46]: “I am come

a light into the world; that whosoever believeth in me, may not remain in darkness."

It is necessary for there to be heretics as the Apostle foretold.

But the Apostle predicted that there would be heretics in the future, Acts 20 [29-30]: "I know that, after my departure, ravening wolves will enter in among you, not sparing the flock. And of your own selves shall arise men speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them," and I Corinthians 11 [19]: "For there must be also heresies: that they also, who are approved, may be made manifest among you."

Here it is shown that those men are very foolish who will not give up false beliefs when re-proved by Wise Men.

But this is the height of foolishness: that a man even when reproved by wise men will not give up his false opinions against the Catholic faith. Whence Ecclesiasticus says, 4 [30]: "In nowise speak against the truth, but be ashamed of the lie of thy ignorance," and Ecclesiasticus 5 [13]: "Be meek to hear the word, that thou mayst understand: and return a true answer with wisdom." And this is what Augustine teaches, *On Christian Doctrine*, book II: "It is a work of piety to submit to Holy Scripture and not to contradict or interpret it as if we could perceive or understand something better; one should rather think and believe that that which is written is better and truer."¹⁷ But the perverse man does not do this, of whom Ecclesiasticus 22 [7] speaks: "He that teacheth a fool, is like one that glueth a potsherd together," and [9]: "He speaketh with one that is asleep, who uttereth wisdom to a fool," etc., and Ecclesiasticus 19 [5]: "He that hateth chastisement, shall have less life," and Ecclesiasticus 21 [7]: "He that hateth to be reprov'd walketh in the trace of a sinner," and Ecclesiasticus 32 [21-22]: "A sinful man will flee reproof, and will find an excuse according to his will. A man of counsel will not neglect understanding, a strange and proud man will not dread fear." No one, therefore, should be audacious and stubborn in his opinions, because the Wise Man says, Proverbs 3 [5, 7]: "Lean not upon thy own prudence," and "be not wise in thy own conceit," but "set bounds to thy prudence," Proverbs 23 [4]. And because Brother Gerard did not do this, he was judged a fool. Thus Ecclesiasticus says, 20 [4]: "How good is it, when thou art reprov'd, to shew repentance! for so thou shalt escape wilful sin." But the Wise Man says in Proverbs 26 [11-12]: "As a dog that returneth to his vomit, so is the fool that repeateth his folly. Hast thou seen a man wise in his own conceit? there shall be more hope of a fool than of him."

Here is given a pleasant story about the blessed Job. A man ought to ask wisdom of God.

But the blessed Job acted better, for after he had written his book he sent it to Moses, the leader of the Jewish people in the desert. And when Moses had read it and recognized it to be divine, he placed it among his own books so that it might be a part of the Hebrew canon, of which he himself was the first author,

since he wrote the Pentateuch. This is recorded in Job 31 [.35-37]: "Who would grant me a hearer, that the Almighty may hear my desire; and that he himself that judgeth would write a book, That I may carry it on my shoulder, and put it about me as a crown? At every step of mine I would pronounce it, and offer it as to a prince."

And note that when a man does not have an enlightened understanding of Holy Scripture, he should not follow his own spirit and think out fantastic opinions and interpretations in his own heart, because many have gone astray in that way. He ought rather to cry out for divine help so that God may make "manifest" to him the "uncertain and hidden things of" his "wisdom" [Psalms 50.8], as Daniel did with his companions. Thus the Psalm [36.4-5] says: "Delight in the Lord, and he will give thee the requests of thy heart. Commit thy way to the Lord, and trust in him, and he will do it." That was made clear in Daniel, of whom it is written, Daniel 2 [.19-23]: "Then," that is, after pouring out prayer to God,

was the mystery revealed to Daniel by a vision in the night: and Daniel blessed the God of heaven, And speaking he said: Blessed be the name of the Lord from eternity and for evermore: for wisdom and fortitude are his. And he changeth times and ages: taketh away kingdoms and establisheth them, giveth wisdom to the wise, and knowledge to them that have understanding. He revealeth deep and hidden things, and knoweth what is in darkness: and light is with him. To thee, O God of our fathers, I give thanks, and I praise thee: because thou hast given me wisdom and strength: and now thou hast shewn me what we desired of thee, for thou hast made known to us, the king's discourse.

Thus James said, 1 [.5]: "But if any of you want wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men abundantly, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." That was made clear in Solomon, to whom the Lord said, III Kings 3 [.5]: "Ask what thou wilt that I should give thee." And he asked for wisdom, which was given to him.

Here is recorded a miraculous story of Simeon who held the Christ child in his arms.

Similarly, Simeon "just and devout," who is spoken of in Luke 2 [.25], made a request of God, which he merited to have fulfilled. It is said that Simeon was one of the seventy-two translators who were assigned to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek in the time of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Philadelfus. And when the assignments were made, it fell to his lot to translate Isaiah. But coming to the passage in Isaiah 7 [.14]: "Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel," he began to doubt whether this could be true, for he had never seen such a thing, nor scarcely expected it in the future, according to the words in the last chapter of Isaiah [66.8]: "Who hath ever heard such a thing? and who hath seen the like to this?" And so he erased that passage from the book and went away in wonder. When he re-

turned the next day, however, he found the passage restored. He erased it again, and again found it restored. This happened three times. Simeon marvelled greatly, and then he gave himself up to prayers to God, saying [Psalms 118.34]: "Give me understanding, and I will search thy law; and I will keep it with my whole heart," and [.73]: "Give me understanding, and I will learn thy commandments," and [.18]: "Open thou my eyes: and I will consider the wondrous things of thy law." Then [Luke 2.25]: "waiting for the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was in him." And so he awaited "the consolation of Israel; and the Holy Ghost was in him" [Luke 2.25]. And because it is written, Proverbs 10 [.24]: "To the just their desire shall be given," and "The desire that is accomplished, delighteth the soul," Proverbs 13 [.19], "The old man's desire was fulfilled in the old age of this world," as Augustine says.¹⁸ Thus the Psalm says [20.3]: "Thou hast given him his heart's desire: and hast not withholden from him the will of his lips." And so having seen the Lord and having held him in his arms and kissed him, he prays to depart in peace, as recorded in Luke 2. If anyone, however, marvels at his long life, we say, first, that nothing is impossible with God, "For he will do all that pleaseth him: And his word is full of power: neither can any man say to him: Why dost thou so?" Ecclesiastes 8 [.3-4]. Second, we offer the example of Enoch and Elijah, who lived for a long time and still, according to God's will, are preserved in life. It is recorded of them in Apocalypse 11 [.3]: "And I will give unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth."

Consider the truth of Isidore's words: "Sometimes small sins are useful, for they help one avoid larger ones."¹⁹ For as a result of Gerard's action, it was ordained that no work should again be published outside the Order before being approved by the Minister, the Definitors, and the provincial chapter. If anyone breaks that ordinance, he is to be put on bread and water for three days and deprived of his writing.

The sins of Judas the betrayer. Holy men are not to be blamed if some among them sin; rather, they should be praised the more for persevering with the Lord where others fail.

Judas was one of the Apostles, and he did many evil deeds during the time of Christ's passion and death. For he troubled the Apostles at the Lord's Supper. Thus to Judas they could repeat the words of Joshua 7 [.25]: "Because thou hast troubled us, the Lord trouble thee this day." Also, although corrected by Christ, he would not turn from his malice and foolishness. For "A slave will not be corrected by words: because he understandeth what thou sayest, and will not answer," Proverbs 29 [.19]. Also, he betrayed and sold the Son of God. Concerning the first [Psalms 87.9]: "I was delivered up, and came not forth." And the second, Proverbs 23 [.23]: "Buy truth, and do not sell wisdom, and instruction, and understanding." Also, he despaired and killed himself. Concerning the first, Jeremiah 2 [.25]: "I have lost all hope, I will not do it," and Proverbs 24 [.10]: "If thou lose hope being weary in the day of distress, thy strength shall be dimin-

ished." The second, John 8 [.22]: "Will he kill himself, because he said: Whither I go, you cannot come?" Also, because he was a thief, he deserved to be hanged. Concerning the first, John 10 [.10]: "The thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy." The second, Ecclesiasticus 27 [.29]: "He that layeth a snare for another, shall perish in it." The Lord complains of the Jews, Psalms [56.7]: "They prepared a snare for my feet." Thus it is written, Ecclesiasticus 27 [.32]: "They shall perish in a snare that are delighted with the fall of the just: and sorrow shall consume them before they die." Yet just as the Apostles should not be blamed and condemned because Judas, one of their number, did so much evil, so holy men of religious Orders should not be blamed when some of them become apostate. Thus John says, I John 2 [.19]: "They went out from us, but they were not of us. For if they had been of us, they would no doubt have remained with us."

The people of Reggio depose Ghiberto de Gente from office in their city. In that same year they lay siege to Canossa.

In 1254 Lord Guido, Ghiberto de Gente's brother, was podestà of Reggio. And in that same year Guido died in Reggio and was buried in what was then the convent of the Friars Minor, though now inhabited by the Sisters of the Order of St. Clare. And take note that this year could be said to be in the reign of Pope Alexander IV, but also the preceding year because he is believed to have become Pope three or four days before Christmas, since rumors came to Ferrara from Naples on the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

In 1255, Indiction XIII, Ghiberto de Gente, who was already podestà of Parma, became podestà of Reggio. And he let his nephew, Lord Guido de Anzeli, a citizen of Parma, sit in for him as podestà of Reggio. Yet both of them were cast out of the government of Reggio by the college of judges, who then without taking counsel chose Lord Jacopo Penacio, son of the late Lord Gigliolo de Sesso, as podestà, on Monday before Lent, the third of March. For this reason, there was great discord between Lord Ghiberto de Gente, podestà of Parma, and the city of Reggio.

And in that same year Boniface, son of the late Lord John of Canossa, came to power in the fortress of Canossa against the will of the podestà of Reggio. And so because Lord Jacopo's son Tirisendo had been robbed on the highway of the city of Reggio, the podestà and the city gathered an army in the mountains and laid siege to Canossa. And there they constructed mangonels and trebuchets to the delight of the exiles from Canossa, the leader of whom was Lord Albert of Canossa. And the fortress was destroyed. This was the castle of the former Countess Matilda, and it was her grandfather who had first built it in the time of the Emperor Otto I, and it was called Canusia.

In 1256, Indiction XIV, the aforesaid Lord Jacopo Penacio de Sesso was elected and confirmed as podestà of Reggio by the people and the elders.

The Friars Minor buy the Emperor's palace in Reggio from Bishop William and make it into a convent.

In that same year in May, Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio, sold the Emperor's palace to the Friars Minor of Reggio so that they might use it as a convent. (The Emperor had given this palace with the condition of hospitality to Lord Nicholas, William's predecessor.) The Friars Minor bought and paid for it with the money they had received from the Sisters of the Order of St. Clare, to whom they sold their old convent. This was done in the time of Pope Alexander IV. And because the Friars Minor had bought the palace with the condition of hospitality, in the process of time they said to Lord Rudolph,²⁰ who had been elected Emperor by the will of Pope Gregory X, that they were holding his palace and were living in it in the city of Reggio, and if it was not contrary to his will they wished to continue living there. And the Emperor answered that he rejoiced greatly to have such guests, and whatever he owned there by law he freely gave to the Friars Minor. And he gave the Brothers two letters patent in confirmation, promising that if things went well for him in gaining full control of the empire, he would give a stronger confirmation. Because there were insufficient grounds around the palace, the Friars Minor bought the surrounding territory, both lands and houses.

In 1257, Indiction XV, the city of Reggio besieged and took by force *castrum Adrianum*, that is, Castellano, and many men were killed and captured there. Those who were in that castle from Frignano and from the bishopric of Reggio were put to a cruel death.

In 1258, Indiction I, Lord Loterengo de Andalois, a citizen of Bologna, became podestà of Reggio. And at that time a sextarius of wheat sold for 5 and one-half imperial solidos, and, on the black market [*absconse et privatim*], for 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 12 imperial solidos.

In this year Lord Ezzelino da Romano was captured.

In 1259, Indiction II, the Cremonese; the Mantuans; the Ferrarese; Azzo, the Marquis of Este; and the Count of St. Boniface swore to make war all together against Lord Ezzelino da Romano. And in that same year Ezzelino came with a great army against the Cremonese on the banks of the river Adda, and there he was defeated, captured, wounded, and put to death. And he was buried in Soncino, a Cremonese castle. Yet for many days before his death, he lay sick with his wounds and anguish and pain of heart. And he was buried under the palace of that castle. I believe that the devil has never had a man so much like himself in every evil since the creation of the world. His brother was Alberigo, and the two of them were demons. But we have said enough of these two above.

In this year Palaeologus captured Constantinople.

In this year through six battles Palaeologus,²¹ the Greek Emperor, captured (or, rather, recovered) Constantinople, which once had been conquered by the French and the Venetians.

The Sienese defeat Florence and Lucca in battle. In that same year of 1259 the mortality rate was high. I write the book of Pests.

In that same year in Tuscany, Florence and Lucca suffered a harsh blow. For confident in their numbers and strength, they entered the territory of Siena, but the Sienese aided by Lord Manfred, King of Sicily, met them in battle; and, moreover, Lucca and Florence were betrayed by their own forces. For at the very beginning of the battle some of the chief men of Florence turned against their own and began killing them. And there was a great slaughter: it is said that more than six thousand of the troops of Florence and Lucca were killed or captured at this time.

In that year I was living in Borgo San Donnino, and I wrote a *Book of Pests*²² in the manner of Patecchio. And in that same year the mortality rate among men and women was very high, so much so that in the office of Vespers we had two dead at the same time in the church. And this malady arose during Passion week, so that in the whole province of Bologna the Friars Minor could not say the office of Palm Sunday because they were all sick from the cold. And this disease lasted for many months. During this time Lord Rubino de Soragna, uncle of Uberto Pellavicino and brother of Marchesopolo, died, and I heard his confession. Also, from that disease more than three hundred died in Borgo San Donnino, and in Milan many thousands, and likewise in Florence many thousands. And the bells were not rung lest the sick become terrified.

The spiritual movement of the flagellants in the year 1260, and this movement was world-wide, but especially in Italy.

In the year of the Lord 1260, Indiction III, the flagellants²³ arose throughout the whole world, and all men, both small and great, noble and common, went in procession, naked, whipping themselves through the cities, led by the bishops and men in religious Orders. And peace was made, and men restored their ill-gotten gains. And so many went to confess their sins that the priests scarcely had time to eat. And from the mouth of the flagellants sounded forth voices "of a god, and not of a man," [Acts 12.22] and their "voice" was "like the voice of a multitude" [Daniel 10.6]. And men walked in salvation. And they wrote songs of divine praise in honor of God and the Blessed Virgin, which they sang as they travelled about whipping themselves. And on Monday, the feast of All Saints, all the men of Modena came to Reggio, both the lowly and the great, and all those came from the district of Modena, along with the podestà and the bishop, bearing the flags of every society, and they whipped themselves throughout the city, and most of

them went on to Parma. This was on Tuesday, the day after the feast of All Saints. And the next day all the citizens of Reggio made flags for every parish and went in procession throughout the city. And the podestà of Reggio, Lord Ubertino Rubaconti de Mandello, a citizen of Milan, likewise went in procession whipping himself. And at the beginning of this movement the citizens of Sassuolo, by permission of my Guardian, took me out of the convent of the Friars Minor in Modena, where I was living at that time, and led me to Sassuolo, because they—both the men and the women—loved me dearly. Later, they took me to Reggio, then to Parma. And when we were in Parma, this movement took place there, for it spread “as an eagle that maketh haste to eat” [Habacuc 1.8] and lasted for many days at every city. And there was no one so stern or so old that he did not gladly whip himself. And if anyone refused to whip himself, he was considered to be worse than the devil, and everybody pointed him out as a strange and diabolic man. In fact, however, some misfortune usually befell those who would not scourge themselves, so that either they died or became gravely ill.

Pellavicino refused to allow the flagellants in his territory, for he was afraid that he would lose the rule over Cremona as a result.

Only Pellavicino, who was ruling at this time in Cremona, and his Cremonese avoided this blissful spiritual movement, because as Ecclesiasticus 10 [.2] says: “What manner of man the ruler of a city is, such also are they that dwell therein.” He had gallows erected along the banks of the Po and issued orders to hang any flagellant who crossed. For he loved temporal goods more than the salvation of souls and the glory of this world more than the glory of God. Nevertheless, many bold young men of Parma determined to go into his land, gladly ready to die for the Catholic faith and divine honor in remission of their sins. And I was at Parma in the presence of the podestà, a Pistoian, when he said, “That man has a vile heart; he is an evil man who is ignorant of the things that are of God. Let us not, therefore, give him an opportunity for doing evil, for if he does not wish a ‘blessing . . . it shall be far from him’” [Psalms 108.18]. And he added, “Does it not seem to you that I have spoken well, my brothers?” Then I answered and said, “you have indeed spoken wisely and well, for [Ecclesiasticus 33.15] ‘Good is set against evil, and life against death: so also is the sinner against a just man,’ for just as [Ecclesiastes 1.15]: ‘the number of fools is infinite,’ so [Wisdom 6.26]: ‘the multitude of the wise is the welfare of the whole world.’” Then the podestà sent public criers throughout the city of Parma to publish his command prohibiting anyone from Parma, under heavy penalty, from going across the Po. And thus it ended.

At that time Lord Obizzo of San Vitale, bishop of Parma, was held in high reverence. These are the events that took place in this year in the sixth year of Pope Alexander IV's reign. In this year was begun the tower of Reggiolo beyond the Taleata. And in this same year Lord Gregroy de Bonici entered the monastery

of St. Prosper in Reggio as abbot. And Reggio was absolved, which had been under the interdict of excommunication for six years.

The teaching of Joachim which was to begin its fulfillment in this year and how the Joachites saw the spiritual movement of the flagellants as the beginning of that fulfillment.

And in that year the teaching of Joachim was to have begun its fulfillment. For Joachim made three divisions of history: the first was ruled over by the Father through the patriarchs and the sons of prophets, although the works of the Trinity are indivisible. The second was ruled over by the Son through the Apostles and other holy men of apostolic times, of which the Son spoke in the gospel of John, 5 [17]: "My Father worketh until now; and I work." The third shall be ruled over by the Holy Spirit through the religious Orders. Thus wrote Joachim, who was of the Order of Fiore.²⁴ The flagellant movement, which took place in the year 1260, Indiction III, began, they say, this third age, when the flagellants called themselves voices "of a god, and not of a man" [Acts 12.22].

The war between the king of Hungary and the king of Bohemia started in this year, that is, 1260.

In that same year the king of Hungary began a war with the king of Bohemia in order to gain certain territory, and he had in his army two hundred forty thousand horsemen of various oriental and pagan nations. And the king of Bohemia resisted with a hundred thousand horsemen, among which he is said to have had seven thousand in full armor. And when on the boundaries of the two kingdoms the battle was begun, so much dust arose from the clash of the horses and knights that even at midday one man could scarcely see another. At last, with their king gravely wounded, the Hungarians fled. But about fourteen thousand of them, besides the ones already killed, are said to have drowned in a very deep river which they had to cross. And having won the victory, the king of Bohemia entered Hungary, and the king of Hungary sued for peace and restored the lands which had been the initial cause of the conflict. And he confirmed future peace by the means of matrimony.

In the year of the Lord 1261, in March, Indiction IV, Lord Simon de Manfredi, son of Lord John Boniface, died. He was a good friend of mine, and a very good and strenuous warrior for the Church party in the time of the great war.

The Order of the Knights of the Blessed Virgin Mary. An Order like this one arose during the time of the Halleluia. This Order was said to be held in low esteem in the curia for four reasons. Yet the Order was confirmed in 1261 through the mediation of Brother Ruffino.

Also, in this year the Order of the Knights of the Blessed Virgin Mary was drawn up and instituted through the mediation of Brother Ruffino Gorgone of Piacenza, who had been Minister of Bologna for many years, and at that time was penitentiary in the papal court. He was in Bologna on papal business. The Rule was also confirmed through the efforts of the following honorable men: Lord Loterengo de Andalo of Bologna, who was prior and prelate of that same Order;

Lord Gruamonte; Lord Ugolino Caprizio de Lambertini of Bologna; Lord Bernard de Sesso and Lord Giles, his brother; Lord Fizaimone de Baratti of Parma; Lord Schinea de Liazari of Reggio; and Lord Rainerio de Adelardi of Modena. These men were jokingly and derisively called Godenti²⁵ by the populace, as if to say: they have become Brothers simply because they do not wish to share their goods with others but to have them wholly to themselves, in accordance with the words of the avaricious man spoken of in Ecclesiasticus, 11 [.18-19]: "There is one that is enriched by living sparingly, and this is the portion of his reward. In that he saith: I have found me rest, and now I will eat of my goods alone."

Also, I remember that this Order first arose in Parma in the time of the Halleluia, that is, in the time of that other great spiritual movement, when the Halleluia was sung, and when the Friars Minor and the Preachers strove to work miracles, in the year of the Lord 1233, the time of Pope Gregory IX. And this Order was started by Brother Bartholomew of Viacenza of the Order of the Preachers, who at that time had a large convent in Parma. Brother Bartholomew was a good man, and he later became bishop in his native city. These later Brothers, moreover, wore the same robe as the men of the earlier Order, and, like them, had white saddles and red crosses. There was only one difference between the two: the earlier one was called the Order of the Knights of Jesus Christ; this one, the Order of the Knights of St. Mary. The early Order lasted for many years and afterward died out, and I saw its beginning and its end. And there were never many members in this Order.

These Godenti have multiplied like bread in the hand of a famished man. And they believe that by joining that Order they accomplished a great and wonderful thing. But they are held of little moment in the curia—for five reasons. First, they have never used their riches to build monasteries, hospitals, bridges, or churches, nor, it seems, done any other work of piety.

Second, they have forcefully robbed other men and made no restitution, in the manner of powerful men. Proverbs 11 [.24] speaks of the first: "Some distribute their own goods, and grow richer: others take away what is not their own, and are always in want." Luke 19 [.8] speaks of the second: "But Zacheus standing, said to the Lord: Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wronged any man of any thing, I restore him fourfold." This precept was in the law, Exodus 22. Thus David said, II Kings 12 [.6]: "He shall restore the ewe fourfold, because he did this thing, and had not pity."

Third, after lavishly and vainly spending their own riches feasting and drinking and wasting on minstrels—not at all on Christ's poor—they now petition the curia and seek to obtain from the Pope the right to take over the convents of Orders better than themselves and to dispossess such men of their own homes. Whence the passage in Luke 15 [.30]: "But as soon as this thy son is come, who hath devoured his substance with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf."

Fourth, they are extremely avaricious men. And "the desire of money is the root of all evils," as the Apostle says, I Timothy 6 [.10]. Thus Ecclesiasticus 14

[.3] says: "Riches are not comely for a covetous man and a niggard, and what should an envious man do with gold?" and Ecclesiasticus 10 [.9]: "Nothing is more wicked than the covetous man," and again [.10]: "There is not a more wicked thing than to love money: for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale: because while he liveth he hath cast away his bowels," and Ecclesiastes 5 [.9]: "A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money: and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them." Thus Jerome said: "The avaricious man is lacking in what he has, as well as what he does not have. To the believer the whole world is full of riches, but an infidel possesses not a penny."²⁶ Thus Proverbs 13 [.7]: "One is as it were rich, when he hath nothing: and another is as it were poor, when he hath great riches." Whence the Apostle said, Philippians 4 [.18]: "I have all, and abound." And avarice is not considered a light sin since it excludes one from the kingdom of God, as the Apostle says, Ephesians 5 [.5]: "For know you this and understand, that no fornicator, or unclean, or covetous person (which is a serving of idols), hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God."

Fifth and last, I do not see what use they can be to the Church of God—save perhaps to save their own souls. And Jerome has commented on this: "The holy solitary life is indeed profitable to a particular person alone, and insofar as the merit of his life helps to strengthen the Church it is a good, but where it fails to resist those bent on the Church's destruction, it is an evil."²⁷ But that man is worth much more to whom it can be said, Luke 23 [.39]: "Save thyself and us." Thus let the man answer obediently, "Lord, if I am necessary to your people, I will not refuse the labor. 'Thy will be done!' [Matthew 6.10]. 'I am ready, and am not troubled: that I may keep thy commandments'" [Psalms 118.60].

But enough has been said on this subject. Now, one should rejoice [*gaudendum est*] with the Godenti [*Gaudentibus*] and weep [*flendum*] with the weepers [*flentibus*], as the Apostle says, Romans 12 [.15]: "Rejoice with them that rejoice; weep with them that weep." These are the two emotions of love, that is, congratulation and compassion. Whence Cicero: "It is proper for a well-established soul to rejoice in good things and weep in their contrary."²⁸

The death of Pope Alexander IV and the election of Pope Urban IV, which took place the following year.

Pope Alexander IV died in 1261 and Urban IV was elected, the Pope who gave a Rule to these Godenti.

In 1262, Indiction V, Pope Urban IV²⁹ was elected. And he accomplished two notable things: through Crusaders he put the army of the Saracens to flight which had been sent by Manfred, son of Frederick sometime Emperor, into the territories of the Church; and he gave the kingdom of Sicily to Count Charles of Provence, brother of the king of France, on condition that he recover it from Manfred.

Pope Urban IV gave the kingdom of Sicily to King Charles. A comet appeared in the skies for three months before the death of the Pope.

In 1263, Indiction VI, Pope Urban IV took the kingdom of Sicily away from Manfred, who held it by force, and gave it to Lord Charles.

On the seventh of August, 1264, Indiction VII, a strange comet appeared, which nobody living had ever seen before. Rising in the east with great brightness, it travelled to the west with an extremely bright tail. And although it signified many different things in the various parts of the world, this one event for certain it signified: for it appeared at the time that Pope Urban began to grow ill, lasted for more than three months, and on the very night that the Pope died, it disappeared.

The death of Pope Urban IV. The Marquis of Este, who came to Modena with the Ferrarese army.

In that same year the Marquis of Este came to Modena from Ferrara with a huge army of knights and infantry, and two hundred Guelf knights also came from Florence. They came at the request of the following: Lord Jacopino Rangone; Manfred de Rosa of Sassuolo; and Lord Monaldo of Cittavecchia, podestà of Modena – and indeed at the request of the entire Church party. Arriving on Sunday, December 21, they expelled the Imperial party of the Gorzani and all of their allies from the city. And at that time Lord Thomas de Gorzani and two men of the Bastardi family were killed. And they destroyed the Gorzani fortress and did many other damages. The party in Reggio was frightened very much by this event. And in that same year Pope Urban IV died.

The election of Pope Clement IV.

In 1265, Indiction VIII, Pope Clement IV³⁰ was elected at Perugia. But he himself was at that time beyond the mountains, although he was of the college of Cardinals. And he would not go to receive consecration as Pope before visiting the Church of the Blessed Francis in Assisi, where his most glorious body lies.

And in that same year Lord Charles, brother of the king of France, came to Rome and was confirmed as king of Apulia and Sicily. Charles came by ship, having been called to Rome by Pope Urban for the recovery of Sicily, and he was at that time elected senator. Then going into Apulia, he deprived Manfred of both life and kingdom in a battle. And in that same year the papal legate came into Lombardy to enlist soldiers to help Charles in the war against Manfred.

The expulsion of the Sesso family from Reggio.

In that same year, on Friday the sixth of March, the Modenese and the Guelfs³¹ who had congregated at Modena came to Reggio from the city of Modena. And the Fogliani and the Roberti broke by force through the strongly fortified gate of Porto Castelli. And the Guelfs and Modenese entered and began fighting the Sesso family in the city itself, and they expelled them with great fury

from the city of Reggio. And the Sessi and their allies then went to Reggiolo, and almost all the allies of the Sessi were forbidden to come within three miles of the city, and they were all—save for the Sessi themselves—given guarantees of safe conduct outside this limit. Also, back in Reggio the Roberti immediately made Lord Jacopino Rangone of Modena podestà and deposed Lord Mark Grandonico of Venice. In that year also the Sessi captured Canali, and, later, the Roberti recovered it.

The peace settlement between the men of Reggio and the exiles.

And in that year a settlement of peace was established between the exiles and the men of Reggio, and it was to last from the feast of St. Peter to the feast of St. Michael.³² This was brought about through the efforts of the Preachers: Brother Frederick, prior of the aforesaid Brothers; Brother Peregrino, lector; Brother Peter de Fulconi; and some Friars Minor. And this peace settlement was very good for the men of Reggio, both those within the city and the exiles.

*The coming of the French in support of King Charles against Manfred, son of the Emperor.
The sons of Frederick II, sometime Emperor.*

In that year, near Christmas, the French came in great numbers to help Charles, brother of the king of France, who was at Rome. And I myself saw them arriving when I travelled from Faenza to San Proculo to preach on the feast of St. John the Evangelist.³³ And they went into Apulia to fight against Manfred, son of Frederick, the late Emperor. And they killed him near Easter in the year of the Lord 1266, and carried off all that he possessed. In the year that they came a great miracle took place, because there was neither cold weather, nor frost, nor ice, nor snow, nor rain and mud—so that the roads were in fine shape, safe and excellent, as if it were May. And this was the work of the Lord, because the French had come to succor the Church by exterminating that accursed Manfred, who merited such a death by his iniquities. For he had committed many evil deeds, if indeed, as they say, he had killed his own brother Conrad. And Conrad had killed his brother Charles, who had been born at Ravenna of the Emperor's English wife. Conrad's mother, however, was the daughter of King John; a Spanish woman had given birth to Henry the first-born; and Manfred's mother was the sister or the daughter of the sister of the Marquis of Lancia, a Lombard from the Piedmont. Of all of Frederick's sons, however, the finest, in my opinion, was Enzo, King of Sardinia, whom the Bolognese captured and kept in prison for many years until his death. Enzo was an illegitimate son. And Frederick had another illegitimate son named Frederick, whom he made king of Tuscany.

Pellavicino sought to hinder the movement of the French army, but was unable to.

Also, in that year Lord Uberto Pellavicino, podestà of Cremona, with the Cremonese and all his allies sought to halt the march of the Count of Flanders, captain of King Charles' army. But the Count crossed the river Oglio by force

near Palazzolo and destroyed the fortress of Capriolo. And because they had hanged one of his soldiers, he had all of the citizens of Capriolo killed—men, women, and children. And the Count passed near the city of Brescia with his army and captured and destroyed Montichiari, a Brescian castle, and, later, came to the city of Mantua.

The death of Prince Manfred and the capture of his wife in Manfredonia.

In the year 1266 King Charles crossed the bridge of Ciprano with his army in opposition to King Manfred, prince of Apulia and Sicily. Later, King Charles crossed the bridge of San Germano with his army and entered San Germano by force, and captured the city of Capua on the ninth of February. And in that year he defeated Lord Manfred with his army at Benevento.³⁴ And Manfred was killed there, along with three thousand soldiers. Among the dead were Count Galvano; Lord Annibale, nephew of Cardinal Richard; Marquis Henry de Scipione, nephew of Lord Uberto de Pellavicino; and many other barons. And Manfred was buried at a bridge near Benevento on Friday, February 26. And Manfred's wife and two children were captured, along with all his treasure in the city called Manfredonia, which city Manfred himself had built and given his own name.

The beauty of Manfredonia, which Manfred, the founder, had named after himself.

This city was built near the city of Siponto, which is situated two miles from it. And if the prince had lived a few more years, Manfredonia would have been one of the most beautiful cities in the world. It has a circle of walls four miles around, they say, and it has a splendid harbor. It is situated at the foot of Mount Gargano. Only the main street has been completed and fully settled, although the foundations of all the other buildings have been laid. The city also has very wide streets which add to its beauty. But King Charles hates it exceedingly, so much so that no one is allowed to call it by its rightful name. Rather, King Charles wishes it to be called New Siponto.

Also, in the battle of Benevento, Count Giordano and Peter Asino of Florence were captured, and many other men were killed in the field.

Prince Manfred had some good qualities which I have fully described in the treatise which I wrote on Pope Gregory X.³⁵ For a historian should be a fair man and not give just the bad qualities of a person and keep silent about the good.

The leaders of Prince Manfred's court.

The leaders of Manfred's court were as follows: Count Galvano Lancia, who was the leader and most powerful one in the court; he was from the Piedmont and was related to the Marquis of Lancia. Count Giordano and Count Bartholomew, both of whom were from the Piedmont. Count Casertaro of Apulia, who, I believe, betrayed Manfred, although he was married to his sister. The Count of Acerra of Apulia. Lord John da Procida, a great and powerful man in Manfred's court: it is said, that he is the one who gave the poison to King Conrad

at Manfred's command. The Chamberlain, a Count, a great and powerful man in Manfred's court, very rich, and beloved by Manfred. His name is Manfred Maletta, and he is still living. After he had escaped from the slaughter at Benevento, he gave "place unto wrath" [Romans 12.19] and came to Venice, and lived there until King Peter of Aragon invaded the kingdom at Messina to make war against King Charles.³⁶ And now the said Chamberlain is in Peter of Aragon's court, a great man beloved by Peter. And he has knowledge of much hidden treasure, that is, he knows the location of hidden treasures. And he is perfection itself in composing verses and songs, and, in playing musical instruments, he is not believed to have an equal in the world. Thus now he lives in the kingdom where he was born. And note that King Charles had a large number of men who claimed to be Manfred killed one after another. For these men pretended to be Manfred in order to gain money, and thus exposed themselves to the danger of death.

The Brescians rebel against Pellavicino and make peace with their fellow citizens and with the Milanese and the Bergamese.

In 1266 the city of Brescia which was under the control of Lord Uberto, Marquis of Pellavicino, rebelled against the Marquis. And in the month of February the citizens within the city made peace with the exiles and also with the Milanese and the Bergamese.

The siege and destruction of Monte Vallario.

In that same year the exiles from Modena took over Monte Vallario. For a certain nobleman of Modena, Lord Ugolino de Guiglia by name, unexpectedly became a traitor to the Church party of Modena, that is, to the Aigoni (who had highly honored him), and betrayed the castle into the hands of the exiles, the Gorzani and their party. Once they gained control, the Gorzani harshly mistreated those who were holding the castle for Modena. Therefore, the Modenese with the help of knights from Reggio, some Parmese, and a large number of common citizens laid a heavy siege to the castle, a siege which lasted through the whole month of June. And because of the large number of men and animals, the hunger and thirst became so intense and the stench so great that, reduced to extreme necessity, they could no longer live there. Thus after the fortification had been taken by force, they surrendered the castle on the fourth of July after having received assurances of their own personal safety. Then the traitor Ugolino de Guiglia, mortally sick, was borne from the castle and laid down in the field among cries of outrage, where he was carried off by cruel death. Then the castle was completely destroyed.

The peace settlement between the Roberti and the Sessi.

And in that same year, the third of September, a peace settlement was arrived at between the Sessi, the exiles from Reggio, and the Roberti, who were within the city. And the podestà, Lord Bonaccorso Bellenzone of Florence, was a happy choice for the poor men of Reggio but bad for the nobles. And so the nobles soon cast him out, for he did a good job in re-establishing justice and the laws of the city. Thus John Chrysostom says: "Evil men cannot see the good."³⁷

Praise of judgment and justice.

Note what is said by God, II Paralipomenon 19 [.7]: "For there is no iniquity with the Lord our God, nor respect of persons, nor desire of gifts," and Job 34 [.19]: "Who accepteth not the persons of princes: nor hath regarded the tyrant, when he contended against the poor man," and Proverbs 18 [.5]: "It is not good to accept the person of the wicked, to decline from the truth of judgment," and Proverbs 28 [.21]: "He that hath respect to a person in judgment, doth not well: such a man even for a morsel of bread forsaketh the truth," and Proverbs 21 [.15]: "It is joy to the just to do judgment: and dread to them that work iniquity," and Proverbs 17 [.26]: "It is no good thing to do hurt to the just: nor to strike the prince, who judgeth right."

The Guelf party returns to Florence and expels the Ghibellines. Lord Charles besieges Poggibonsi.

Moreover, in the same year, the Guelf party of Florence returned to the city, and, later, expelled the Ghibellines. And in the same year King Charles laid siege to Poggibonsi for a long time, and finally obtained the fortress through a peace settlement. And there, in the following year, Charles' wife died.

The war between the Saracens and the Christians in Spain.

Also, in 1266 a huge number of Saracens from Apulia crossed the straits into Spain and joined the Saracens already there, and they struck a heavy blow against the Christians, intending to recover Spain which they had lost. But the Christians of that country joined by Crusaders from many countries won the victory over the Saracens, though with heavy losses among the Christians.

In 1267, Indiction X, King Charles laid siege to Poggibonsi in Tuscany for a long time. And there was a large number of noblemen in that fortress who held out against the Church party. Finally, Charles concluded a peace settlement with them, and they left the fortress.

The exiles from Cremona return, and Pellavicino and Lord Buoso lose control of Cremona through the intervention of the papal legate.

And in that same year a peace settlement between the exiles from Cremona and those within the city was arrived at through the mediation of the papal legate. And in the same year Lord Uberto Pellavicino lost the rule of Cremona and of

his other cities, and went to live in his own castles called Landasio and Gusaligio. And Pellavicino marvelled how a single priest had managed to expel him from his rule by means of flattering words. Thus the following verses are frequently repeated:

With words of deceit and actions that cheat,
The wise man often conquers the fool.³⁸

This is the meaning of Proverbs 29 [.5]: "A man that speaketh to his friend with flattering and dissembling words, spreadeth a net for his feet." Pellavicino justly lost his control of Cremona, because, fearing to lose his rule, he had erected gallows beside the Po as a warning to the flagellants. Thus the Wise Man says, Proverbs 10 [.24]: "That which the wicked feareth, shall come upon him: to the just their desire shall be given," and Proverbs 12 [.3]: "Men shall not be strengthened by wickedness: and the root of the just shall not be moved."

Also, in that same year Lord Buoso de Dovaria left Cremona with his allies and settled down in Rochetta. These two — Pellavicino and Buoso — ruled for many years in Cremona. The words of Isaiah 52 [.5] are appropriate for their rule: "They that rule over them treat them unjustly, saith the Lord, and my name is continually blasphemed all the day long."

Conradin comes to Lombardy and Apulia.

In that same year, near the feast of St. Francis, Conradin, the grandson of the former Emperor Frederick, came into Lombardy from Germany on his way to Apulia to fight against Charles to recover his kingdom. And large numbers of men from Lombardy and Tuscany joined him. He met no opposition until he arrived at the field of battle. And the Cremonese army left Rochetta for fear of Conradin and the Veronese. Conradin was a learned young man who spoke Latin very well. And in the same year in October he arrived at Verona with a huge army of Germans.

Lord Jacopino de Palude invades Bismantova.

In July of that same year, Lord Jacopino de Palude climbed up the cliff to Bismantova and entered the city secretly by night, and Lord Turclo of Bismantova was killed there.

Reggio and Parma lay siege to Crovara.

And in that same year troops from Reggio and Parma laid siege to Crovara. And the army of Reggio had three trebuchets, and the Parmese one. This was in the month of August, and Crovara was taken by means of a peace settlement. And Bismantova surrendered and gave hostages to Reggio in pledge of peace.

The recovery of Reggiolo.

On December 9 of that same year, the fortress of Reggiolo, which was being held by the Cremonese, was recovered. It had been taken by force from the Sessi. And it was bought from the Cremonese for three thousand pounds of Reggio [*librarum rexanorum*], not to mention the other expenses for ambassadors, knights, and infantry, who went into the service of Cremona.

The Parmese lay siege to Borgo San Donnino and make peace with their fellow citizens in that city.

In 1268, Indiction XI, the Parmese besieged Borgo San Donnino with allies from Modena, Cremona, Piacenza, and Reggio. And they lifted that siege after a long period of time, destroying the trees, vineyards, wheat, and houses outside the city. And in that same year the Parmese came to a peace settlement with their fellow citizens in Borgo San Donnino.

Pope Clement IV dies.

In that same year on the feast of St. Cecilia, Pope Clement IV became ill, and died eight days afterward on the vigil of St. Andrew.³⁹ And in that same year Conradin arrived at Rochetta near Brescia and travelled from there to that other Rochetta which was in the hands of Lord Buoso. Then he crossed the river Adda and went to Pavia on the other side of the Ticino, where he remained for many days. Then he travelled by land through the territories of the Marquis of Carretto, and then by sea to Pisa. His army, however, made its way to Pisa through the lands of the Fleschi. And in the same year he went to Rome through Tuscany, to the displeasure of the Tuscan Guelfs. And he raised an army in the territory of Lucca.

Conradin's army encounters the forces of King Charles. Conradin is captured and after three months is beheaded along with many others.

In that same year on the vigil of St. Bartholomew,⁴⁰ Conradin's army encountered Charles' army, and Charles won the victory. And large numbers of Conradin's forces were killed. There was great slaughter on that battlefield; many fled, and many barons and knights were captured. Conradin himself was captured, along with the Duke of Austria and many others; and they were taken to Palestrina and imprisoned. And Lord Henry, brother of the king of Castile, who was at that time a Roman senator, was also captured, along with Galvano Lanci. And Galvano with his two sons was killed in Rome, and many other traitors from Apulia were put to death at the same time in Rome. And in that same year troops from Modena and Reggio captured Brandola. And in that same year on the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist,⁴¹ King Charles' wife came to Reggio with a huge number of knights and infantry and archers. And less than a month later the Count of Flanders came with his wife, King Charles' daughter, to Reggio with

a huge number of soldiers. And after Conradin's defeat all of these forces went into Apulia. In that conflict also Conrad of Antioch, the Emperor's grandson, was captured, and he had earlier escaped from the King's prison by the assistance of Lord Jacopo Napoleone and his companions, who were in Saracinesco. And this battle in which Conradin was defeated took place on the Palatin field at the river Salto near Alba. And after three months King Charles had Conradin, the duke of Austria, and Count Gerard of Pisa brought to him into Apulia and had them beheaded in Naples. And on November 28 of that year, Pope Clement IV, a Provençal by birth, died.

The good qualities of Pope Clement IV. His prediction of Conradin's death and his canonization of a certain saint, by whose mediation a Jew was baptized.

Pope Clement in early life had a wife and children; he was a famous lawyer and he was counselor to the king of France. Because he was a very learned and good man, he was, after the death of his wife, made bishop of Le Puy and, afterward, archbishop of Narbonne, then Cardinal bishop of Santa Sabina. Later, while he was serving as Pope Urban IV's papal legate in England for the restoration of the peace, the Cardinals at Perugia elected him Pope. And by his vigils, fasting, prayers, and many other good works, God has, it is believed, cured many of the ills of the Church. And when Conradin came into Italy to make war upon Charles, to whom the Pope had given the kingdom of Sicily, many of the Brothers were despairing of King Charles, both because of the huge size of Conradin's army and because almost the whole of Sicily was in rebellion. Yet Pope Clement predicted in a public sermon that Conradin was like a passing smoke and that he had come to Apulia like an animal to the sacrifice. And the event proved the truth of the prediction. For Conradin was routed, captured, and beheaded, and after a few days his name vanished like smoke. Moreover, in the church of the Preachers at Viterbo, Pope Clement canonized Edroiga, duchess of Poland, a widow of remarkable sanctity. Although her canonization was delayed for many years, she, among other laudable things (...)⁴²

When a certain Jew read this, he immediately had himself baptized, along with his entire household. And in that same year on December 5, Lord Manfred de Roberti, bishop elect of Verona, died. And in that same month Peter de Vico, prefect of Rome, died.

The Sultan of Babylon captures and destroys Antioch.

In that same year of 1267 the Sultan of Babylon, after having laid waste to Armenia, captured Antioch, one of the most famous cities in the world. He reduced the city to desolation by killing most of the citizens, both men and women. And this took place on the sixteenth of May, the vigil of the Ascension.

In the year 1268 scorning the Pope's excommunication and accompanied by his German troops as well as many Lombards and Tuscans who joined him, Conradin came to Rome on his way to battle with Charles, to whom the Church had

given Sicily. He was received with great ceremony in Rome like an Emperor. There he was joined by Lord Henry, senator of Rome and brother of the king of Castile, and many other Romans, and from there he travelled on into Apulia to meet with Charles. But after a bitter battle in the field, Conradin was captured in flight and was beheaded by Charles, along with two other noblemen.

There were heavy winds in this year, a deep snow in mid-April, and, afterward, a hoar frost which destroyed the vineyards.

In 1269, Indiction XII, in mid-April, a heavy snow fell which lasted for a good two days and nights. The snow started at midnight before Sunday and continued falling throughout that whole day, very heavily about Vespers. And the following night there was a heavy frost and the next night an even heavier one, which destroyed the vineyards.

In this year the fortress of Pizegolo was destroyed by the forces of Reggio; Toano was likewise destroyed and razed to the ground. And in this same year there were extremely strong winds. And in July, the Cremonese laid siege to Rochetta where Lord Buoso de Dovaria was ensconced, and Rochetta surrendered to Cremona. Peace was made with Cremona, and Rochetta was destroyed. And in that same year Lucera, the Saracen city,⁴³ surrendered to King Charles. And in September, two hundred foot soldiers from the mountains, along with knights and infantry from the bishopric of Modena went in the service of Mantua to Frignano to fight against Lord Guidino of Montecucculo, brother of the late Lord Bonaccorso. They came there in order to rectify the situation in the fortress which was in the control of the Serafinelli of that district of Frignano. And many knights and foot soldiers were killed and captured there. Then Count Maginardo arrived with a huge number of knights from Bologna to help Guidino, and a heavy conflict ensued. And many men were killed, captured, and hanged there – almost all of those from Reggio. At that time Lord Guido de Mandra, the captain of the forces from the bishopric of Reggio, was killed, along with his notary. And in that same year, in November, the Bardi fortress surrendered to Piacenza.

The destruction of Borgo San Donnino by the Parmese and the death of Uberto Pellavicino. The good that the Parmese did for the citizens of Borgo San Donnino and their ingratitude. See above, folio 365.

Pellavicino would not be converted to God at his death, because as Augustine says: "The sinner is smitten by this just punishment: he who forgot God throughout his lifetime, in death is himself forgotten."⁴⁴

Also in that year of 1269 the Parmese completely destroyed the walls of Borgo San Donnino and filled up its moats. And the Parmese commanded the citizens of Borgo San Donnino to leave the town and rebuild their houses, away from the fortress, along the road to Parma. They did so, and they remain there up to this day.

In that same year the Marquis Uberto Pellavicino, an old one-eyed man, "grown

old in evil days" [Daniel 13.52], died in the mountains "in bitterness of soul" [Job 21.25] and pain, without confession and satisfaction with the Church. And the Friars Minor were there, hoping to be able to bring him back to God at his death, according to the words of Ecclesiasticus 11 [.28-29]: "For it is easy before God in the day of death to reward every one according to his ways . . . and in the end of a man is the disclosing of his works." But they could not move him from his evil, because the Scripture says [Psalms 108.18]: "He would not have blessing, and it shall be far from him," and Ecclesiastes 7 [.14]: "Consider the works of God, that no man can correct whom he hath despised," and Proverbs 28 [.11]: "The rich man seemeth to himself wise: but the poor man that is prudent shall search him out." Brother Gerardino of St. John in Perseceto, lector of theology in the convent of the Friars Minor in Parma, said to Pellavicino, "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 6 [.3]: 'Run about, make haste, stir up thy friend.' I have fulfilled this Scripture, lord, in coming to you for the salvation of your soul, which I wish to win for God 'Who will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth,' I Timothy 2 [.4]. And so I counsel you to do what Ecclesiasticus teaches, 14 [.15-17]: "In dividing by lot . . . Give and take, and justify thy soul. Before thy death work justice: for in hell there is no finding food.'" But Pellavicino answered, "I have no remorse of conscience that makes me need anything from anyone." And Brother Gerard said to him, "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.13]: 'He that hideth his sins, shall not prosper: but he that shall confess, and forsake them, shall obtain mercy.' And elsewhere he says, Proverbs 16 [.3]: 'Lay open thy works to the Lord: and thy thoughts shall be directed.'" When Brother Gerard saw, however, that he was laboring in vain, he said, "I have done what was mine to do, for the Wise Man says in Proverbs 21 [.12]: 'The just considereth seriously the house of the wicked, that he may withdraw the wicked from evil.' But I see that the words of Proverbs 11 [.7] are true: 'When the wicked man is dead, there shall be no hope any more,' and Proverbs 16 [.4]: 'The Lord hath made all things for himself: the wicked also for the evil day.' Therefore, because, as Hosea 5 [.11] says: 'Ephraim . . . began to go after filthiness,' therefore, 'he that is filthy, let him be filthy still,' the last chapter of Apocalypse [22.11]." And so Brother Gerard dismissed him "in the hand of his own counsel" [Ecclesiasticus 15.14], according to the words of Jeremiah 51 [.9]: "We would have cured Babylon, but she is not healed: let us forsake her, and let us go every man to his own land: because her judgment hath reached even to the heavens, and is lifted up to the clouds."

I believe that Brother Gerard was sent to Pellavicino either by the Parmese or by some papal legate on the mission to bring him back to the precepts of the Church. For when Pope Clement was on his way to accept the papal throne, he passed through Piacenza while he was still a private citizen, and he said, "After I leave here, tell that ruler of Cremona for me that if he ever wishes to become a friend of God and the Church and allow people to live in peace, I will see to it that the Pope receives him gladly and has mercy on him." Instead, however,

the words of Ecclesiasticus were fulfilled in Pellavicino, 22 [.7]: "He that teacheth a fool, is like one that glueth a potsherd together."

The Parmese took vengeance on Pellavicino, according to the words of Isaiah 3 [.11]: "Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him."

Yet the Parmese were avenged on Pellavicino while he was still alive, for they wreaked destruction on the castles and lands that he controlled, in accordance with the passage in Job 20 [.15]: "The riches which he hath swallowed, he shall vomit up, and God shall draw them out of his belly." What Isaiah says of Sennacherib is also appropriate for Pellavicino, 16 [.4]: "The dust is at an end, the wretch is consumed: he hath failed, that trod the earth under foot." Pellavicino ruled Cremona for twenty years, and if he had served Christ for that many years he would have gained an eternal kingdom. May God have mercy on him, for he did many evil things to Parma, Cremona, Piacenza, and many other cities of Lombardy. But he did not escape punishment, as it is written in the book of Wisdom, 16 [.14-15]: "A man indeed killeth" his soul "through malice, and when the spirit is gone forth, it shall not return, neither shall he call back the soul that is received: But it is impossible to escape thy hand."

Also, in that same year a general chapter was held at Assisi while Brother Bonaventure was still Minister General. And there was no Pope because the Cardinals could not reach an agreement.

Primaro, where the Bolognese built a castle in opposition to Venice in the year of the Lord 1270.

At this time the Bolognese went to Primaro and built a castle there in opposition to Venice. Primaro is located in the district of Ravenna, where the Po which flows by Argenta enters the sea. And the Venetians moved against the Bolognese with a great army employing ships, catapults, mangonels, trebuchets, and every kind of war machine. The army was stationed on the opposite side of the Po from Primaro, and it made a heavy assault against the Bolognese castle. And so a fierce battle ensued between the two. The Venetians bombarded the Bolognese fortress with mangonels and trebuchets, and the Bolognese valiantly defended their fortress. Finally, the Venetians withdrew. And the Bolognese remained there for, I believe, two or three years. And three or, maybe, five hundred of them died there on account of the intemperate sea air and the vast number of gnats, fleas, flies, and gadflies. And Brother Peregrino de Polesmo, a Friar Minor of Bologna, went there and arranged a peace settlement between the Bolognese and the Venetians. So the Bolognese dismantled the fortress they had built there and returned home, and they gave much of the timber from that fortress to the Friars Minor of Ravenna. I was living at Ravenna at that time, and I believe that the Bolognese destroyed their fortress and departed in the same year that Conradin was defeated by King Charles, that is, in 1268.

The huge number of starlings that appeared in the year of Conradin's encounter with King Charles.

And so great a number of those birds which are called in the vernacular *turuli* and which destroy the vineyards and grapes came in that same year that from dinner to dusk the sky could scarcely be seen for many days. And at times there were two or three layers of them, one over the other at the same time, and they stretched for three or four miles. And after a short time another flight of the same kind of birds appeared, chirking and murmuring as if in complaint. And every evening for many days they came down from the mountains into the valleys and filled the whole sky. And one evening I went out with some other Brothers to see this great wonder. I stood under the heavens, and yet I did not stand under the heavens, because the entire sky was filled with these birds. Truly, I say that if I had not seen this with my own eyes, I would not have believed it.

The reason the Bolognese built the fortress at Primaro in opposition to the Venetians.

Here is the reason why the Bolognese went to Primaro and built the fortress: the Venetians are an avaricious, grasping, and underhanded people who would subjugate the whole world if they could. And they treat the merchants who come to their territory harshly by selling to them at high prices and by exacting high tolls from them at numerous places. If a merchant takes his wares to sell there, he cannot then return with them, but is required to dispose of them there willy nilly. And if some foreign ship comes to their shores as a result of some mishap at sea, it is not allowed to leave until its cargo is sold there. For they say that that ship came to them through divine providence, and they cannot be said nay. At the time when Roglerio de Bagnacavallo was podestà of Ravenna, the Venetians came and built a fortress in the district of Ravenna at the mouth of the valley on the shore of the Po by the canal which goes from Ravenna to the Po in the region of San Adalbert. And the Venetians made a contract with Ravenna to hold that fortress for fifty years and to pay Ravenna fifty pounds of Ravenna currency annually for that privilege. And they paid their obligations faithfully, as I myself saw.

Venice's cunning and trickery at the expense of Ravenna and the other Lombard cities.

Yet the Venetians employed five cunning and malicious tricks in this particular negotiation. The first was that although the original contract was to run for only fifty years, the Venetians decided to make it perpetual. And they did not leave their decision with mere words, but buttressed it with actions. For they replaced the original wooden fortress with a stone one. Second, they closed the navigable waterway to the Lombards so that the Ravennans could receive nothing from Romagna or the March of Ancona, from which regions they normally obtain their wheat, wine, oil, fish, meat, salt, figs, eggs, cheese, fruit, and everything which pertains to human life. Third, they went into Romagna and the March of Ancona

and bought up all the aforementioned commodities to forestall the Bolognese, who have great need for these products because of large numbers of citizens and visitors in the city, as well as the students at the university. And so it is no wonder that the Bolognese took up action against the Venetians and built the castle, and all the Lombards should have been angry at the Venetians and ready to raise an army, because they had been harmed so much by their actions. Fourth, the Venetians always kept an armed ship in the harbor of St. Mary in Ravenna to keep out any ships loaded with staples, effectively closing the harbor to the Ravennans, the Bolognese, and the Lombards, an act which was by no means a part of the treaty. Fifth, they always kept an ambassador (whom they call a *vicedominus*) in the city of Ravenna at the city's own expense, whose duty it was to take great care to see that the Ravennans enacted nothing harmful to the state of Venice, which likewise was not a part of the treaty. The Venetians named that fortress Marcamo, that is, "the sea called," because the sea could be heard there when it was stormy and the waves rolled in.

Count Roglerio allowed the Venetians to build Marcamo in the district of Ravenna for three reasons.

I asked Count Roglerio de Bagnacavallo if he had had that castle built, and he said to me, "Brother, I had it built only in the sense that I allowed it to be done when I was podestà of Ravenna, and that I could not help it. I allowed the Venetians to build it for three reasons. First, because I had a Venetian wife; second, because of the enemies that I had outside of Ravenna; and third, because I thought the fifty pounds annual rent would be useful to the city of Ravenna."

The prosperity of the city of Ravenna.

"Yet we were not harmed at all by these things, because there was so great a supply of goods in Ravenna that anybody who wanted more would be a fool. For a large dish full of salt could be bought in Ravenna for as little as a penny, and twelve cooked eggs could be bought in a tavern for a similar price. And I could buy a fat wild duck in season for just four pence when I wished. And once I noted that one could pluck ten ducks and receive half of them in payment."

The fortress of Governolo by means of which the Mantuans require a toll from ships sailing in the Po, forcing them to sail to Mantua and back again to Governolo.

The Mantuans do a similar misdeed through the fortress of Governolo, which was once the possession of the Countess Matilda, like the city of Mantua itself. For they force all ships travelling by Governolo on the Po to sail the ten-mile journey to Mantua, unload their cargo, and pay a toll; and there is no way for ships to make use of the Po save by passing by Governolo. It was out of anger at this fact that the Cremonese dug the Taleata, which we spoke of above under the year that it was done. And this canal was of great profit to the Cremonese, though it caused much damage to the people of Reggio because of the loss of fields,

vineyards, and houses. The Taleata stretches all the way to Primaro, and it submerged and destroyed many villages, where, before, there was an abundance of grain and wine, although now there is a good supply of all kinds of fish.

The Emperor of Constantinople, who was going across the sea, came to Reggio, where on the same day he knighted Lord Jacopino de Rodilia in the convent of the Friars Minor in the year 1270.

In the year 1270, Indiction XIII, on Palm Sunday in April, the Emperor of Constantinople, who was going across the sea, arrived at Reggio. And on that same day he knighted Lord Jacopino de Rodilia in the convent of the Friars Minor. And on the Kalends of May Jacopino held a great open court, and almost all the knights and squires of the city of Reggio dressed in new clothes and gave away their old ones.

And on Friday, June 26, of that same year Lord Boniface de Fogliani, archdeacon of the church of Reggio died. A learned man, he was the blood brother of Lord William, bishop of Reggio. He was also archpriest to the people of Bismantova, but he died at San Salvatore where he was living, and he was buried in the cathedral. And in August of that year the fortresses and houses of the allies of the Sessi were destroyed in the bishopric of Reggio. And in September the Sessi and twenty-four of their allies were expelled from Reggio and exiled in the territory beyond Bologna, Tortona, and Verona. Also in September Lord Arverio, brother of Lord Bonaccorso de Palude, was killed, along with his two children and many others, by Lord Jacopino de Palude. And this Lord Jacopino de Palude had at various times killed many other members of his own house, as, for example, the father of his son-in-law, Lord Albert Caro, as well as the son-in-law himself, Zanone, and the infant son of his own daughter, whom he dashed on the ground. Moreover, he killed Lord Arverio, his own brother and his two children, and another man of his own family.

In this year of 1270, there was neither Pope nor Emperor.

St. Louis, King of France, makes a second Crusade to Tunis, where he dies.

In this year that most Christian King of France, St. Louis, being not at all put off by the labors and expenses that he had endured before, set out again for the recovery of the Holy Land.⁴⁵ He was joined by his two sons, the King of Navarre, and a host of barons and prelates of the Church. And they decided that to facilitate the recovery of the Holy Land Tunis should be conquered first, since its location caused no little impediment to the Crusaders. Yet after the army had captured Carthage, which lies near Tunis, a great plague which that year was raging on the sea coasts began to decimate the Christian army. And first it carried off one of the King's sons, then the papal legate, then the Cardinal of Alba, and finally the most Christian King Louis himself, along with a large number of counts and barons and commoners. Yet before King Louis died . . .⁴⁶ For in his sickness he did not cease to praise the name of the Lord, continually intersper-

sing the prayer: "Help us, Lord, to despise the prosperity of this world, and not to fear its adversity." And he prayed for the people he had brought with him, saying, "Be Savior and Protector, Lord, to your people." And when he approached his end, he looked up to heaven and said, "I shall enter your house, I shall adore at your holy temple, and I shall confess your name." After saying this, he fell asleep in the Lord. And as the Christian army was groaning at the death of the king and the Saracens exulting, King Charles of Sicily,⁴⁷ the king's brother, for whom he had sent before his death, arrived with a great army. His arrival brought joy to the Christians, but sorrow to the Saracens. And although the Saracens appeared to outnumber the Christians, they nevertheless did not dare to engage the Christian army in a general battle. Instead, they harassed the Christians by a number of tricks, one of which is described below.

The trickery of the Saracens of Tunis against the Christians.

That region is extremely sandy, and in the dry period very dusty. Therefore, the Saracens stationed many thousands of men on a mountain near the Christians, and these men threw sand into the air so that dust was carried by the wind among the Christians and greatly afflicted them. But once the dust was settled by rain, the Christians readied their various war machines for an attack on Tunis by land and sea. When the Saracens saw this, however, they were terrified and entered into a treaty of peace with the Christians. The principal points of this treaty, according to report, were that all Christian prisoners in that kingdom should be set free; that the Christian faith should be permitted to be preached freely by the Friars Minor, the Preachers, and any others who wished to do so in the monasteries which had been built to the honor of Christ in all the cities of that kingdom; and that all who wished to be baptized should be freely allowed to receive baptism. Also, the king of Tunis was required to pay the expenses of the Christian king and was to become tributary to the king of Sicily. There were many other points of the treaty which it would take too long to enumerate here. Then on the arrival of Edward, king of England,⁴⁸ a host of Frisians, and a large number of other pilgrims, the Christian army had grown so much that it was believed to number at least two hundred thousand, and they hoped not only to recover the Holy Land but also to conquer the whole of the Saracen territory. Yet because of their sins, the army was dispersed without further accomplishment. For the legate who was to have directed them was taken off by death. Moreover, the Holy Land to which they were going was without a governor of the Pilgrims. In addition, the patriarch, who was the papal legate in the Holy Land, had died. Furthermore, the Apostolic seat, which could provide both of these, was empty. And, finally, the king of Navarre, who had left Africa because of illness, had come to Sicily and died there.

The translation of St. Louis' body which was accomplished by his son Philip, King of France, and his army.

In the year of the Lord 1271, Indiction XIV, the last day of March, King Philip of France ⁴⁹ crossed the sea and came to Italy with his brother and his army, and he was welcomed at the palace of William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio. And the king went on into France carrying the body of his father, Louis, late king of France, which he transported from Africa. For the king had died in Carthage near the city of Tunis. And he was carried preserved by aromatic herbs in a coffin, and in another coffin was Tristan, Philip's brother and the son of King Louis, who likewise had died in Carthage, along with many other barons who had gone to recover the Holy Land. And eight days later the Count of Flanders arrived at Reggio with his army and followers. And in that same year there was a great scarcity of grain, so that in the months of May and June a sextarius of beans sold for 6 imperial solidi, and a sextarius of millet for 3 and 4 imperial solidi. And a sextarius of spelt sold for 2 and a half imperial solidi on the public market [*pro communi*] and 10 solidi of Reggio on the black market [*privatim*], and a sextarius of wheat for 20 solidi of Reggio on the public market and for 8 imperial solidi on the black market.

The siege and destruction of the fortress of Maccastorna.

In May of that year, the Cremonese army came to Maccastorna and remained there until a settlement was made, and they tore down and destroyed that castle.

The Milanese destroy Crema.

And in June of that year, Crema was laid waste all the way up to the moats by the Milanese. And the podestà of Milan at that time was Lord Robert of Tripoli, a citizen of Reggio, of the Roberti family.

The Society of Justice which was formed in Bologna.

In that same year a society was formed in Bologna called the Society of Justice, and it was a very large society composed of the best citizens of the city. And they exiled eighty knights for the good of the city of Bologna.

And in that same year Lord Dato de Cancellieri of Pistoia was podestà of Reggio for six months, from the feast of St. Peter to the Kalends of January.⁵⁰ And this podestà laid siege to the fortress of Crovara on July 22 with a contingent of the knights and infantry from Castello and San Nazario. And a contingent came from Parma to the siege. And the city of Reggio brought three trebuchets and Parma three. And Mantua sent twenty-five archers to that siege in the service of Reggio, and the community of Castiglione of Tuscany also sent archers for Reggio's use. And the contingent from Castello and San Nazario remained there for seventeen days. Then the contingent of knights and infantry from San Pietro and San Lorenzo came to the siege and stayed for twenty-three days. Then the

contingent from Castello and San Nazario returned and stayed for twenty-four days. And those from San Pietro and San Nazario returned and stayed for eleven days, until the fortress of Crovara came to terms, and they tore down and destroyed the castle in accordance with the wishes of the city of Reggio. The inhabitants of that castle, however, were guaranteed safety in their persons and possessions, but were to remain exiled from the city of Reggio. And Reggio took over this castle and land on Saturday, September 19. And Lord Jacopino de Palude received four hundred imperial pounds in payment for restitution of the land.

The Bolognese army travels through the bishopric of Modena, besieges Savignano and Montombraro, and destroys them.

In August of that year, the Bolognese army travelled through the bishopric of Modena and laid siege to Savignano and Montombraro, captured, and destroyed them. This was done to fulfill the treaty between Bologna and Modena which stated that the Modenese were not to have a castle beyond the river Scoltenna. And so they destroyed these two castles, because "the wicked man being scourged, the" little one "shall be wiser," as is recorded in Proverbs [19.25]. . . .⁵¹

Also, during these six months a sextarius of wheat sold for 8 imperial solidi and more, a sextarius of spelt for 12 grossi, a sextarius of millet for 13 grossi, a pound of pork for 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 imperials, and a pound of olive oil for 2 imperial solidi, 14 dried figs for one solidi of Reggio, 4 or 5 cloves of garlic for 1 solido of Reggio, 20 chestnuts in the shell for 1 solido of Reggio, 12 or 14 almonds for 1 solido of Reggio, and a sextarius of grain for 12 or 14 grossi. All other foodstuffs during that year were extremely scarce.

As the body of the king of France was being carried through Italy, it performed a miracle at Reggio and another at Parma.

As the body of King Louis of good memory was being borne to France, God performed many miracles through him, that is, for his love, the truth of which may be seen in Psalms [4.4]: "The Lord hath made his holy one wonderful: the Lord will hear me when I shall cry unto him." Thus when St. Louis' body was in Reggio, Lord Jacopo de Aluci called out to the Lord to hear him for the love of his saint. And so "the Lord made his holy one wonderful," that is, he performed a miracle for love of his saint by healing Lord Jacopo de Aluci's leg. And in Parma, my own native city, he healed a girl of a chancre that she had had on her arm for many years. Moreover, in the year 1284 Master Roland Taverna, a citizen of Parma and bishop of Spoleto, told me that seventy-four miracles, which had been approved by credible and proper witnesses, could be attributed to St. Louis. Master Roland told me this in Reggio, where I was then living, as he was on his way to France to write a work about the miracles of St. Louis which had been commissioned by Pope Martin IV, who wished to canonize him.

The election of Pope Gregory X.

In the year of the Lord 1272, Indiction XV, Gregory X became Pope,⁵² and he was earlier called Tedaldo de Vicecomite of Piacenza. And on account of disagreement among the Cardinals, the Church had been without a Pope for three years, nine months, and twenty-one days.⁵³

The death of King Enzo and the honor done him in death by the Bolognese.

On Monday, March 14 of that same year, King Enzo, son of the late Emperor Frederick, died in a Bolognese prison and was buried in the convent of the Preachers. The city of Bologna had him embalmed, and the men of Bologna did him great honor at the funeral. Consider the works of God! This Enzo was the illegitimate son of the Emperor Frederick, and he had great honor in his death and funeral: dead in Bologna, embalmed and honored by the Bolognese, received by the Preachers for burial in their convent, and thus became a companion of the holy Dominic.

King Conrad, a legitimate son of the Emperor, did not receive Christian burial, and his bones were cast into the sea.

But Conrad was a legitimate son of the Emperor, and yet he received no such honors, because his bones were seized by the citizens of Messina and thrown into the sea to become companions of the fish. This was done as his body was being carried to Palermo, where the kings of Sicily are buried. Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus says, 7 [.1]: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee." For he, like his father, had offended the citizens of Messina. Thus Ecclesiasticus 11 [.28] says "For it is easy before God in the day of death to reward every one according to his ways," and Ecclesiastes 6 [.3-4]: "If . . . he be without burial: of this man I pronounce, that the untimely born is better than he. For he came in vain, and goeth to darkness, and his name shall be wholly forgotten."

And in that same month of March of that year, Cardinal Ottaviano died. And in that same year the Friars Minor of Reggio bought many houses near their convent, and the city sent agents to estimate the value of those houses, and there was full agreement about the price. Thus the Brothers enlarged their convent and built a new street straight through the house of Lord Arduino de Taculi passing in a straight line in front of St. James Church where the Brothers of Peter the Sinner live. The head of this Order is in the Church of Santa Maria in Porto at Ravenna. St. Fenicola was a member of this Order.

The Bolognese seek to conquer and rule the whole bishopric of Modena, but the Parmese prevent it.

In April of that same year the Bolognese came to an agreement with their friends, and they held a general council and established their intention of invading the bishopric of Modena with their carroccio and occupying the entire territory on

the Bolognese side of the river Scoltenna. The Bolognese then had this plan sculpted in stone and the masons laid this stone in the community palace of Bologna, so that the podestà and the captain of the people would see it daily whenever they stood in the palace. And the Bolognese reminded the podestà and the captain every day to undertake this expedition, since it was the firm resolve of the city and since the podestà and captain had sworn to do so. Moreover, the Bolognese sent ambassadors to Parma who discussed these matters in the communal palace of Parma, seeking to come to an agreement with the Parmese not to interfere with the expedition, stating that if the Parmese would not concern themselves with the Modenese territory from the river Secchia to Bologna, they themselves would do the same with the territory on the Parmese side of the river. In short, they were saying, "You may have the city of Reggio with its territory up to such and such a place under your control, and we will have Modena and its territory under our control up to that same place." But the Parmese responded that it was not their custom to destroy their neighbors without any fault on their part. And so they sent the ambassadors away without achieving their aim, for the Parmese did not agree with the Bolognese in this matter. Instead, they preserved peace and friendship, as they do even to the present day, with their neighbors and friends, the cities of Modena and Reggio. And since the Modenese did not wish to give up their land beyond the river Scoltenna to the Bolognese, they called on their friends to help defend them from the Bolognese. And Cremona sent a hundred knights, each with three horses, to Modena's aid. The Parmese sent two thousand infantry and a thousand knights. Moreover, the Marquis of Este of Ferrara came to their aid, and so did many of the noblest and most powerful knights of Reggio, for their own honor, not in the service of their city. Then the Bolognese drew forth their carroccio and brought it into the public square. Yet as the Bolognese were preparing for the expedition, the party of the Geremei of Bologna refused to move against Modena, and remained fully armed and ready in their houses. And if the Bolognese had carried out the enterprise, the Geremei had purposed to send for the Marquis of Este with his forces, and also for the troops from Cremona, Reggio, Modena, Tuscany, and Romagna, so that they might expel the Lambertazzi party from Bologna. And so the Bolognese halted their expedition and did not move against Modena.

On the last day of May in that year Lord Gerard of Tripoli died, and he was buried in the monastery of St. Prosper in Reggio on Wednesday, the first day of June, on the vigil of the Ascension.

The great scarcity of goods in the year 1272.

The whole time of the rule of the aforesaid podestà Tiberio de Rustici, citizen of Gubbio, was characterized by a great scarcity of all foodstuffs, so that a sextarius of wheat sold for 8, 9, and 10 imperial solidi; a sextarius of spelt for 4 imperial solidi and 13 and 14 grossi; a sextarius of sorghum for 12, 13, and 14 grossi; a sextarius of millet for 12, 13, 15, and 16 grossi; a sextarius of lima beans for

15, 18, and 20 grossi; a sextarius of chick-peas for 8 and 9 imperial solidi; a pound of pork for 18, 20, and 22 imperials; a pound of olive oil for 20 imperials and 2 imperial solidi; a pound of cheese for 8 and 9 imperial solidi; and a sextarius of beans for 20 grossi and 7 imperial solidi. All other foodstuffs were extremely scarce throughout this whole time, and this lasted for two years.

The abbot of St. Prosper, Lord William de Lupicini.

In July of this same year Lord William de Lupicini was made abbot of the monastery of St. Prosper in Reggio, and he was confirmed in this office by the papal legate, who was at Piacenza. This was done on Wednesday, July 13, and on that day the abbot held a great feast, to which came the clerks, men of religious Orders, and all good men of the city of Reggio. And on Saturday, July 30, Lord Boniface of Canossa died and was buried at St. Leonard's in Reggio.

Edward, king of England.

On May 20, of that same year, King Edward of England came to the city of Reggio, on his way back from the Holy Land with his wife, and he was entertained at the bishop's palace. The next day he resumed his journey to his own country.

And in that same year work was begun on the new communal palace at Reggio, which was to be built on the street where the houses of Hugh Speciale, the Sessi family, and others intersected. And in that same year Guido Gaio de Roberti died and was buried in the church of the Friars Minor.

Pope Gregory X, who went to Lyons to hold a council.

In 1273, Indiction I, on the twenty-seventh of September, the feast day of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, Pope Gregory X came to Reggio with his Cardinals and was entertained at the monastery of St. Prosper. And on the following day he went to Parma, for he was hastening to Lyons to hold a council. Pope Gregory was an extremely religious man and a lover of the poor; he was generous, very merciful and gentle, and extremely kind. When he was archdeacon of the church in Liège, he made a trip to the Holy Land for devotional reasons, and it was while he was gone that the Cardinals meeting in the palace at Viterbo elected him Pope. Pope Gregory X did a laudable work in the ordination of his Cardinals, because he chose only honorable and worthy men.

In the third year of his pontificate, he held a solemn council at Lyons to consider the problem of the Holy Land, which he intended to visit personally. The council opened on the first day of May, and present in that council were messengers from the Greeks and the Tartars. The Greeks were promising to return to the unity of the Church, as a sign of which they confessed that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and the Son, chanting solemnly in the council. The Tartar ambassadors, however, were baptized in the council and returned to their own lands. And at that council there were fifty bishops, sixty abbots, and nearly a

thousand prelates. In that council Pope Gregory instituted many good things, that is, for the succor of the Holy Land, for the election of the High Pontiff, and for the state of the universal Church generally. And at that time in that same council Rudolph of Germany was elected Emperor by the imperial electors. During the pontificate of Gregory, Rudolph, king of the Romans and of the Franks, along with many barons, were given the sign of the cross for the succor of the Holy Land. This Pope had great experience in secular matters, and put his mind not to monetary gain but to alms for the poor. He died in Arezzo and is buried there. He became Pope in 1272 and sat for four years and ten days. Then the papal throne remained empty for ten days.

Pope Gregory X dissolves the Order of the Sack in the council at Lyons and also the Order of those who "say they are" Apostles "and are not."

In 1274, Indiction II, Pope Gregory X held a general council in Lyons. And in this council he dissolved the Order of the Sack, as well as the congregation (or, rather, dispersion) of those ignorant rascals who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan" [Apocalypse 2.9] and precursors of the Antichrist. That Order began in Parma with Gerard Segarello, who did many foolish things, and led many others to do the same, which I myself saw and spoke of above. But in them was fulfilled what David said long ago, Psalms [57.8]: "They shall come to nothing, like water running down; he hath bent his bow till they be weakened."

The decretal of Pope Innocent III which prohibits new Orders.

This bent bow was Pope Gregory X, who in the general council at Lyons destroyed the new Orders of mendicants, such as the Order of the Sack and those rascals who call themselves Apostles. For Gregory wished to fulfill the following decretal which Innocent III promulgated in a general council: "Lest too great a diversity of religious Orders bring disorder upon the Church of God, we firmly prohibit anyone from founding a new Order. But if someone wishes to enter an Order, let him go into one of the approved ones. Similarly, if someone wishes to found a religious house, let him accept the rule and laws of one of those already approved. We also decree that a monk may not live in various monasteries and that a single abbot cannot preside over various monasteries."⁵⁴ See the decretal of Pope Gregory X established in the council at Lyons which dissolved all recently founded religious Orders, because they lay a heavy burden on the Christian people by their begging, and because they seek to avoid the prohibition of the Roman Church.

The Bolognese Imperial party is expelled from Bologna in this year.

In this year the city of Bologna was in a great uproar through the actions of her own citizens, and it was partially burned down. And the Imperial party, that is, the party of the Lambertazzi, was expelled from the city and their property

confiscated on the feast of St. John the Baptist.⁵⁵ On Saturday, June 2, fearing the assistance being given the Church party, the Imperial party of Bologna fled from the city without any battle or violence and went to Faenza.

The siege of Faenza in this year.

In this year Faenza was besieged by the Bolognese Church party and a number of knights, infantry, and archers from the cities of Modena, Reggio, Parma, and Cremona. And the surrounding areas of the city were laid waste and destroyed. I was living at that time in Faenza, and I saw and experienced all these things.

In this year the Imperial and the Church parties clashed twice and the Imperial party always held out.

On April 24, 1275, Indiction III, the Bolognese army, alone without their allies, under the leadership of Niculuccio Balugani, podestà of Bologna and citizen of Jesi, and Lord Malatesta de Virulo of Rimini, captain of the people, marched against the Faenzans and the exiles from Bologna, who were at Faenza. And while they were before the gate of Faenza, the Faenzans and the Bolognese exiles marched against certain castles held by the Bolognese. And on their return to Faenza they met the Bolognese army and, caught in such a dangerous situation, they fought against them valiantly. And it pleased God that the Bolognese army was conquered and put to flight, with many being killed, captured, and mortally wounded. This battle took place near the bridge of San Proculo, which is two or three short miles from Faenza.

On Thursday, June 13, of that same year, the Bolognese enlisted the aid of the Lombards and marched against the forces of Faenza and Forlì, seeking to destroy them. And the Bolognese army was made up of knights and archers from Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, and Parma. And they made camp at the bridge of San Proculo, which, as noted above, was only two or three miles from Faenza. In this army there was an infinite number of knights and foot soldiers. And when this army crossed the bridge to lay waste to Faenza, Count Guido da Monte Feltro, captain of the forces of Faenza, Forlì, and the Bolognese exiles sent word to Lord Malatesta, the Bolognese captain, that he was fully ready for the encounter. And Lord Malatesta did not hold back. And so the Faenzans went forth with all their allies and readied their forces for battle, and Malatesta did the same. When all was in readiness, Count Guido rushed upon the Bolognese powerfully and skilfully, conquering, pursuing, killing, and capturing. And when all the knights had been put to flight, cut down by the sword, or taken prisoner, Guido turned his attention to the common soldiers, more than four thousand in number, who were grouped in a single mass about the carroccio. But they immediately surrendered to the Count without a battle, and they were taken into the city amid cries of victory and triumph and cast into prison.

The men of Faenza and Forlì take the spoils of war from the defeated Bolognese army. The number of those who were killed in the battle.

The Faenzans went to the place where the Bolognese army had camped and took all the food, pavilions, tents, wagons, and everything remaining. Many noble and powerful knights had been killed in that battle: Lord Nicholas de Bazaleri, Arriguccio de Galluzzi of Bologna, and, in addition, more than 3225 knights and foot soldiers from Bologna. From Reggio, the following men were killed: Lord John Rossello de Roberti, the captain of the knights of Reggio; Lord Princivallo de Menozo; and Guido Briga, son of the late Lord Bernard Conrad. And their bodies had been carried to Reggio in a coffin. And the first two had been buried at the same time in the convent of the Preachers. They lay in state in the church of St. Barnabas outside Porta San Pietro. And the whole city went outside the gate to pay them respect on Saturday, June 15. But Guido Briga was carried for many days after his death in a coffin and was taken to the church of the Friars Minor where he was buried. Also killed in that battle was Nicholas, son of the late Bishop Philip, who had been one of the judges in the entourage of the podestà of Bologna, and his body could not be found on that battlefield. This victory for the Faenzans and slaughter for the Bolognese took place on the feast of St. Anthony⁵⁶ of the Order of the Friars Minor; thus the Bolognese would not allow St. Anthony's name to be spoken in Bologna. The year before on the vigil of St. Francis, the Bolognese had lifted their siege of Faenza out of weariness. Thus the Faenzans had avoided great evil through St. Francis, and received great good through St. Anthony.

The great flood, the snow, and the high mortality rate among animals because of the famine in this year.

In that same year of 1275, rain began to fall during the market days of St. Maurice, and before Christmas a great flood came and lasted for many days. And this flood was very bad: the rivers swelled and overflowed their banks and the waters spread out through the bishopric of Reggio. That whole winter was very rainy, and that year and the next there were great rains and floods in the plains. And that same year deep snows beyond measure fell in the mountains, and the snow was extremely deep in some of the places in the mountain, five yards deep and in some places more than six. That snow lasted for many months during that year and the next. And there was a high mortality among the pigs and other animals in the mountains on account of scarcity of food, because the farmers had nothing to feed their animals; they cooked hay for them and baked bread for the pigs.

Pope Gregory returns from Lyons and dies in Arezzo.

In that year Gregory X and the papal court left Lyons and came to Reggio on December 5, the feast of St. Nicholas. And the Pope was entertained in the palace of the bishop of Reggio, and on the following day he left to go to Rome. But he fell sick in Arezzo and stayed there for many days.

And in the year of the Lord 1276, Indiction IV, Pope Gregory X died in Arezzo in Tuscany. He died on the tenth of January, the feast of St. Paul, the first hermit.

Pope Gregory X, as a zealous man, did many righteous deeds, applying to himself certain prophetic verses.

This Pope was almost divine; he was very zealous, and he had in mind to do many things which his death prevented. He deposed a certain bishop who requested permission not to attend the council, for the Pope suspected that he wished to remain at home merely out of avarice to avoid the expense of the trip. Whence Moses is recorded to have said to the Rubenites and the Gaddites, Numbers 32 [.6]: "What, shall your brethren go to fight, and will you sit here?" Also, Gregory rebuked and cast out Brother Peter de Fulconi of Reggio, who was a member of his household, because he had amassed treasure. And he took the red hat of Cardinal from Lord Richard because he believed him to be guilty of simony in selling a Church office. A certain poem had been written even before Gregory became Pope, which he believed to have been written prophetically of himself. Here are two of the verses:

A saint shall appear who will uphold the laws of Christ,
A man of angelic life, woe to you, O Giezite!⁵⁷

But let us record the whole poem, because this Pope applied it to himself.

Here is given an explanation of the poem.

Here is recorded the poem which was sent to certain Cardinals and to a provincial chapter of the Dominicans many months before Gregory X was elected Pope. A certain reliable Dominican reported this to me and gave me the poem. And I saw this poem in its original form almost three months before the election of Pope Gregory X:

After the third year rolls around,
A papal successor shall be found,
A holier man, by Christ's good grace,
A faithfuller servant, taking Clement's place.
Through his total care and solicitude,
God shall be honored by the multitude;
A chariot for God's people, and charioteer,
He shall lead the people in love and fear;

A chariot for God's people, and charioteer,
 He shall lead the people in love and fear;
 Seeking not his own, scorning earthly treasure,
 Imitating Christ, condemning mundane pleasure.
 Him shall God marvellously glorify,
 And all his works honor, love, and sanctify.
 Peace shall return and Jerusalem be restored,
 Fruitful the earth, and joyous, through the Lord.
 Yet, prior, before this man has been sent,
 The world will witness a horrible event.
 Holy and blessed to Clement he shall succeed,
 The Holy Virgin herself for him shall intercede,
 His protector, friend, and present help in need.
 In the year 1274 shall appear, behold!
 A man of forty odd years all told,
 A saint who shall enforce Christ's own rights,
 A veritable angel, O fear to you, ye Giezites!
 Then, O Holy Christ, your tomb will be returned
 To your wayward people so miserably spurned.
 Then, to the wandering Argives you shall give repose,
 And a harsh penalty on the Cardinals impose.
 God will thus reward the faithful and the true,
 By making all of these things inevitably ensue.⁵⁸

Let us note the truth of these verses. To the letter, Pope Gregory X succeeded Pope Clement IV, and he was a good man, "a just and upright man, fearing God" [Deuteronomy 32.4; Job 1.8]. And before he became Pope, a certain "horrible event" took place in the world: on account of disagreement among the Cardinals, the Christians remained without a Pope for three years, nine months, and twenty-one days, and the common people marvelled at so long a vacancy of the papal throne. Therefore, after he became Pope, he established a law concerning the election of the Pope. The two verses which read,

In the year 1274 shall appear, behold!
 A man of forty odd years all told,

are very clear because they were fulfilled to the letter. For in 1274 he held a council in Lyons, in which he truly appeared a saint, because he established many good laws. And he firmly believed in preserving "Christ's own rights," if he had only lived, but he was taken away by death because of the evils of the living, like Josiah, king of Juda, at the best possible time, to whom the Lord said, IV Kings 22 [.20] and II Paralipomenon 34 [.28]: "I will gather thee to thy fathers . . . in peace."

St. Gregory's explanation of why good men are taken from this life.

In the third book of Gregory's *Dialogues*, Peter the deacon asks Gregory about Sanctulus: "Why do you think it happens, I ask you, that good men who could set a good example for the multitudes are taken out of the world and can hardly be found, or certainly, rarely?" And Gregory: "The evils of those remaining cause those who are worthy to be quickly taken away; and when the end of the world approaches, all of the elect will be taken away thus, so that they will not see worse things. Thus it is that the prophet said: "The just perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart, and men of mercy are taken away, because there is none that understandeth," Isaiah 57 [1].'"

The following verse,

A veritable angel, O fear to you, ye Giezites!

was written because he prosecuted simoniacs.

It is against the divine will for the holy sepulchre to be recovered now.

The following verses,

Then, O holy Christ, your tomb will be returned
To your wayward people so miserably spurned,

can be understood to have been fulfilled in this way: Gregory once personally visited the Holy Land and he intended to do so again, that he might recover the sepulchre. But nothing can be done against the divine will, as Isaiah says, 46 [10]: "My counsel shall stand, and all my will shall be done." Thus it is written in Isaiah 14 [26-27]: "This is the counsel, that I have purposed upon all the earth, and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all nations. For the Lord of hosts hath decreed, and who can disannul it? and his hand is stretched out: and who shall turn it away?" and the Lord said, Luke 21 [24]: "And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles; till the times of the nations be fulfilled." And it is written in Apocalypse 11 [2]: "But the court, which is without the temple, cast out, and measure it not: because it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city they shall tread under foot two and forty months."

Joachim's explanation of the forty-two generations recorded by Matthew.

Joachim explains this number in this way:⁵⁹ the forty-two months are the forty-two generations recorded by Matthew, the length of which is indicated in the New Testament, because, according to Luke 3 [23], "Jesus himself was beginning about the age of thirty years" when he was baptized by John. Therefore, take forty-two generations from the time of Christ unto our days, assigning thirty years to each generation, and the year arrived at will be 1260—the year which saw the beginning of the spiritual movement of the flagellants.⁶⁰ And this number is designated in a number of places in the Bible, as in Apocalypse 11 [3]: "I will give unto

my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy a thousand two hundred sixty days, clothed in sackcloth," and below, Apocalypse 12 [.6]: "And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared by God, that there they should feed her a thousand two hundred sixty days." In both these passages days must be read in the sense of years. See Ezechiel 4 [.6], for example, where it is recorded: "A day for a year, yea, a day for a year I have appointed to thee." Therefore, it does not appear to be the divine will for the once glorious tomb of Christ to be recovered now. Yet it would have been recovered if Pope Gregory X's desire had not been frustrated by his death. For he had held a council in order to prepare for the Crusade, as well as to renew the empire. But as Proverbs 21 [.30] says: "There is no wisdom, there is no prudence, there is no counsel against the Lord." I believe indeed—I do not know if I am mistaken—that because he attempted to do these two things, God took Gregory from our midst, because it was not the divine will for another Emperor to arise after Frederick II, of whom it is written: "In that man also the empire will come to an end, because even if he has successors they will be deprived of the supreme honor of the imperial name of Roman."⁶¹ It also does not appear to be the divine will for the sepulchre to be recovered, for the many who have attempted to do so labored in vain. Thus with regard to this matter, the Church can repeat the words of Isaiah 49 [.4]: "I have laboured in vain, I have spent my strength without cause and in vain."

The verse that follows,

Then, to the wandering Argives you shall give repose,

that is, the Greeks, can be understood in this way: to the letter the Greeks were present in the council that Gregory held at Lyons, and they promised to return to the unity of the Roman Church. Thus the Lord says to them, Jeremiah 3 [.14–15]: "Return, O ye revolting children, saith the Lord: for I am your husband: and I will take you, one of a city, and two of a kindred, and will bring you into Sion. And I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine."

The conversion of the Greeks, the Jews, and all people.

And below in that same chapter [.22–24], it is written of the conversion of the Jews or the Greeks: "Return, you rebellious children, and I will heal your rebellions. Behold we come to thee: for thou art the Lord our God. In very deed the hills were liars, and the multitude of the mountains: truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel. Confusion hath devoured the labour of our fathers from our youth." Moreover, Joachim speaks of the conversion of the Greeks in his exposition of the gospels in a gloss on the passage in John 4 [.4]: "And he was of necessity to pass through Samaria." Also, Joachim explains Luke 2 [.46] with respect to the conversion of the Jews: "And it came to pass, that, after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors," etc., to the end of the chapter. See Joachim's book, for it is a most beautiful and delightful

commentary, filled with truth.⁶² Isaiah 10 [.21-23] also speaks of the conversion of the Jews: "The remnant shall be converted, the remnant, I say, of Jacob, to the mighty God. For if thy people, O Israel, shall be as the sand of the sea, a remnant of them shall be converted, the consumption abridged shall overflow with justice. For the Lord God of hosts shall make a consumption, and an abridgment in the midst of all the land," and also Isaiah 28. See also Hosea 3 [.4-5] on the conversion of the Jews: "For the children of Israel shall sit many days without king, and without prince, and without sacrifice, and without altar, and without ephod, and without theraphim. And after this the children of Israel shall return, and shall seek the Lord their God, and David their king: and they shall fear the Lord, and his goodness in the last days." And of the general conversion of all people, it is recorded, Psalms [21.28]: "All the ends of the earth shall remember, and shall be converted to the Lord," and Isaiah 2 [.2-3]: "All nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go, and say: Come and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord."

The election of Pope Innocent V and his death.

On January 21, 1276, Indiction IV, the feast of St. Agnes, Brother Peter, a Dominican, a Burgundian from the city of Tarentasia, was elected Pope.⁶³ Peter had been archbishop of Lyons. Pope Gregory X made him Cardinal, as he also did Brother Bonaventure, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, and Master Peter of Spain, and two others. Pope Innocent thus had been in the college of Cardinals before being made Pope, and he died in the same year that he was elected, on June 9 of that year.

The flood on the vigil of St. John the Baptist.

And in that same year, the last Tuesday in June, a great flood occurred on the vigil of St. John the Baptist,⁶⁴ and the Crostolo swelled so far beyond its banks that all the land was under water from Rivalta to Bagnolo. And many people were drowned.

The damage done by the flood.

The crops of the fields were washed away at that time, and the bridge across the two rivers mentioned above were destroyed. Houses were also destroyed by the flood, and the cultivated fields were all under water. The road to Reggiolo near Bagnolo was washed away and destroyed, and the sand on the road was carried off into the fields and moats. Such a flood had never been heard of before, and such a one had never been recorded before in any previous time by the ancients. The Crostolo continued to rise and spread out near Borgo Santo Stefano and Borgo Ognisanti outside the gate, so that the flood rose up over the road in Borgo Ognisanti in Reggio. And the houses of Borgo Ognisanti on both sides of the street were flooded, and the whole street was so full of the water that a boat could sail in it. Both St. Catherine and St. Geminian hospital were com-

pletely full of water, so that the whole street looked like a great canal. And St. Geminian hospital received the greatest damage from the flood because of all the grain and other things that were stored there. And the entire street of Pieve Modolene looked like a canal. Then the waters of the Modelene and the Crostolo joined together, and the flood covered the fields and houses so that it looked like a sea there. And many animals were killed, such as the cattle of the hospital of San Pietro in Vincoli of Pieve Modelene, as well as many other animals. Such a flood had never been seen nor heard of, nor is such a one recorded by the ancients. And these floods were taking place throughout the world. And the rains and floods lasted the entire summer and fall, so that men could not plant their fields. And the houses of the village on the Crostolo near Massenzatico were covered with the water of this flood. And throughout this whole time it rained for fourteen months.

Here it is shown that in that same year of 1276 there were three different Popes: Innocent V, Adrian V, and John XXI.

In this same year Pope Innocent V died on June 22. And on the eleventh of July Lord Ottobono de Fieschi, nephew of the former Pope Innocent IV, was elected and took the name Adrian V.⁶⁵ Then he died on the seventeenth of August. He was buried in the church of the Friars Minor in Viterbo. Then in the same year on the seventeenth of September Master Peter of Spain was elected and took the name of Pope John XXI.⁶⁶ And he sat for eight months and one day. In that same year there were great rains and floods so that men could not plant their fields; such floods are not recorded among the ancients.

Lord Cassone de Torre's battle in Milan, and the archbishop whom the Milanese made ruler of Milan.

In 1277, Indiction V, Thursday, January 21, the feast of St. Agnes, Lord Napoleone, citizen of Milan and life-long councilman of Milan, was shamefully removed from office, because he and six or seven of his household were captured by the exiles from Milan and the men of Como. And they were thrown into prison in Como or in certain castles, one of which was called Baradello. And three cages were constructed in which they were kept prisoner, two men in each cage, it was said. The capture took place in Borgo Desio, which is situated in the bishopric of Milan. And the men of Borgo Desio then killed Lord Francis de Torre and some other men of the Torre family and their friends. And when Lord Napoleone's son Cassone heard this news in a castle where he was staying, he hurried to Milan with four hundred knights, and found that his house and his other possessions had been pillaged, that is, robbed. The gates of the city were closed, and most of the citizens had armed themselves and assembled in the palace of justice. And Lord Cassone fought a battle there for his property and killed many men. Yet seeing that he had little assistance, he left Milan with his knights and went to Lodi. When he was not given entry there, he camped outside the city and went

the next day to Crema with his followers. Then the archbishop of Milan came to the city of Milan accompanied by the city party and they all entered the city with great joy and rejoicing. The citizens then elected the archbishop ruler of the city, and at his request they elected Lord Simon captain of the city for a year and Lord William de Pusterla podestà of the merchants [*potestatem mercatorum*] and Lord Richard, Count of Langosco, podestà of the city [*potestatem dicte civitatis*]. Pope John XXI died in the month of May, and he sat for eight months and one day. And on Monday, July 7, Lord Ugolino de Fogliani died, and was buried on the following day in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Reggio.

In this year there was great fertility and abundance.

In that same year one sextarius of beans sowed yielded 18, 20, and 25 sextarii of beans. Thus there was a greater yield than is recorded in the common proverb:

Fava de Çenaro, lo moço per lo staro.

That is to say, beans planted in January multiply so much that a sextarius planted yields a bushel gathered. This is a traditional saying among farmers. In that same year the army of Reggio went to Bismantova. And Bismantova surrendered to the podestà and the city of Reggio in August.

Guastalla is captured and recovered.

In that same month Guastalla was captured by enemies, but it was almost immediately recovered by another party, that is, a party of the Church, and all those who had previously captured it were themselves killed or captured.

The high rate of mortality. Lord Mastino, who was killed and succeeded by his brother, Lord Albert della Scala.

In that same year there was a high mortality rate and great sickness among men, women, and children throughout practically the whole world, but especially in the kingdom of Italy and Lombardy. And there were heavy rains so that the sorghum could not be gathered and dried, and the fields could not be sown. And in that same year Lord Mastino della Scala, who ruled in Verona after Ezzelino da Romano, was killed by four assassins, who were also citizens of Verona. But Lord Albert della Scala, his brother and successor, took full revenge for his brother by killing the evil doers, according to the words of Exodus 22 [.18]: "Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live."

About the scarcity of goods. In that year there was a great scarcity, for a sextarius of wheat sold for 9 imperial solidi and 20 solidi of Reggio; a sextarius of beans for 17, 18, and 19 grossi; a sextarius of sorghum for 13, 14, and 15 grossi; a sextarius of spelt for 12 and 13 grossi; and a pound of olive oil for 21 and 22 imperials, and 2 imperial solidi.

In this year began the closing of the Taleata.

This year saw the beginning of the closing of the Taleata in the months of May and December by the will of the general council of Cremona.

In this year Pope Nicholas III was elected, and he wrote an exposition of the Rule of the Friars Minor, of which Order he had been Cardinal Protector.

In that same year near the feast of St. Andrew,⁶⁷ Cardinal John Gaitani was elected Pope, and took the name Nicholas III.⁶⁸ When he was Cardinal, he had been the Governor, Protector, and Corrector of the Order of the Friars Minor. And after he became Pope, he wrote an exposition of the Brothers' Rule, clarifying points difficult to understand. And take note that all the Cardinals who were Governors, Protectors, and Correctors of the Order, afterward became Popes, as did Pope Gregory IX, Pope Alexander IV, and Pope Nicholas III. And this happened, we believe, through divine grace and the help of St. Francis, their own good lives, of course, not being an obstacle. With regard to the future, however, God alone knows. Cardinal Matthew Rossi is now the Protector of the Order, whom Pope Nicholas appointed because he was related to him. The Brothers, however, had chosen Lord Jerome, who had been Minister General of their Order, but he is now Cardinal presbyter of Santa Potenziana, and, later, he became bishop of Palestrina. And Brother Bentivenga was made bishop of Albano. He was a lector of theology in the Order of the Minorites, and he was a fine, honorable, and good man, a close friend of Pope Nicholas III. Pope Nicholas also made him a Cardinal, because he had once lived with him and because the Pope loved the Order dearly.

The Cremonese forbid the closing of the Taleata, a fact which greatly afflicts the city of Reggio.

In the year 1278, Indiction VI, the Cremonese halted the closing of the Taleata, despite the fact that the city of Reggio had already spent more than two thousand imperial pounds and employed large numbers of men of the bishopric of Reggio in effecting that closure. The Marquis Cavalcabo and other men of Cremona broke all their promises to the city of Reggio—for they had given assurances of the continuance of the canal through the general council and the city of Cremona to Lord Azzo de Manfredi, then podestà of both Cremona and Reggio, and to the city of Reggio itself—and these men, I say, broke all their promises and stopped the closing of the canal even after all the expenses listed above had been laid out. And this, of course, caused great harm to the city of Reggio.

The great scarcity of goods in this year. The Mantuans capture and destroy Gonzaga.

In this year a sextarius of wheat sold for 8, 9, and 10 imperial solidi, a sextarius of spelt for 14 grossi and 5 imperial solidi, and a sextarius of sorghum for 14 grossi and 5 imperial solidi. And in May of this year Gonzaga was burned down and destroyed by the Mantuans.

Lord Pinamonte was at that time ruler of Mantua.

At that time Lord Pinamonte was ruler of Mantua, and he ruled for many years. And he had the habit of boasting, "I did such and such during my rule; I had no troubles, and everything I did prospered." But such a boast did not come from a very sensible man, because the Wise Man says in Proverbs, 27 [.1]: "Boast not for to morrow, for thou knowest not what the day to come may bring forth," and Ecclesiasticus 5 [.4-5]: "Say not: I have sinned, and what harm hath befallen me? for the most High is a patient rewarder. Be not without fear about sin forgiven, and add not sin upon sin."

The first captain of the people in Reggio.

Take note that in this year the question of a captain of the people was first taken up in Reggio. And Ugolino de Rossi, son of the late Lord Jacopo and grandson of Lord Bernard Roland Rossi of Parma, was made captain for six months. He was chosen for this office by Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio, for he had been empowered by the city of Reggio to choose a captain. In that same year the city of Lodi was captured by Lord Cassone de Torre of Milan. In that same year Judge Gigliolo de Marano of Parma was elected podestà of Reggio for six months, that is to say, from the Kalends of July to the Kalends of January. And during the time that he was podestà, the Bismantovans rebelled against the rule of the podestà and the city of Reggio. Also, Lord Ugolino de Rossi first began serving as captain of the people, and at the beginning his residence was in the house of the late Lord Guido Gaio de Roberti. And in that same year the Cremonese captured the fortress of Fornovo. Also, the patriarch of Aquileia and the party of de Torre conquered much territory and captured many men in the district of Milan.

The peace of Bologna established by Cardinal Latino.

The peace of Bologna was established by Brother Latino, nephew of Pope Nicholas III, legate and Cardinal in Lombardy and Tuscany.

In the year 1279, Indiction VII, a wounded wolf which had been eating children was captured in the bishopric of Reggio. In February of that year, Lord Thomasino de Gorzano and the men of Banzola captured the rock of Bismantova by stealth, expelled the Bismantovans, and took over the property and the food of that place. And in the same month these invaders gave up Bismantova for a ransom of one thousand pounds of Reggio paid by the podestà for the city of Reggio.

The death of Lord Aimerico de Palude. The peace settlement between Milan and the party of de Torre and Lodi.

In March of that year Lord Aimerico de Palude died in Parma. He was buried in the convent of the Friars Minor in Parma, and was greatly honored by the Parmese in his death and burial. And at the beginning of the month of February

or March, peace was established between Milan and the party of de Torre and Lodi. And in April in Reggio marriages were arranged and confirmed by oath between the Fogliani family and Lord Antonio de Roberti, and between Lord Jacopino de Rodilia, Lord Guido of Tripoli, Lord Guido of Bianello, and Lord William of Canossa. Later in April or May the Bismantovans again occupied the rock of Bismantova, and a number of knights and infantry from Bologna and Parma, and archers from Modena, laid siege to Bismantova for fifteen days, until a peace agreement was arrived at and the Bismantovans gave up the rock to the city of Reggio.

In that same year Rudolph, king of the Romans (who was elected Emperor by the will of Pope Gregory X), and the king of Bohemia made war upon one another, and they fought a fierce battle. And King Rudolph won the battle and killed the king of Bohemia. Both of these kings were great friends of the Order of the Friars Minor.

The great earthquake which destroyed cities and castles.

On the Kalends of May of that same year, the feast of the Apostles Philip and James, during the pontificate of Pope Nicholas III, a great earthquake occurred in the March of Ancona, and two sections of Camerino were swallowed up, and many men and women killed. Fabriano, Matelica, Cagli, San Severino, Cingoli, Nocera, Foligno, and Spello—all these castles were destroyed. In brief, all the castles in the mountains of those regions suffered great damage. Also in this region there was a castle by two man-made lakes and as a result of the earthquake these mountains came together and were levelled flat. Then the lakes and even the river that fed them were completely swallowed up. The castle too simply disappeared. In Romagna in the mountains between Florence and Bologna castles and buildings were destroyed and many men and women suffocated. There was such great fear in these regions that no one dared to remain in his home, not even Latino, the Cardinal legate. Throughout the March of Ancona and elsewhere peace was confirmed "for fear, and expectation" [Luke 21. 26] of the earthquake.

In this year peace was established between Bologna and Romagna through the mediation of Cardinal Latino.

In that same year peace was established between Bologna and Romagna through the mediation of Cardinal Latino, who was of the Order of the Preachers.

In this year the Parmese were deprived of the Church rites.

In this same year near the feast of All Saints the Parmese were deprived of the rites of the Church, because two women of the city were burned as heretics, one of whom was named Lady Alina, the other was her servant. And this interdict was caused by the Dominicans and Cardinal Latino.

In this year the Lambertazzi who had been allowed to come back into Bologna under a treaty of peace were expelled from the city again.

In this same year near Christmas the Lambertazzi, who had been allowed to come back into Bologna under a treaty of peace, were expelled again because they were at odds with the Church party.

In the same year Francis Cavatorta of Parma was killed at the instigation of a certain captain of the mercenaries called Ceco Tosco of Florence. For William Bestiario de Lambertini of Bologna and certain other evil doers, urged on by Ceco Tosco, rushed upon him and put him to the sword in the communal palace of Bologna. Then they dismembered him and threw his body out of the hall in contempt. The podestà of Bologna at that time was Lord William Potagio of Parma, and the Guardian of the Friars Minor of Bologna was Brother Ghifredo de Pagani of Parma.

In this year occurred the deceptive miracles of a man named Albert, who was a wine carrier, or brentator, in Cremona.

In that same year took place the deceptive miracles of a man from Cremona named Albert, a man who had been a wine carrier [*portator*], a wine drinker [*potator*] and indeed also a sinner [*peccator*]. After this man's death, according to common report, God performed many miracles in Cremona, Parma, and Reggio: in Reggio in the Church of St. George and St. John the Baptist; in Parma in the church of St. Peter, which is near Piazza Nuova. And all the *brentatores*, that is, the wine carriers of Parma congregated in the church, and blessed was that man who could touch them or give them something. Women did the same. And the people formed societies, parish by parish, and marched in procession through the streets to the Church of St. Peter, where the relics of this man Albert were preserved. In their march they carried crosses and standards, and sang as they marched along. And they brought purple cloth, samite, canopies, and much money to the church. Later, the wine carriers divided all these things up among themselves. And when the parish priests saw this, they had this Albert painted in their churches so that they would receive better offerings from the people. And at that time, his image was painted not only in the churches, but also on many walls and porticoes of cities, villages, and castles. This, however, is expressly against the laws of the Church, for no man's relics are supposed to be held in reverence unless he is first approved of by the Church and written in the catalogue of saints; in similar manner, a man is not to be depicted as a saint before he has been canonized by the Church. Those bishops, therefore, who allow such abuses to be practised in their diocese merit removal from office; that is, they should have the dignities of the episcopal office taken away from them. But there is nobody to correct those errors and abuses. And so the words of Zachariah [11.17] are appropriate for every bishop who allows such things to go on: "O shepherd, and idol, that forsaketh the flock: the sword upon his arm and upon his right eye: his arm shall quite

wither away, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened." Yet whoever refused to take part in such celebrations was considered to be simply envious or even heretical.

Because of this man Albert, some wicked men insulted the Friars Minor and Preachers, but God quickly "shewed them to be liars" who wished to accuse them [Wisdom 10.14].

Some men of secular life said to the Friars Minor and Preachers with a loud, clear voice, "You think that nobody can work miracles but your own saints, but you are clearly deceived, as has been made clear through Albert." But God quickly blotted out the slander against his servants and friends by showing "them to be liars that had accused" them [Wisdom 10.14] and by punishing those who "lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33]. For a certain man came to Parma from Cremona bearing what he claimed to be a relic of this saint Albert, that is to say, the little toe of the right foot; and all the citizens of Parma gathered together, from the highest to the lowest, men and women, "young men and maidens . . . the old with the younger" [Psalms 148.12], clerks and lay, and men of all religious Orders. Then in a large procession, singing as they went, they carried that toe to the cathedral of Parma, the church of the Glorious Virgin. And when they had placed the toe on the high altar, Lord Anselm of San Vitale, canon and vicar of the bishop, came forward and kissed it. But he smelled the stench of garlic and told the other clerks. Then they all discovered that they had been deceived and confounded, for their "relic" turned out to be a clove of garlic. And thus the Parmese were tricked and mocked, because they "walked after vanity, and are become vain" [Jeremiah 2.5]. Moreover, since this man Albert was buried in a church in Cremona, the Cremonese wished to show that God would work infinite miracles through him, and so large numbers of infirm men came there from Pavia and the other parts of Lombardy that "they might be delivered from their infirmities" [Acts 5.15]. And many noble ladies came with their sons to Cremona from Pavia for devotional reasons, hoping to report the complete healing of their bodies, but "there was none that would answer" [Isaiah 66.4] a word, or "opened the mouth, or made the least noise," Isaiah 10 [.14]. Thus Jeremiah 14 [.22] says: "Are there any among the graven things of the Gentiles that can send rain? or can the heavens give showers?" Thus it is that a sinner or an infirm man goes badly astray by casting aside true saints and by praying to one who cannot intercede for them, as is written in the book of Wisdom, 13 [.18-19]: "For health he maketh supplication to the weak, and for life prayeth to that which is dead, and for help calleth upon that which is unprofitable: And for a good journey he petitioneth him that cannot walk: and for getting, and for working, and for the event of all things he asketh him that is unable to do any thing."

The citizens of Cremona, Parma, and Reggio were made fools of through this Albert the wine carrier, whom they believed to be holy. The same is true of the Paduans through Antonio Pellegrino, and the Ferrarese through Armano Punzilovo. And all these things were displeasing to God.

Take note and consider well that just as the citizens of Cremona, Parma, and Reggio were made fools of at this time through Albert the wine carrier, so had been in previous times the Paduans through Antonio Peregrino and the Ferrarese through Armano Punzilovo. "But they were not of the seed of those men by whom salvation was brought to Israel," I Machabees 5 [.62]. Thus the Lord says, John 5 [.43]: "I am come in the name of my Father, and you receive me not: if another shall come in his own name, him you will receive." Truly, the Lord came not only in his own person, but in the blessed Francis, the blessed Anthony, St. Dominic, and their sons. And sinners should believe in them in order to merit salvation. And if they do not do so, they will be punished, as the Apostle says, II Thessalonians, 2 [.10-11]: "Because they receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved. Therefore God shall send them the operation of error, to believe lying: That all may be judged who have not believed the truth, but have consented to iniquity."

The many reasons for this devotion to Albert.

Here are many reasons for the devotion to this Albert: because the infirm wished to regain their health, because the curious merely wanted to see novelties, because the clerks had envy toward the modern religious Orders, and because the bishops and canons wished to gain money. This latter reason is made clear in the bishop and canons of Ferrara, for they were greatly enriched through Armano Punzilovo. Another reason is that the exiled of the Imperial party hoped to arrive at a peace settlement with their fellow citizens through these new miracles, so that they might come again into their own and not have to travel through the world as vagabonds.

The Milan peace settlement is broken.

In this same year of 1279, Indiction VII, the peace settlement of Milan was broken because the Marquis of Monferrato betrayed the men of Torre, a fact which the patriarch, who was a Torre, published throughout Lombardy. And in that same year the peace of Bologna was established, and the exiles re-entered the city in the month of September. Also the peace between Brescia and Mantua was established.

In this year the Dominicans leave Parma and go to Reggio.

And in this same year all the Dominicans left Parma and went to Reggio because the Parmese rose up against them on account of a woman whom the Preachers had burned at the stake as a heretic. And for this reason the Parmese were ex-

communicated by Brother Latino, Cardinal and papal legate, who was at that time at Florence and who was also a Preacher.

In this year the peace of the Bolognese was disrupted.

On Friday, December 22, the peace between the exiles and the citizens of Bologna was disrupted. For there was a civil war in the city, and many men were killed. And almost all of the houses of the Lambertazzi were burned and destroyed by the city party, and the Lambertazzi left the city out of fear.

In the year 1280, Indiction VIII, a sextarius of hemp seed sold for 16 and 20 imperial solidi.

The castle called Castelcroce which the Parmese built between Parma and Reggio near Villa Cade.

In March of that same year, the Parmese began to build a castle, which they named Castelcroce, between Parma and Reggio on the public road near Villa Cade, and this was in the district of Cella. And in the same year the Mantuans built a bridge in the district of Brazzolo.

The death of Pope Nicholas III on the octave of the Assumption.

In August of that year Pope Nicholas III died on the octave of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin Mary. And in the same year the Imperial party of Faenza and many other cities of Romagna was sent into exile. And the Count of Romagna, who was podestà of Bologna, began to ally himself with the Bolognese. And in the same year peace between the parties in Padua and Verona was established. And the Imperial party left Bologna, and in September the Imperial party left Vercelli.

The strife about tithing between the clerks and the laymen of the city of Reggio.

In October of that same year strife arose between William, bishop of Reggio, and the clerks of the city and the entire bishopric on the one hand, and Lord Dego, captain of the people, and the citizens of Reggio on the other. This came about because of the matter of tithes which the clerks seemed too overly concerned to collect from the citizenry. And so Lord Dego with twenty-four defenders of the people established statutes against the lay collectors of the tithes. Wherefore, the bishop excommunicated Lord Dego, the twenty-four defenders, and the entire general council of the people, and he placed the entire city under interdict. Then in anger the people elected another twenty-five defenders from the people, among whom were seven judges, whereas there were only four among the original twenty-four. And they wrote many wicked statutes against the clerks, among which were the following: first of all, that no one should pay tithes to them; that no one should give them counsel or help, or show favor to them; that no one should go to eat with them or do them any service; that no one should do business with them, speak to them, or stay in their houses nor in the houses of their subor-

dinates; that no one should eat or drink with them; that no one should grind their grain for them, or cook their bread in their ovens, or shave their beards, or perform other service. And for violation of any of these statutes, these judges imposed the maximum penalty, assuming to themselves the authority to write laws at their own will and discretion against the clerks. These statutes were then confirmed by the general council. And the entire citizenry was subject to these laws, both knights and all other good men. As a result many millers were fined fifty pounds of Reggio each, because they remained in the mills of the clerks beyond the limit set by the statutes. And many other people were also fined.

Tebaldello treacherously restores Faenza to the Church party, that is to say, to the Bolognese and the Manfredi. The Parmese give the Cremonese back their carroccio, and vice versa.

In that same year of 1280 near the feast of St. Martin, Tebaldello treacherously betrayed his own party and surrendered Faenza to the Church party, that is, to the Bolognese and the Manfredi faction of Faenza. Tabaldello waited for his opportunity and acted when most of his party was away from the city at the siege of a certain castle.

In that same year the Parmese restored to the Cremonese their carroccio, which they had captured at the time they put the Emperor Frederick to flight from Victoria. And the Cremonese reciprocated by returning the Parmese carroccio, which they had captured. These transactions took place on Sunday, the vigil of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin, and were carried out with great honor and joy on both sides. And the knights and infantry of both these cities went to the aid of Lodi against the Milanese and the Count of Monferrato, who had come with all the other Lombards to destroy Lodi.

In November of that same year Faenza was captured by Ravenna and by twenty-five soldiers of Reggio who had been at Imola in the service of the Bolognese. Also participating in that capture were some of the Count's knights, and late in that siege, the Bolognese, and, after them, the entire armies of both Parma and Reggio, which marched as far as Imola. And many Bolognese were captured there, among which were some forty-five noblemen, and many were killed. It was that great and powerful man of Faenza, Tebaldello de Zambrasini, who betrayed the city of Faenza into the hands of the Bolognese. I have seen this man Tebaldello at least a hundred times, and he "was a warlike man" [Joshua 17.1], like a second Jephtha. He was an illegitimate son, but his brother, Zambrasino, a member of the Godenti Order, gave him half of his paternal inheritance and made him famous, because he saw that he was an energetic man, because they were the only ones left of the Zambrasini family, and because there were riches enough for the two of them. And at the time that the Bolognese of the Church party entered the city of Faenza, half of the Faenzan army, with their allies, the exiles from Bologna, was away at the siege of a certain castle. For Tebaldello had observed the time well for this evil deed, in accordance with the words of Ecclesiasticus 19 [.25]: "If he shall find opportunity to do evil, he will do it."

A flood destroys the bridge of Brazzolo which the Mantuans had built.

In that same year the bridge of Brazzolo, which the Mantuans had built, was destroyed by the massive and powerful floods of that year. The bridge, according to reports, was ripped down and carried downstream.

The peaceful settlement between the clerks and the laymen of Reggio, who had been at odds earlier over the payment of tithes.

In November of that year an agreement of peace was arrived at between the bishop and his clerks on the one hand, and the captain of the people and the citizens of Reggio on the other, which we spoke of above. The agreement was as follows: nobody could be compelled to pay tithes save by his own conscience. There were also many other stipulations written into the agreement.

Senigallia is betrayed by Lord Guido da Montefeltro.

In that same year the city of Senigallia was betrayed by Guido de Montefeltro, who also, it was said, had killed or had ordered killed some fifteen hundred people.

Lord Cassone de Torre, who was killed.

Lord Scurtapelliccia, who was killed in battle.

In the year of the Lord 1281, Indiction IX, Lord Cassone de Torre of Milan was killed in battle, along with many other men of Lodi, by the Milanese. Also killed was Lord Scurtapelliccia de Porta, the podestà of Lodi. He was a citizen of Parma and cousin to Lord Obizzo, bishop of Parma.

The election of Pope Martin IV, who sent an army against Forlì many times, an action, however, which turned out badly for the Church party.

In February of that year Martin IV,⁶⁹ a Frenchman, was elected Pope by the college of Cardinals. Previously, he had been Lord Simon, treasurer of St. Martin's in Tours. He was a friend of the Friars Minor, and he kept some of the Brothers in his household as his confessors. And he gave to the Friars Minor the high privilege of preaching and hearing confession, and promised to do much more for them in the future. This Pope sent an army against Forlì many times, but such expeditions turned out badly for the men of the Church party, for they were defeated, captured, killed, and put to flight. Among those who were killed was Tebaldello, who twice betrayed his own city of Faenza. He was drowned in the moat of Forlì along with his horse. Other members of the Church party who were killed were Count Taddeo and Comacio, brother of Anselm de Conradin of Ravenna, and many others. Those killed among the Imperial party were Lord Guido de Accarisi of Faenza and many others worthy of note from Bologna and other cities.

*The swarms of caterpillars in this year, through which the fruit trees were destroyed.
The great scarcity of grain in this year.*

In 1282, Indiction X, there came such a huge swarm of caterpillars that nobody remembered the like, and they destroyed all the fruit trees, both blossoms and leaves, so that the appearance of the trees was like the middle of winter, although, before, they had been flourishing. And after the caterpillars had eaten up the fruit trees, they then invaded the buds or the blossoms of the willow trees and ate them too. They spared the leaves of the nut trees, however — because of their bitterness, I suppose. At last, they fell from the trees, large and fat, and crawled in the streets and fields until they died. These caterpillars were not the common garden variety, but a different species altogether. And in this year, there was a great scarcity of grain: wheat, spelt, sorghum, beans, and all kinds of other vegetables.

The interdict against Parma is lifted on the feast of the Apostles Philip and James.

In that same year on the feast of the blessed Apostles Philip and James,⁷⁰ the interdict against the city of Parma, which had stood for many years, was lifted. For the city had been excommunicated as a result of the action of the Preachers in burning a certain female heretic of the city named Alina. Because of this, some fools had attacked their convent and wounded some of the Brothers, and the Preachers had then voluntarily left Parma, carrying crosses in procession. Those evil men who had attacked the Preachers, however, were severely punished by the Parmese.

And in that same year many peace settlements were made in the city of Reggio. And in the same year the Parmese and the Cremonese with their societies went out to destroy the vineyards of Soncino, because Lord Buoso de Dovaria was living there, a man who was planning, if he could, to take over Cremona. But he was prevented from carrying out his plan.

The Marquis of Monferrato wished to conquer all Lombardy, but the Lombards of the Church party did not allow it.

In that same year the Marquis of Monferrato came with the Milanese and their carroccio and the Pavians and their carroccio and made camp in the bishopric of Lodi. Also, to speak briefly, the armies of all those other cities which were his allies came with him, such as Vercelli, Novara, Alessandria, Como, and others. And the Marquis said that he wished to bring peace to all Lombardy. The cities of the Church party, however, did not believe him, but, with a single spirit, spoke out against him and armed themselves to resist and make war against him. And the Cremonese were the first to go out against him with their carroccio, and they sent word to the Parmese asking them to come immediately to their aid with their carroccio. And they did so. Thus since war was imminent, the Parmese and Cremonese sent word to their other allies to come there: that is to say, to the forces of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Brescia, and Piacenza. And they all came.

The Count of St. Boniface, podestà of Parma, was captain of this army.

And the captain and leader of this army was Lord Louis, Count of St. Boniface of Verona, who was podestà of Parma at that time. And the Marquis of Monferato was afraid to meet these forces in battle and turned aside from them, and all of these invading forces returned to their own cities without battle.

The Church party of Cremona pays honor to the Parmese.

Then all the forces of the Church party went to Cremona, where they all, especially the Bolognese, who are very noble knights, did great honor to the Parmese. And all these forces jousted in tournament in the public square of Cremona around the Parmese carroccio, hoping to please the Parmese and to demonstrate that they were their friends. For at that time Parma was on exceedingly good terms with Pope Martin IV, who once had studied law in Parma under Lord Uberto of Bobbio. The Parmese were in high favor with both the papal court and with King Charles, because they were always prepared to take up arms for the Church. Moreover, one of the Cardinals was from Parma or at least from the village called Gainaco in the bishopric of Parma. (In this village I myself, Brother Salimbene, once owned much property.) This Cardinal was Lord Gerard Albo, and he was related to Master Albert of Parma, a holy man, who was one of the seven notaries of the papal court. It was on Master Albert's account that Pope Nicholas III made Gerard a Cardinal, and also because he himself was a learned, honorable, and industrious man. Pope Martin IV sent Cardinal Gerard to Sicily to recall the Sicilians to the rule of the Church.

The Sicilians rise up against the French of King Charles' army and kill large numbers of them.

The Sicilians rose up in rebellion against King Charles and killed all the French—men and women—in the city of Palermo.⁷¹ And they dashed the children against stones and ripped open pregnant women. There was a certain French justice there who started to go out to settle the people down, but he was stopped by a certain man aware of the state of things who exhorted him to flee through a window and save his life. He did so, making his way to a castle where he could protect himself. But the citizens of Palermo went after him, captured the castle, and, taking the justice into the city square, tore him limb from limb. The citizens of Messina, however, did not act so cruelly toward the French; instead, they simply disarmed them, took away their possessions, and sent them to their lord, King Charles. Charles had, in the meantime, retreated, because he was afraid he would lose Naples and because King Peter of Aragon, with his allies, Palaeologus and the king of Castile, had invaded Sicily in that region.

King Peter of Aragon.

Prince Manfred and Palaeologus.

For King Peter of Aragon was married to the daughter of Prince Manfred, son of Frederick II, sometime Emperor, and Charles had killed Prince Manfred. This Palaeologus was the Emperor of the Greeks, and he had killed the son of Vatatzes, the previous Greek Emperor, in order to gain the throne. And Palaeologus was afraid that King Charles and Pope Martin were planning to invade Constantinople, though the truth is that Pope Martin was too much involved with attempts to conquer Forlì, which was in control of all Romagna.

Praise of the province of Romagna, which the Roman Church had received as a gift from Rudolph the elected Emperor.

Romagna is located between the March of Ancona and Bologna, a small province, but good, fertile, and densely populated. This province was given to the Roman Church by Lord Rudolph, who was elected Emperor during the time of Pope Gregory X. For the Roman Pontiffs always try to get something out of the Emperors at the time that they are elected to office, and the Emperors, for their part, cannot easily deny anything asked of them. For they like to display courtesy and liberality to the Church, especially in the beginning of their reign for many reasons: because they believe that their empire is given to them by the Church, because they do not wish to show themselves to be vinegar before they are poured into the cup, and because they do not wish to suffer a complete rejection. For although elected Emperor, Lord Rudolph remains in peace in Germany and the Church appears to care little about his coronation. Therefore, for all these reasons the aforesaid Cardinal was sent to the Sicilians by the Pope, and they responded that they would gladly obey the commands of the Church, but that they absolutely refused to be subject to French rule.

The French army goes into Sicily to the assistance of King Charles against Peter of Aragon.

For this reason a huge French army went by land and sea to the assistance of King Charles. How all of this will turn out, those who remain will see. In that same year Pope Martin was living in Orbieto, and afterward went to live at Montefiascone.

Palaeologus creates a Greek Pope and Cardinals.

In that same year in the consistory court before the Pope and the Cardinals a letter was read reporting the news that Palaeologus had created a Greek Pope and Cardinals in Constantinople.

Against the Pope's will, the Perugians go to destroy Foligno.

In that same year the Perugians prepared to go out against Foligno and destroy it. But the Pope sent a message saying that in no wise, under threat of excommunication, were they to attack Foligno, for Foligno was a papal territory. Yet

the Perugians did not desist; they made the expedition and laid waste to the entire district up to the very moats of the city. They were, therefore, excommunicated. But they were indignant at this, and so they made straw images of the Pope and Cardinals and dragged them shamefully throughout the whole city and up to the top of a mountain and burned the image of the Pope dressed in red, together with the Cardinals, saying, "This is Cardinal so-and-so and this is Cardinal such-and-such." It was for this reason that the Perugians felt they were justified in fighting against Foligno and destroying it: in an earlier battle between Foligno and Perugia, the Perugians suffered such a great defeat and God brought such great confusion on them in this battle that a single old woman of Foligno was able to drive ten Perugians off to prison with a simple cane, that is, a small reed. And other women did the same, and the Perugians did not dare to resist, because the warning that the Lord gave in Leviticus 26 [.17] was fulfilled in them: "I will set my face against you, and you shall fall down before your enemies, and shall be made subject to them that hate you, you shall flee when no man pursueth you," and below in the same chapter [.37]: "None of you shall dare to resist your enemies." Why? Here is why. For Deuteronomy says, 28 [.65]: "For the Lord will give thee a fearful heart, and languishing eyes, and a soul consumed with pensiveness," and above in the same chapter [.25]: "The Lord make thee to fall down before thy enemies, one way mayst thou go out against them, and flee seven ways, and be scattered throughout all the kingdoms of the earth."

The castle of Soncino is betrayed to the Cremonese, and at the end of May it was extremely hot.

Also, in that same year, near the feast of St. Martin, a man of Soncino named Rosso de Infunditis betrayed the castle of Soncino to the Church party of Cremona which was in power at that time in Cremona. And for his treacherous act the Cremonese paid him five hundred pounds imperial. And in that same year at the end of May it was so extremely hot for four or five days that it would have seemed excessive even for July. And the farmers said that such heat was very harmful to the wheat. For as it says in the book of Job, 37 [.11]: "Corn desireth clouds," that is, it requires clouds, especially when it first begins to blossom forth and form grain.

The scarcity of wheat during this year.

In this year there was a scarcity of wheat, but a great abundance of the secondary crops: panic grass, millet, sorghum, beans, and turnips. Wine was abundant, but in many places storms had destroyed the vineyards. And in the summer of that year the thunder was so terrible that it almost seemed visible and palpable, so that many were terrified and fell prostrate during the hour of Vespers. The same thing occurred the next night.

In that same year a general chapter of the Friars Minor was held in Germany in the city of Strassburg under the Minister General Brother Bonagrazia. And in the same year Count Louis of St. Boniface of Verona was podestà of Reggio

from the Kalends of July to the Kalends of January.

The noble court which was held this year in Parma.

On the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary there was held a most noble court in Parma, which lasted almost a whole month. And at this time were knighted two men of the house of Rossi, Lord William and Lord Ugolino, two brothers, sons of Lord Jacopo, son of Lord Bernard Roland Rossi.

In this same year was held the court of the Marquis of Este in Ferrara.

In that same year on the feast of St. Michael and St. Francis, another most noble court was held in the city of Ferrara, because Azzo, son of the Marquis of Este, was knighted and married. He married the daughter of Lord Gentile, son of Lord Bertoldo de Ordini and brother of the late Pope Nicholas III of Rome.

Lord Peter, Count of Artois, brother of the king of France, comes to the aid of King Charles.

Also in that same year, the second year of Pope Martin's pontificate, Lord Peter, brother of the king of France and Count of Artois, came with a huge force of French soldiers to the aid of King Charles of Sicily, his uncle, against King Peter of Aragon. And on the feast of St. Hilary, abbot, Count Peter knighted three men in the city of Reggio: Lord Bertolino and Lord Simon, both of the Fogliani family, and Rondanella de Taculi. And he left immediately the next day because of his haste to bring assistance to King Charles. But first he went to see Pope Martin.

The peace settlement of the Struffi with the Orsi and the Salustri.

Also, on the following Sunday, that is, the eighth Kalends of November, a peace settlement was arranged between the Struffi, the Orsi, and the Salustri in a convent of the Friars Minor at Reggio through the mediation of Brother Johannino de Lupicini, lector at Reggio. And many men and women were present there, "young men and maidens . . . the old with the younger" [Psalms 148.12].

The Parmese prophet named Asdente.

Also, at this time there was living in the city of Parma a certain poor man, a shoemaker, who made sandals. And he was a pure man, "simple . . . and fearing God" [Job 2.3]. He was courteous, that is, well mannered, and although he was unlearned, he had an inspired mind, because he could understand the writings of those who predicted the future, like Abbot Joachim, Merlin, Methodius, the Sibyls, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea, Daniel, the Apocalypse, and Michael Scot, Frederick II's astrologer. And I myself heard many things from him that eventually turned out to be true, that, for example, Pope Nicholas III would die in the month of August, that Pope Martin would be elected, and many other things

which we expect to see "if life accompany" [IV Kings 4.16]. For

Knowledge of the past allows one to see the future.⁷²

Although his real name is Benvenuto, people ironically call him Asdente, that is, "toothless," because he has large, misshapen teeth. He also has an impediment of speech, although he understands well and is well understood. He lives in Parma in Cò di Ponte near the moat and sewer of the city on the street that leads to Borgo San Donnino.

The siege of Meldola by Pope Martin. The great expenses which the Pope laid out in attempts to conquer Romagna. The battle between Charles and Peter of Aragon.

Also in this year of 1282, Pope Martin IV sent an army composed of French, Lombard, Tuscan, and Romagnan troops into Romagna, and they laid siege to Meldola for many months, but they could not capture it. And many men were killed there. Moreover, Pope Martin spent many thousand gold florins there. This Meldola is a castle about five miles from Forlì on the side toward the mountains. Also in this year King Charles and Peter of Aragon laid plans for a battle which was to be fought in Bordeaux, as we relate below in its proper place.

In the year 1283 Lord Louis, Count of St. Boniface of Verona, left power in Reggio, and took up residence in the house of Lord Bernard de Gesso in that same city near the Church of St. James and the convent of the Friars Minor. And in that same year of 1283 his daughter, Lady Mabilia, came from Lendinara, where she had been living with the rich and powerful Lord Savino de Torre of Milan to be with her father. She was a very beautiful virgin, and she was married there in the house of Lord Bernard de Gesso on the same day that she arrived. And immediately after the wedding she heard the Mass of the Blessed Virgin in the convent of the Friars Minor. In attendance at that wedding besides the people of Reggio and the choice ladies of Reggio, there were many knights from Modena and Parma. And immediately after hearing Mass, they all went to eat. There was a huge spread of food in the aforesaid house and also in the Church of St. James. These events took place in 1283, the Friday before Septuagesima Sunday, that is, the twelfth of February. And on the following Saturday very early in the morning they left Reggio and went to Parma, where the two of them, bride and groom, live near the baptistery.

Lord Richard, father of the Count of St. Boniface.

This Count was the son of Lord Richard, a wise man and an active knight, proven in battle and experienced in war. And at the time that the Parmese rebelled against the Emperor Frederick II in 1247, he was the first to come to their aid. He came through Guastalla with many armed knights and entered Parma, as we have related above.

Count Louis' German wife and his children.

Also, the abovementioned Count Louis was married to a German woman, who brought forth the daughter spoken of above and three sons. The sons are very handsome young men, courteous and well-bred, and the first-born was named Vinciguerra.

Also, in that same year on the octave of Easter, the feast of St. Mark the Evangelist,⁷³ this Count was on his deathbed, and at his death he committed and commended his sons into the hands of Lord Obizzo, Marquis of Este. And the Marquis received them and treated them like his own sons, although, before, the Marquis had had no love for the Count.

The cause of the strife between the Count and the Marquis of Este.

Mantua was the cause of the strife between these two men, for both of them wanted to rule that city. Yet neither one managed to achieve his aim, for Lord Pinamonte took over the rule there. And the Marquis restored to the sons of the Count all the Count's property which he had taken over in the district of Lendenara.

The death of the Count and his burial in the convent of the Friars Minor at Reggio.

On the night following the feast of St. Martin in the presence of certain Friars Minor to whom he confessed, the Count died. He set his soul in order in the finest manner, and the citizens of Reggio, in the finest and noblest manner, took care of his body. For with great generosity they met the expenses of a lavish funeral for him, one that not only befitted his nobility, but honored him as their former podestà, a man who was an exile from his own properties because of his adherence to the Church party. Present at his funeral were all the men (and many women) of the religious Orders in Reggio and the entire citizenry of Reggio, as well as many knights from other cities. The noblest men of Reggio were his pallbearers, and he was buried in the convent of the Friars Minor.

The Count's funeral dress and his beautiful mausoleum.

The Count's body was dressed in scarlet with a beautiful fur of vair and a beautiful pall. On the Monday following the feast of St. Mark his body was laid in a splendid mausoleum built at the expense of the city of Reggio. He was girded with a sword with golden spurs on his feet. From his silken girdle hung a large purse. He had gloves on his hands, a beautiful cap of vair on his head, and a splendid scarlet cloak trimmed with various kinds of fur. And the Count left his horse and arms to the convent of the Friars Minor in Reggio.

The Count's epitaph.

The epitaph on his tomb is as follows:

O Louis, O illustrious Count of Verona,
On this day, the fifth of April, 1283,
When your majestic splendor, your
Renowned might was enclosed under
This earth and discovered mordant Death,
Your wandering light came to its final rest.⁷⁴

The Count's honor and sanctity.

The Count was an honorable and holy man. For he was so honorable that when he went through the city he never lifted up his eyes to any woman, so that even the women and handsome ladies marvelled at him. For he fulfilled the Scripture which says, Ecclesiasticus 9 [.7-8]: "Look not round about thee in the ways of the city, nor wander up and down in the streets thereof. Turn away thy face from a woman dressed up, and gaze not about upon another's beauty," and [Psalms 118.37]: "Turn away my eyes that they may not behold vanity," and Job 31 [.1]: "I made a covenant with my eyes, that I would not so much as think upon a virgin."

The reverence which the brother of the king of France showed to the Count and other holy men.

When Lord Peter, Count of Artois and brother of the king of France, was travelling through Reggio and heard that this Count was a holy man, that he had the same name as his own father (that is, Louis), and that he had lost his possessions for the sake of the Church party, he expressed a desire to see him. And he embraced and kissed his body. For whenever Count Peter heard of any holy man, he wanted to see him. Thus he sent for Brother John of Carpineti, a Friar Minor, so that he might see him. This Brother John had entered the Order before the great earthquake of 1222.

On the anniversary of the Count's death, his wife sent a beautiful pallium.

On the anniversary of this Count's death, his wife sent a beautiful pallium of samite and purple for the altar of the convent of the Friars Minor in Reggio, where her husband was buried. May his soul rest in peace in the mercy of God! Amen.

The high mortality rate among the cattle in this year.

The high mortality rate among men which followed the next year.

Also in the year 1283 there was a high rate of mortality among cattle in Lombardy and Romagna, and indeed throughout Italy. Then the next year this was followed by a high rate of mortality among humans. For in a convent of the Friars Minor at Salins in Burgundy, there were living twenty-two Brothers. And a certain French Brother who was living in Greece found them all alive and well when he passed through there on his way to Paris; when he returned that same year,

however, he found that eleven, that is, half of them, had died. I heard this from his own mouth at Reggio. And many men died in that sudden way in various parts of the world that year. In short, one can take it as a general rule that whenever there is a high mortality rate among cattle, the very next year the same will be true among human beings.

A negligent and a stern podestà.

In that same year of 1283 Lord Bernard Lanfredo of Lucca was podestà of Reggio for six months, from the Kalends of July to the Kalends of January. Yet he was so remiss in his duties that there were many homicides and evil deeds committed in the city and district of Reggio. Once, for example, some felons entered a man's house in Reggio by means of a ladder and killed him in his bed. Since this podestà was so negligent and so lax in keeping the peace, he was like those rulers that the Lord speaks of through Isaiah, 3 [.4]: "I will give children to be their princes, and the effeminate shall rule over them," and again in Ecclesiastes 10 [.16]: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child." This man was not a boy in age, but he was so in his negligence, failing to preserve justice. The following year Lord Bernabo de Palastralli of Piacenza succeeded him as podestà, and he spared no man, but destroyed many evil doers and thieves. During the time of his rule, he killed many men and had many put to death. Thus because he preserved justice, the men of Reggio said that he was a destroyer of their city. But the preceding podestà, out of pure negligence and lack of care, was a far greater destroyer, because many feuds sprang up under his administration which are still going on in the present day, and unless God intervenes, they will be the cause of the destruction of Reggio. Therefore, it is good to follow the teaching of Augustine: "Whether one punishes or forgives, the aim should always be correction."⁷⁵ Yet the Parmese elected that first podestà, Bernard of Lucca, the one who had been lax, as their captain; the second, Bernabo of Piacenza, who had been strict and rigid, was elected by the Modenese, and under him, in 1284, their city was destroyed, as we shall relate below.

In this year a very bright star was seen to enter the circle of the new moon.

Also, in that year of 1283 the golden number and the Indiction number were both eleven, and on April 2, during the new moon, that very bright star called Venus was seen to enter the circle of the new moon. And that night after Matins that other bright star called Jupiter was seen to occupy the upper arm of Scorpio toward the middle part.

The city of Forlì returns to the rule of the Church.

Also in that same year the city of Forlì, which had been in rebellion for many years, returned to the rule of the Church. Annually for many years Pope Martin IV had been sending an army of Frenchmen and various other people against that city. And the army destroyed the vineyards, crops, houses, wine vats, farm

animals, and indeed all things that grow in the fields—fruit trees, olives, figs, almonds, and pomegranates.

The city of Forlì would have freed the whole of Romagna from the rule of Bologna save for the interference of the Church.

Forlì would have freed the whole of Romagna from Bologna, which had occupied it, if the Church had not interfered. The reason why the Church had become involved in these affairs was because she had requested the Emperor Rudolph to give Romagna to her, and he did so. And over the years the Pope spent many thousands of gold florins, nay donkey-loads of gold coins, in his expeditions against Forlì. For Pope Martin had obstinately decided not to desist until he had conquered Forlì by violence, if she would not willingly give in. And so it happened, because as the old saying goes, "Wicked labor conquers all things." And when the city had surrendered to the Church, its moats were filled up and its gates broken down. Moreover, houses and palaces, and all the principal buildings were completely destroyed. But all of the most important men left the city and went into hiding in various places, so that they might "give place unto wrath" [Romans 12.9].

Count Guido da Montefeltro, a close friend of the Friars Minor, who humbly obeyed the Church.

But Count Guido da Montefeltro who had been captain of the forces of Forlì and the Imperial party made peace with the Church and went into exile at Chioggia for a time. Later, he was sent into Lombardy and went to live in the city of Asti with great honor, for he was dearly loved by everybody on account of his honorable dealings in earlier times and the repeated victories he had won, and also because he now wisely and humbly obeyed the Church. Moreover, he was a noble man, discreet, sensible, well-mannered, courteous, and generous, an active knight well-proven in arms and experienced in battle. He loved the Order of the Friars Minor, not only because some of his relatives were in the Order, but also because St. Francis had preserved him from many dangers and kept him free from the chains and prison of Lord Malatesta. And therefore he was gravely offended many times by certain fools in the Order. In Asti Count Guido had a loyal circle of close friends, for there were many men who did not cease to stretch out a helping hand to him. And all these things took place from "the time when kings go forth to war" [II Kings 11.1] until the feast of St. John the Baptist. And Lord Bernard Provinciale, Cardinal and papal legate, was there.

King Charles leaves Naples and goes to Bordeaux, thinking to engage King Peter of Aragon in battle.

Also in that year King Charles left Naples and went to Bordeaux, thinking to meet King Peter of Aragon in battle, both of them with a hundred knights in accordance with their sworn agreement. But that battle did not take place, for the King of Aragon avoided it. Yet this battle should have been fought to decide the question of Sicily. For King Peter of Aragon had entered the kingdom and

occupied it with his army, because Pope Nicholas III, out of his hatred of King Charles, had given it to him with the consent of certain Cardinals then present in the curia. Besides, King Peter believed, for his part, that he had certain legal rights there because he was Prince Manfred's son-in-law. But Charles had been given that kingdom earlier by Pope Urban IV because he had come to the aid of the Church against Manfred, Frederick II's son.

The death of Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio.

Also in that year Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio, died, and he had poorly prepared himself for death. For he was an avaricious and unlearned man like a layman. He was a "shepherd" and "idol," as Zachariah says, 11 [.17]. He loved to live in splendor and to eat every day as much as he could hold. Very frequently he held great feasts for his relatives and for rich men. To the poor, however, he closed the bowels of mercy. And so he can fear what the Wise Man says in Proverbs 21 [.13] "He that stoppeth his ear against the cry of the poor, shall also cry himself and shall not be heard." Also he deprived orphans, poor school children, and widows of clothing, so that it cannot be said of him [Psalms 9b.14]: "To thee is the poor man left: thou wilt be a helper to the orphan." Nor could he himself repeat the passage in Job 29 [.13]: "I comforted the heart of the widow." He did not arrange marriages for young girls, but on the contrary robbed them of the goods left by their father or mother. He was a gross man, that is, dull and uncultivated. There were few who spoke well of him. Wherever he could plunder, he plundered. He gathered together a great treasure which near his death he dispersed and gave to his nephews. It would have been better for him to have been a swineherd or a leper than to have been a bishop. He gave nothing to men of religious Orders, to the Friars Minor or the Preachers, or to any other poor men, although the Scripture says, Ecclesiasticus 4 [.7]: "Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor." Moreover, the religious poor who were at his funeral were given nothing to eat out of his goods or, rather, out of the goods of the bishopric. I was present at his funeral, and I know that a dog shit on him after he was buried. And he was interred in the lower part of the cathedral, where the commoners are. Truly, however, he deserved to be buried in a cesspool. He was a harsh, avaricious, and accursed man, and he brought discord among those who were at peace with one another. If he had lived one month longer, he would have been bishop of Reggio for exactly forty years. He died in August on the feast of St. Augustine, and was buried on Sunday, the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist.⁷⁶

In this year the people of Bibbiano build a fortress.

Also in this year the people of Bibbiano, a rather spread-out little village in the bishopric of Reggio, regrouped and formed themselves into a fortified town.

The Friars Minor build a beautiful refectory.

In the same year the Friars Minor of Parma built a beautiful refectory in Prato San Ercolano. It was in this place that the Parmese in ancient times held their fairs, and, later, during carnival week, held tournaments.

The Parmese build a stone bridge in Galera.

Also in that year the Parmese built a stone bridge over the river of Parma in that district called Galera from the convent of the Humiliati to the convent of the Preachers. And they had a wall of the city built on the side toward the mountains and the river of Parma, near the hospital of St. Francis.

The public works and buildings of Parma.

In earlier years also the Parmese had built many fine buildings in their city. For they had finished the structure of the baptistery including the roof, and they would have had it completed long before, save that Ezzelino da Romano, the ruler of Verona, had caused delays, because the baptistery was being built of Veronese, and only Veronese, stone. Also, they had great lions sculptured, and columns erected in front of the main entrance of the cathedral near the square of the baptistery and the episcopal palace. Moreover, they built three large streets, wide and beautiful: one running from St. Christine Church to the communal palace; the other from Piazza Nuova, where the podestà held public forums, to the Church of St. Thomas the Apostle. And on all these streets they built houses and beautiful palaces here and there. They also built the very beautiful captains' palace near the old palace, which had been built during the rule of Torello (or Taurello) de Strata of Pavia, the podestà of Parma. Also under him was begun the Torello castle on the road which leads to Borgo San Donnino. But because the forces of Borgo San Donnino surrendered to Parma, the Parmese stopped the work begun and never did finish the castle. Also in that same year they enlarged Piazza Nuova, and they bought all the houses around the square for the city. And they had to replace the palace of the Pagani family, which was very beautiful, with another palace and shops for public use, as I saw with my own eyes. Then the city bought the even more beautiful palace of Lord Manfred de Scipione, and in addition the slaughter houses of the butchers, as well as the houses and tower of Lord Rufino de Vernazzi in the vicinity of the Church of St. Peter. Also earlier they had dug a canal, but it proved to be of little use. For they attempted to make use of the ancient river bed all the way up to Gainaco, the village of Cardinal Gerard Albo. Yet just north of that village they made a sharp turn from that river bed so that ships might be able to go up to the village of Frassinara rather than, as formerly, to Colorno. Nevertheless, it still flowed by Colorno and did very little for Frassinara. If I had been in full charge of this project, I would have done a better job of it for Parma's advantage. (This Gainaco was once my village, for I once owned much property there.) Also in that year they dug the long canal

near the road to Brescello from the hospital to Sorbolo, into which they diverted the waters of the Gambalone, because this river was destroying all the fields along that road with its flood waters and thus was extremely harmful to the farmers.

The death of Brother Bonagrazia, Minister General of the Order of the Friars Minor, in the year 1283.

On a Sunday, the vigil of St. Francis⁷⁷ in 1283, the Minister General of the Friars Minor died in Provence in the city of Avignon, and he was buried in the church of the Brothers before the high altar. Brother Vitale, Minister of Bologna, was there at his deathbed, and Brother Bonagrazia commanded him, on his behalf, to bless all the Brothers of his province and to absolve them all from all their sins. And it was so done. Brother Bonagrazia had ruled for four years.⁷⁸ And the general chapter was delayed until Pentecost 1285, so that it could be held at Milan, as had been decided in the preceding chapter.

The recent discovery of Mary Magdalene's body.

The bodies of St. Apollinare and St. Maximinus are here remarked upon in passing.

In the year of the Lord 1283 the body of St. Mary Magdalene was discovered whole and entire, except for one leg, in Provence in the castle of St. Maximinus. St. Maximinus was one of the seventy-two disciples of the Lord recorded in the tenth chapter of Luke. He was the archbishop of Aix, the city where lies buried the count whose daughter was the wife of the king of France, that is, St. Louis, who went on Crusade to the Holy Land in 1248. And this city is fifteen miles from Marseilles. I was living in that city the year the king of France went on Crusade, because I was assigned to a convent there. Now, when the body of St. Mary Magdalene was found, one could hardly read the epitaph even with a magnifying glass because of the antiquity of the writing. It was the will of King Charles, Count of Provence, that the body of the blessed Mary Magdalene be placed on public display and highly honored, for the Count at that time was in Provence on his way to Bordeaux to fight the battle that had been arranged between himself and King Peter of Aragon. And it was so done. Now, all of the quarrels, abuses, and false representations concerning the body of St. Mary Magdalene should cease. For the people of Senigallia said that they had the body; yet the citizens of Vezelay, a populous fortress in Burgundy, also claimed it and the legend connected with it. But it is clear that the body of a single woman cannot be in three separate places.

In like manner, there was a great quarrel at Ravenna concerning the body of St. Apollinare. For the citizens of Classe (which was once a city) say that they have it, while Ravenna at the same time lays claim to it. Yet it is certainly true that the archbishop of Ravenna brought the body of St. Apollinare to Ravenna from Classe for fear of the Haggites, as I have read many times in the Pontifical of Ravenna. And he placed the body in the Church of St. Martin near the Church of San Salvatore, which was formerly a church of the Greeks. And it does not appear in any writing that the body was ever removed or carried off from there.

The body of St. Mary Magdalene, therefore, is truly in the castle of St. Maximinus, just as the body of her sister St. Martha is in Tarascon. Their brother Lazarus was bishop of Marseilles.

The cave in which St. Mary Magdalene lived for thirty years without anyone being aware of it.

The cave in which St. Mary Magdalene did penance for thirty years is fifteen miles from Marseilles. And I myself slept there one night immediately after the feast of the Magdalene. This cave is on a very high stone mountain, and it is large enough, I believe (if I am remembering correctly), to hold a thousand men. There are three altars in that cave and a spring like the fountain of Siloah. The route up the mountain is excellent for climbing, and outside near the cave is a church which a priest lives in. The height of the mountain above the cave is as great as the height of the baptistery in Parma, and the cave is so high upon the side of the mountain that the three Asinelli towers of Bologna placed one on top of the other would not, I believe (if I am remembering correctly), reach it, so that large trees below look like nettles or clumps of sage. And because that region is totally uninhabited, the women and the noble ladies of Marseilles travelling there for devotional purposes take with them asses loaded with bread, wine, cakes, fish, and other foodstuffs. In that district also, about five miles from the cave, there is a fine monastery of white nuns, who dearly love the Friars Minor, and receive them well whenever they come there, ministering carefully to them and giving good hospitality.

The late miracle in honor of the Magdalene.

Miracle: In confirmation of the true discovery of the body of St. Mary Magdalene, the Lord performed a miracle through her at that time. For as a certain young butcher was travelling along the way, he met an acquaintance who asked him where he had been. And the young man answered, "I have been to the castle of St. Maximinus where the body of St. Mary Magdalene was recently found, and I kissed her leg bone." But the other man retorted, "You kissed no bone of the Magdalene, but the leg bone of some ass or donkey that the clerks show the simple-minded in order to make money." Then there was a hot quarrel between the two about this matter, and the unbeliever struck the other young man many blows with his sword, and not a single stroke, by the help of the Magdalene, caused any wound. But the young man devoted to the Magdalene struck the other so that there was "no need of a second time" [I Kings 26.8], because he immediately lost his life and found death [cf. Apocalypse 9.6] since he had acted against the Scripture which says, Ecclesiastes 7 [.18]: "Be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time." Then lamenting that he had killed a man—even though he had done so unwillingly in self-defense and by chance—the defender of the Magdalene was afraid that he would be captured by the dead man's relatives. And so he fled to Arles and afterward to St. Giles, in order to protect himself and that he might "give place unto wrath" [Romans 12.19]. But by the gift of

ten books to a betrayer, the father of the dead man had the young man put in prison and sentenced to be hanged.

The Magdalene appears to her devotee in prison and consoles him. Later, coming in the form of a dove as white as snow, she delivers him from the scaffold.

On the night before the day of his execution, however, the Magdalene appeared to this young man in prison and said, "Fear not, my friend and defender of my honor, for you will not die. 'When opportunity shall serve' [I Machabees 11.42], I will aid you in such a way that all who see it will marvel and give thanks to God the Creator, 'who alone doth wonderful things' [Psalms 71.18] and to me, his handmaiden. Yet after you are free, I ask you to remember this service which I rendered you and, for the good of your soul, give thanks to God, your liberator, for this event." After saying this, the Magdalene disappeared, leaving the young man greatly consoled. The next day when he was hanged from the gallows, he felt no pain or harm to his body. And suddenly, behold, before all the people who came to see that execution, there descended from heaven a dove white as snow, and flying swiftly she lit on top of the gallows and untied the rope around the neck of the hanged man, her beloved, and then she placed him on the ground without any injury. And when at the urging of the dead man's kin, the officials and justices sought to hang him again, they were prevented by the butchers, who were there in a huge crowd armed "with swords and clubs" [Matthew 26.47]. They helped him because he had been their friend and companion and because they had witnessed such a clear and wondrous miracle. Then the young man recounted to the multitude how he had committed that homicide against his will in defending the honor of the Magdalene and how the Magdalene had promised him in prison that she would free him at an opportune time. After hearing this, they were satisfied, and they gave praise to God and the blessed Mary Magdalene, who had saved that young man. When the Count of Provence heard this story, he wanted to see this man and hear it from his own lips. He also wanted to retain the young man at his court for the rest of his life. But the young man answered that even if he were given the whole world as his kingdom, he would spend his life nowhere but in the service of the Magdalene in the castle of Maximinus, where her body had recently (that is, in 1283) been found. And so it was done.

In June of that same year the battle between King Charles and King Peter of Aragon was supposed to be held.

The deeds of King Charles, wherein are recounted the lies of King Peter of Aragon and his avoidance of battle.

The battle arranged between King Charles and King Peter of Aragon by a council of wise men with respect to the kingdom of Sicily.

The deeds of King Charles, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Duke of Apulia, Prince of Capua, Senator of Rome, Prince of Anjou, Provence, and Forcalquier, and Count of Tonnerre.⁷⁹

King Peter of Aragon sent the provost of Marseilles with his letter of credit to King Charles for the purpose of contracting a marriage between one of his sons and one of the daughters of King Charles. According to this provost and the king's own words in his letter, Peter himself greatly desired this marriage. Yet despite this and despite many other sentiments of friendship conveyed by this provost to King Charles, after a few days Peter entered the kingdom of Sicily treacherously under a semblance of peace and a false claim of contracting a matrimonial alliance between himself and King Charles. When Peter of Aragon, however, had prepared his ships and vessels for crossing the sea, the king of France sent official ambassadors and special messengers to inform him that by no means was he to make war on King Charles or his son, or enter his kingdom, for any harm done to King Charles or his heir, he would consider as having been done to his own person. Peter responded to the ambassadors courteously and amicably that he had no intention of injuring King Charles in any way, that, on the contrary, he was planning to cross the sea to fight against the infidel Saracens, and that any land or wealth that he acquired in this expedition he would give to his son, who was to marry King Charles' daughter. Moreover, Peter requested the Pope to grant him the tithes of his country to help in his Crusade against the Saracens for the glory of the Christian faith. And he also asked the Pope to hold his land in custody for him until his return. Thus when King Charles heard that Peter had entered the kingdom of Sicily through such deception, he sent letters and special messengers to him ordering him to leave his land and not to harm it in any way. But confident in his own strength and in the Sicilian people, Peter replied that he would by no means leave the country as long as he could keep it in his control. When he heard this, King Charles, who was then in Apulia, gathered a huge army of both knights and infantry and began an expedition against Peter by sea.

Counsellors on both sides, however, sought to avoid the death of so great a multitude of people by working out the following compromise: six trusted knights from each side were chosen, whose duty it was to arrange for a special battle, specifying the time, place, form, and conditions. In total agreement, these men arranged for the battle to be fought at Bordeaux in Gascony, which was ruled by the king of England. These further established that both kings, Charles and Peter of Aragon, should choose one hundred of their best knights, and under the personal direction of the two kings these two groups were to meet in the selected field on the first of June, 1283, Indiction XI. And in the place selected for the battle, a field was to be closed in on every side so that nobody could enter or leave. And the king of England was chosen as the impartial judge to assure that only the two kings and their two hundred knights entered the field. Both King Charles and King Peter swore on the holy gospels of God to fully observe all these conditions, and (unless physically incapacitated) to appear at the appointed time and place with

their two hundred knights and to fight the battle there. Furthermore, they swore on the holy gospel of God that whoever did not show up at that assigned place and time was for the rest of his life not to be called king but a false and faithless traitor, and was never again to have or seek out honor but was to call himself a false and faithless traitor, and, if questioned by anyone, he was to deny nothing but was to confess everywhere publicly to each and all. The most peaceful and illustrious King Charles, protector and shield of Holy Mother Church and the Christian faith, presented himself in person at the appointed time and place, in accordance with the conditions of the agreement, before Lord John de Grili, seneschal of the illustrious king of England, and before many other justices and officials of the said king. And with his one hundred knights in the field of Bordeaux ready for the battle, he waited for Peter from morning til evening. Yet Peter did not appear, nor did he nor anyone else send any kind of excuse for himself, despite the fact that before the appointed day he had been seen by many dependable men to be completely sound of body and near enough to the battlefield to have arrived there, if he had wished, at the appointed time.

Since, therefore, for the reasons and oaths listed above, Peter of Aragon was to be justly deprived of every honor belonging to a king and was to live henceforth in shame, the papal legate, by the command of the High Pontiff himself, gave the kingdom of Aragon to the illustrious king of France for his son. And the king of France accepted it and sent his army to invade Aragon by way of Navarre. And he ordered that a general expedition be made into Catalonia. King Charles, in the meantime, went to France for a consultation with the king of Germany. The kings of France and England sent their armies to the assistance of the king of Castile against his sons. And King Boyeses of Morocco gave assistance with ten thousand knights and recovered many lands. And a peace agreement was arrived at whereby the grandsons of the king of France were to have that kingdom after the death of the king of Castile. The king of Portugal and Algarbia wrote the kings of France and England, and sent special messengers, apologizing for the foolishness of his brother-in-law, King Peter, and noting that he was ready to do whatever they wished. The king of England withdrew his daughter whom he had contracted to give to the son of King Peter in marriage. And the king of Majorca sent official ambassadors and letters to say that he would not mix himself up in the affairs of his brother, and it is firmly believed that there were secret agreements between him and the king of France. Written at Moissac, June 27, Indiction XI.

And take note that at the time that King Charles and King Peter worked out the agreement for that battle, Pope Martin IV intervened and prohibited it, with what power he could, by the consent and counsel of his brothers the Cardinals. But that prohibition was worth noting, for King Charles would stubbornly have

held it anyway, if Peter of Aragon had wished it. Yet some people excuse King Peter of Aragon, saying that he refused to do battle because the king of France stood ready near the appointed site with his army to help his brother King Charles if he needed it. And some say that Peter went to that battlefield disguised as a merchant in order to fulfill his oath—and had a legal document drawn up as proof—but fearing the intervention of the king of France, he pulled back from the battle.

The fire in a convent of the Preachers at Verona.

In that same year a convent of the Preachers in Verona burned down. And they were injured beyond measure, for their books and chalices were burned up.

The fire in the dormitory of the Friars Minor at Lyons.

A like misfortune befell the Friars Minor after Christmas on the evening of the feast of St. Stephen⁸⁰ at Lyons, at the time that the Pope and Cardinals were in that city. For a certain old man named Peter de Belleville was studying late at night since he had to preach the next day. But he fell asleep and the fire started. And if he had cried out, he would have had help. But instead he rushed into the kitchen for water, hoping to put the fire out secretly. When he got back, however, the fire was raging out of control so that the whole dormitory with all the books went up in flames. And in that same year I was there with Brother John of Parma, the Minister General, whom the Pope wished to send to the Greeks.

The rain which fell out of a clear sky.

Also, when I was living in Reggio on the feast of All Saints in the year 1283, I went out of the church after Matins into the inner garden. There I stood on the grass under the open sky, and a heavy rain fell on me and yet the sky was perfectly clear and starry. I saw a similar event by day the following year, save that I could not see the stars.

The loud thunder on the next to the last day of February.

In 1284, Indiction XII, the next to the last day of February, terrible thunder was heard, such as is accustomed to be heard on the feast of the holy martyrs Gervase, Protase, John, and Paul. Also, a heavy rain fell.

The Parmese build the stone bridge of Lady Egidia.

In that same year the Parmese built a beautiful stone bridge over the Parmese river, in the same place where there had formerly been a wooden one called the bridge of Lady Egidia. For Lady Egidia de Palude had long ago had the wooden one built, as a result of the fact that the city of Parma gave a gate of the city to Lord Bonaccorso de Palude, who was at that time a vassal of the city of Parma. But much later on account of the divisions and discord between the Church

and the Empire, the Parmese had totally destroyed that gate because of their hatred of the Imperial party.

Work begins on the bell tower of the cathedral in this year.

Also in that year in Parma work was begun on a new and beautiful bell tower between the cathedral and the residence of the priest on the site of the old one.

The great abundance of wheat; the small but excellent quantity of wine.

In that same year there was a great abundance of wheat. But in comparison with the previous years, the quantity of wine was very small.

The great abundance of fruit.

There was a great abundance of fruit, according to the words of Leviticus 26 [.4]: "The trees shall be filled with fruit." God was merciful, for in the preceding years there was no fruit because of the caterpillars. Whence the Lord says, Joel 2 [.25]: "I will restore to you the ears which the locust, and the bruchus, and the mildew, and the palmerworm have eaten; my great host which I sent upon you."

The son of King Charles is captured by King Peter of Aragon's army in a sea battle.

In this year many events took place which (alas!) are not worthy to relate, but which must not be passed over in silence. During the absence of King Charles, for example, his son, to whom he had entrusted the kingdom of Apulia, fought against Peter of Aragon's army in a sea battle, lost, and was carried off to prison. The king of Aragon was not there in person; his army was led by his admiral. Arriving at Naples, however, a few days after the capture of his son, King Charles said in full council that his son was foolish and stupid, that it was a foolish act for him to have gone out to battle without his counsel, and that he cared no more for him than if he had never been born. And so he disinherited him and took the kingdom from him and gave it to the son of the captured son. Then to demonstrate his joy and lack of sadness, as well as to honor the promotion of his grandson, he held a tournament throughout the city, and thus "he made as though he would go farther" [Luke 24.28]. Yet later as a result of a monetary crisis, King Charles had to seek help from his friends in the cities of Lombardy. Thus the Parmese gave him two thousand gold florins, that is, one thousand imperial pounds, and I believe that the other cities also assisted him. Yet because of the ambition of these two kings — that is, Charles of Anjou and Peter of Aragon — to rule Sicily, many plots were set in motion. The end of these things is not yet in sight, and I am now writing in the year 1284, the month of September, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.⁸¹ And the people who love the king of Aragon say many good things about him but those who love King Charles do the same.

The destruction of Modena begins in this year. In addition to the Imperial party which had been exiled from the city for a long time, the party within the city splits into two. There are many battles between the party of the city and the exiles, and the exiles always win.

In that same year two parties arose in the city of Modena, and this division was caused by certain malicious and shameful murders whose perpetrators were never brought to justice. The exiles from the city were the men of Rosa (or of Sassuolo), the men of Savignano, the Garsoni, and their allies, both knights and common soldiers. And they occupied the following towns: Sassuolo, Savignano, and Montebaranzone, and, in short, all those places south of the highway. These men fortified Sassuolo with walls and moats. And they rode throughout the bishopric of Modena, destroying, burning, and pillaging, because the citizens would not allow them back into the city. Then they sent word to the Parmese asking them to accept the keys of their fortifications and themselves as their vassals. The city party, however, cashiered their podestà (a man of the Palestrelli family of Piacenza) and cast him out of Modena. Then they elected a man from Pistoia as their podestà. Furthermore, they tore down the houses and palaces of the exiles from Modena. But the Parmese sent ambassadors to Modena seeking to bring peace to the two factions, and when the ambassadors went through the city begging them to do whatever necessary to bring about peace, the Modenese stood armed before their doors and gnashed their teeth at them, saying, "What are we doing? Let's rush on them and tear them to pieces, because these are the destroyers of our city." And so they put "a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33], when, on the contrary, the Parmese had fought for them against Bologna to preserve their city. These ambassadors were the following men: the captain of the people; Lord Giles de Milleducibus, a doctor of law; and many others. And in a full council meeting in the palace later, they recounted all these things to the citizens of Parma. And when they heard this, the Parmese laughed. Yet nobody said an evil word against the Modenese, for they knew that they themselves had not destroyed Modena but that the cause of that destruction was the war between the Boschetti and the Savignani. The leaders and captains in Modena were, and still are, the Rangoni, the Boschetti, and the Guidoni.

At the very beginning of this war, the city party of Modena gathered all their arms together; loaded wagons with food, war machines, and arms; and led a huge army out against the exiled Modenese, thinking to overwhelm them quickly. And they went to Sassuolo with all their war machines and began battle with the men at Sassuolo, which is situated on the river Secchia just ten miles from Modena. Yet most of the exiled Modenese were at Savignano. And when Lord Manfredino of Sassuolo heard how valiantly his people were fighting the enemy while awaiting help, he was angry, and he said to the men of his party, "Let everybody who is my friend join with me and show it now; let us fight with all our might today for our souls and the souls of our friends!" And save for the guards at Savignano, everybody who was able to fight, from the least to the greatest, followed him,

and they came in a mighty and violent rush upon the attacking Modenese and "slew them with the edge of the sword" [IV Kings 10.25], and captured large numbers of them. Then they carried off all the food and armaments. But when the Modenese of the city party saw the wild fury of their enemies and fellow citizens, they fled, throwing down their arms, armor, everything—so great was their desire to save their lives.

When the Parmese heard all these things about the Modenese, they sent eight official ambassadors to Reggio. All of these men had served as podestà in various cities "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10], and they were sent to beseech the citizens of Reggio to avoid the foolishness of Modena lest they destroy their city. These ambassadors stayed at Reggio for a good many days, and I myself saw them and visited with them, for I was living in a convent at Reggio at that time. The names of the ambassadors were as follows: Lord Matthew de Corigia, Lord Bonaccorso de Montilio, Lord Roland Potagio, Lord Roland de Adeghieri, Lord Ugolino de Rossi, Lord Egidiolo de Marano, and two others whose names I cannot recall. But the citizens of Reggio answered their plea by saying that the Parmese should spend their time taking care of Parma and not waste it looking out for Reggio, for they, the citizens, would take care of their own city and see that it was not destroyed. They said this because Parma was filled with the same kind of ambition and jealousy as Reggio, and their words were to the intent, "Physician, heal thyself" [Luke 4.23].

In Reggio besides the men of the Imperial party who had been exiled and were outside the city as vagabonds, two other parties had arisen within the Church party, one of which was called the Higher, the other the Lower party. The principal men and leaders of the Higher party were as follows: Lord Azzo de Manfredi; Lord Anthony de Roberti and Thomasino, his son; Lord Matthew de Fogliani; Lord Jacopino de Rodelia; and Lord Guido de Tripoli with his allies. In the Lower party the principal men were Lord Rolandino de Canossa; Lord Francisco de Fogliani, and his brother, the provost of Carpineti; Lord Guido de Albareto and his son, Ezzelino, and another son, Lord Roland, abbot of Canossa; Scarabello; Manfredino de Guerzio; Lord Hugo, son of Conrad, and his son Conradin; Lord Jacopino de Panceri with his son Thomasino; Lord Bartholomew de Panceri with his son Zachariah; Lord William de Lupicini, abbot of St. Prosper, who made peace with the Boiardi and remained in his monastery; and Lord Garsendonio de Lupicini. This latter man acted treacherously by giving up his own party and turning to Matthew de Fogliani and contracting a marriage alliance with him, for he married his son Ugolino to Matthew's daughter. And he was joined by Lord Guido de Lupicini and many others, along with their allies.

In Parma there was this division: Lord Obizzo, bishop of Parma, was captain of one party. In the other party was his cousin (for they were the sons of two sisters and the nephews of Pope Innocent IV), Lord Hugo Rossi. The allies of Lord Hugo were the men of the Corigia family, and many others worthy of note. These parties arose out of pride and ambition and should be rejected and scorned

by all men of good sense, because the Apostle says, I Corinthians 1 [.10]: "Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you all speak the same thing, and that there be no schisms among you."

Yet the citizens of Reggio, feeling that they had not answered the Parmese ambassadors courteously did the following penance, which was not required of them. They chose some ambassadors and sent them to Parma, and the Parmese granted to them whatever they would ask. And the ambassadors made the Parmese swear on their souls that they would observe the following request: if either party in Reggio should maliciously expel the other, that the Parmese would always take the part of the exiled party; and they requested many other things which were intended to effectively preserve the peace. These ambassadors from Reggio were the following: Lord Rolandino de Canossa, Lord Guido of Tripoli, and Lord Peter de Albinea, a judge, who was their spokesman. And when these ambassadors were in their quarters in Borgo Santa Cristina, they heard of Asdente, the Parmese prophet, and so they sent for him to inquire about their situation. And they made him swear on his soul not to withhold a single word about the future preordained by God. And he answered that if they would keep the peace among themselves until Christmas, they would escape the wrath of God, but if not, they would drink "the cup" of God's "wrath" [Isaiah 51.17] like the Modenese. And they responded that they would indeed keep the peace, for they planned to contract marriages between the two parties to preserve peace and friendship. But Asdente answered that all these things were being done fraudulently and poisonously under the veil of peace. And so the ambassadors went back to Reggio, and the marriage contracts were broken off. And the citizens of Reggio concerned themselves more with making and stockpiling weapons than with preserving the peace, in fulfillment of Michael Scot's prognostication written in verse:

Also, the parties of Reggio will be at strife with one another.⁸²

The bond of friendship and love between certain Lombard cities.

In those days the following cities were bound together by a firm federation of friendship and the bonds of love: Piacenza, Parma, Cremona, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, Ferrara, and Brescia. For all of these were cities of the Church party. In Mantua, however, the Imperial party was still in power, because that city was ruled by Lord Pinamonte. Troubled by the terrible events that had befallen Modena, therefore, all of these cities chose official ambassadors and sent them to Reggio for a council devoted to bringing peace to Modena once again if possible. Yet although they labored over this for many days, they could effect nothing. And Modena had sent ambassadors there from both parties, the one within the city and the exiles. But the ambassadors from the other cities decreed that no counsel, aid, or favor was to be given to either one of these Modenese parties unilaterally. And there were a number of reasons for this, for they could not agree with either party without harming the chances for peace, and since both were

Church parties, they could not offend either one without offending their own people, since all of the cities were of the Church party. Moreover, they were seeking to discourage Reggio (as well as any other city) from expecting assistance from any of the cities if it were to act as foolishly as Modena had. Then seeing themselves abandoned "in the hand of" their "own counsel" [Ecclesiasticus 15.14] by all the friends in whom they had faith, the Modenese sent to Florence and other cities of Tuscany for soldiers, so that one party might overwhelm the other. That is the way things stand today on the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.⁸³ No one knows what the end will be. Yet "if life accompany" [IV Kings 4.16], we will be able to see the end.

The city of Reggio fires its podestà, Lord Tobia de Rangone of Modena, and makes the captain podestà.

The citizens of Reggio fired their podestà, Lord Tobia de Rangone of Modena, and allowed him to return to his city of Modena; his salary was honorably and properly paid. There were three reasons, however, for this firing: the man was a novice in such an office, for he had never been a podestà before; he reacted harshly and unjustly against some citizens; and he laid heavy fines on men and imprisoned them for the slightest fault. All of this, of course, displeased the citizens of Reggio. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.16]: "A prince void of prudence shall oppress many by calumny: but he that hateth covetousness, shall prolong his days." The second reason was that he had an impediment of speech which caused people to laugh at him. For in a council meeting when he would intend to say, "You have heard the proposal," he would say instead, "You have heard the prosopal."⁸⁴ And so everybody made fun of him because of his impediment of speech. Yet the people who elect such useless men to office are the ones who should be laughed at. For an action of this kind simply shows that birds of a feather flock together, and that they are ruled more by selfishness than by the good of the community. Thus the Wise Man says about such men, Proverbs 29 [.8]: "Corrupt men bring a city to ruin: but wise men turn away wrath." And he says the same about evil rulers [.2]: "When the wicked shall bear rule, the people shall mourn," and Ecclesiastes 10 [.5-6]: "There is an evil that I have seen under the sun, as it were by an error proceeding from the face of the prince: A fool set in high dignity, and the rich sitting beneath." The third reason was that he sought with all his might to bring about division in Reggio, seeking to get the men of Reggio to side with the city party of his own city of Modena. Therefore, after proper deliberation the citizens of Reggio deposed him and sent him back to his own people. And so the word of the Scripture was fulfilled, Isaiah 32 [.5-6]: "The fool shall no more be called prince: neither shall the deceitful be called great: For the fool will speak foolish things, and his heart will work iniquity, to practise hypocrisy." Then the citizens chose their captain as podestà, providing the proper salary increment, because he was a wise and energetic man; and, it is believed, Reggio was saved by his integrity and ability. The words of Isaiah 32 [.8] are

appropriate for this man: "But the prince will devise such things as are worthy of a prince, and he shall stand above the rulers." This podestà was born in the city called Castello.

Asdente the Parmese prophet, whom the bishop of Parma and many others consulted about future events.

In those days, Lord Obizzo, bishop of Parma, invited the Parmese prophet called Asdente to dinner, and diligently questioned him about future events. And Asdente predicted the following things before a large audience: the great tribulations that Parma and Reggio would soon suffer and the death of Pope Martin IV—and to both the events he set specific dates, which I will not give at this time. He also predicted that three Popes—one legitimate and two not—would succeed Martin, and contend with one another. Moreover, he predicted the destruction of Modena before that event took place. This man is a prophet only in the sense that he has the gift of illumination through which he understands the writings of Merlin, the Sibyl, Joachim, and all others who have predicted the future. He is a courteous man; he is humble and friendly without pride or vainglory. And he does not speak in absolutes, but rather in this manner, "It seems to me," and "This is the way I understand this writing." And if someone omits a passage when reading in his presence, he perceives it immediately and says, "You are deceiving me; you have left something out." People came from all parts of the world to ask him questions. As long as three months ahead of time, he predicted Pisa's misfortune, for a certain man from Pisa took care to come to Parma to question him after the second battle with Genoa. Pisa and Genoa clashed on the seas three different times, once in 1283 and twice in 1284. In the first two battles some six thousand Pisans are reckoned among the dead and captured. Among these was Count Fazio, who was carried off to a Genoese prison, and many others worthy of record. During one of those fierce battles at sea, a man from Genoa, who was loaded down with pieces of silver boarded a Pisan ship, and as he was crossing again to his own ship, burdened as he was with armor and silver, he missed his step, fell, and sank "to the bottom like a stone" [Exodus 15.5] with all that silver and armor, and perhaps with his many sins. I learned all these things from the lector at Ravenna, who was a Genoan and who had lately come from Genoa.

It is a notable fact that the Pisans were captured by the Genoese in the same place, the same day and month, in which they themselves had captured the prelates in the time of Pope Gregory IX.

It is a notable fact to consider that the Pisans were captured by the Genoese in the same place, the same day and month, in which they themselves had captured the prelates in the time of Pope Gregory IX of good memory. Thus the words of the Lord in Zachariah 2 [.8] may be seen to be true: "For he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye," and Job 24 [.12]: "Out of the cities they have made men to groan, and the soul of the wounded hath cried out, and God doth

not suffer it to pass unrevenged," and Isaiah 47 [.3]: "I will take vengeance, and no man shall resist me." Why? because [Deuteronomy 32.35]: "Revenge is mine, and I will repay." [Ps. 93.1]: "The Lord is the God to whom revenge belongeth: the God of revenge hath acted freely."

The old saying of the Parmese that the thirtieth year is an appropriate time for vengeance, a saying which was made manifest in St. Brice after the death of St. Martin.

And note that the Parmese, my people, are accustomed to say that the thirtieth year is an appropriate time for vengeance. And this saying is a true one, as is made clear by the example of St. Brice. For in the thirtieth year of his episcopate he suffered a harsh penalty and afterward many afflictions in revenge for St. Martin, whom he had greatly persecuted. Read the legend of St. Brice, and you will see the truth of my words.⁸⁵

The fierce sea battle between the Pisans and Genoese in this year.

In the year of the Lord 1284, the Pisans seeing all the evil inflicted on them by the Genoese and wishing to avenge themselves, built a large number of ships, galleys, and sea vessels on the river Arno, and then enacted a law that everybody between twenty and sixty years of age was required to go to war. And they sailed along the whole of the Genoese coast, destroying, burning, killing, capturing, and pillaging. Moreover, they sailed along the entire coastline from Genoa into Provence by the maritime cities of Noli, Albenga, Savona, and Ventimiglia, seeking out the Genoese. The Genoese, in the meantime, enacted the statute that no one between the age of eighteen and seventy was exempt from war. And so they went to sea, seeking out the Pisans. Finally, the two fleets met between Capo Corso and Gorgona, and they tied their ships together in the usual fashion of a naval battle. And there was such great slaughter on both sides at that place that the heavens appeared to weep in sympathy. Huge numbers were killed on both sides and many ships were sunk. And just as the Pisans appeared to be victorious, a large number of Genoese ships arrived and rushed upon the already exhausted Pisans. And another fierce battle was fought. Finally, seeing themselves overwhelmed, the Pisans surrendered. The Genoese then killed the wounded and imprisoned all the others. Yet neither side can boast of victory, for both sides suffered terribly. And so great was the weeping and crying in both Genoa and Pisa that the like was never heard "from the day of . . . creation" [Ezekiel 28.15] in either of those cities until the present day. Who without weeping and great sadness can recount or even think about how these two noble cities, from which all Italians have received so much good, have mutually destroyed one another out of pride, ambition, and vainglory because the one sought to conquer the other, as if the sea were not sufficient for the two of them.

One should never take vengeance, however good the case,
If it makes matters worse and ends in disgrace.⁸⁶

These things took place on a Sunday, August 13, the feast of the holy martyrs Hypolitus and Cassian. I have not recorded the number of killed and captured because the reports are so various. Yet the bishop of Pisa specified a number in a letter to the bishop of Bologna, his brother. I have not given this number either, because I am awaiting word from the Friars Minor of Genoa and Pisa who will give a more accurate number. And take note that this battle and this slaughter was forecast long before it took place. For in the village of San Ruffino in the bishopric of Parma, some women who were washing flax by night saw two large stars fighting with one another, and they drew apart many times and came back together in battle.

A sad narrative of the Pisan ladies sorrowing for their beloved.

Also in that year after the battle between the Pisans and the Genoans, many Pisan women—beautiful, noble, rich, and powerful ladies—went in groups of thirty and forty, walking on foot from Pisa to Genoa in order to inquire about and to visit the captives. For one had a husband there, another a son, brother, or other relative, men whom God [Psalms 105.46]: “gave unto mercies, in the sight of all those that had made them captives.” And when they asked the jailers about the captives, they were told, “Yesterday thirty men died and today forty, and we threw them in the sea. It is the same every day with the Pisans.” And when these ladies heard such things about their loved ones, and when they could not find them there, they fell prostrate out of their great fear and distress, and from pure anxiety and pain of heart they could scarcely breathe. Then on reviving they clawed their faces with their nails and tore their hair. And they wept aloud with great lamentation and “wept till they had no more tears” [I Kings 30.4]. Then the Scripture in I Machabees 1 [.27–28] was fulfilled: “The beauty of the women was changed. Every bridegroom took up lamentation: and the bride that sat in the marriage bed, mourned.” For needy and poor and hungry and wretched and distressed and sorrowful, the Pisans died in their prisons, because [Psalms 105.41–42]: “They that hated them had dominion over them. And their enemies afflicted them: and they were humbled under their hands,” and they were not [Acts 5.41] “accounted worthy” to be buried “in the sepulchres of” their “fathers” [I Machabees 2.70], but were denied burial altogether. Moreover, when these women returned home, they even found those whom they had left safe at home dead.

The plague that God sent on the Pisans.

For God struck the Pisans with a plague that year and large numbers died, according to the words of Amos 8 [.3]: “Many shall die: silence shall be cast in every place,” and Exodus 12 [.30]: “For there was not a house wherein there lay not one dead.” Then was fulfilled what was said through Amos, 5 [.3]: “The city, out of which came forth a thousand, there shall be left in it a hundred: and out of which there came a hundred, there shall be left in it ten,” and [.16–17]: “In every street there shall be wailing: and in all places that are without, they shall

say: Alas, alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful in lamentation to lament. And in all vineyards there shall be wailing." Why? Here is the reason, Lamentation 1 [.20]: "Abroad the sword destroyeth, and at home there is death alike." For the sword of the Lord's fury struck the Pisans because they had rebelled against the Church for a long time and, specifically, had captured at sea the prelates whom Pope Gregory IX, of good memory, had convoked to a council. Whence the Lord said, Leviticus 26 [.24-25]: "I will strike you seven times for your sins. And I will bring in upon you the sword that shall avenge my covenant," and Deuteronomy 32 [.25]: "Without the sword shall lay them waste, and terror within, both the young man and the virgin, the sucking child with the man in years," and [.42-43]: "My sword shall devour flesh, of the blood of the slain and of the captivity, of the bare head of the enemies. Praise his people, ye nations, for he will revenge the blood of his servants: and will render vengeance to their enemies, and he will be merciful to the land of his people."

A long time ago the Pisans went to besiege Genoa with ships and galleys and a contingent of the imperial fleet.

I lived in the convent of the Friars Minor at Pisa for four years, some forty years ago, and so, God knows, I have sympathy and compassion for Pisa and the Pisans. And while I was living there, Lord Bonaccorso de Palude was, by will of the Emperor, podestà of Pisa for three straight years. The Pisans also made him their admiral and put him in charge of the navy they sent to Genoa. For in addition to their old galleys, the Pisans built a hundred more for this expedition, and the Emperor sent five hundred more well-equipped galleys—which I myself saw sailing to Pisa—to assist the Pisans in the siege of Genoa. And when they were near the port of Genoa, the Pisans shot many arrows into the city which had silver, rather than iron heads, as a sign and a perpetual memorial of their pride and vainglory. Yet after a few days when the Pisans saw that at that time the Genoans would not come forth to battle, they returned home with great honor, burning and destroying all of the territories belonging to Genoa. And take note that just as there is a natural enmity between men and snakes, dogs and wolves, and horses and griffins, so is it between Pisa and Genoa, Pisa and Lucca, and Pisa and Florence. This enmity between Pisa and Genoa arises out of their ambition to control the seas. For "the mountains ascend," but "the plains" do not [Psalms 103.8]. Thus Seneca says: "Men would live very peacefully if the two pronouns *yours* and *mine* could be done away with."⁷⁸⁷

The enmity between the cities of Pisa, Lucca, Florence, and Genoa, and the causes.

Between Lucca and Pisa there is great hatred, discord, and malevolence, not only because these cities share the same boundary, but also because the Pisans captured ten castles in the mountains of the bishopric of Lucca and held them for a long time. The Pisans were excommunicated for this deed, but they refused

to give in for a long period of time. Moreover, there was also enmity between Florence and Pisa because the Pisans charged the Florentines such heavy tolls to use the ports of Pisa.

Therefore, when the citizens of Florence and Lucca, who had a firm alliance with one another, heard of Pisa's great misfortunes at the hands of the Genoese, they recognized that "the time served" them [I Machabees 12.1]. And so in December a little before Christmas of the abovementioned year they organized an army against the Pisans, among which also were citizens of Prato and Corneto. They planned, if possible, to overwhelm, destroy, and wipe from the face of the earth the remaining Pisans. When the Pisans heard this, they were greatly afraid, knowing that in them had been fulfilled the warning that the Lord had given the Jews, Deuteronomy 28 [.62]: "You shall remain few in number, who before were as the stars of heaven for multitude, because thou heardest not the voice of the Lord thy God." Then the Pisans in their terror gave themselves up wholly to prayers to God, saying, "As for us we have not strength enough, to be able to resist this multitude, which cometh violently upon us. But as we know not what to do, we can only turn our eyes to thee," II Paralipomenon 20 [.12]. Moreover, the Pisans said, "Our enemies are gathered against us and boast of their power. Destroy their strength, O Lord, and disperse them so that they may know that it is you, our God, who fights for us. 'Scatter them by thy power' and destroy them, 'O Lord,' our 'protector'" [Psalms 58.12]. And, further, "'The Gentiles' have 'assembled themselves together' [I Machabees 5.9] in multitude to fight against us and we do not know what we should do. Lord, our God, we turn our eyes to you; 'let us not perish' [Jonah 1.14]. 'Thou knowest what they intend against us. How shall we be able to stand before their face, unless thou, O God, help us?'"

Compelled by necessity, the Pisans beseech Pope Martin IV for protection.

After the Pisans had spoken in this way, the old saying "Divine help is necessary when human help fails"⁸⁸ was fulfilled. For the Pisans made the happy decision to send the keys of their city to Pope Martin requesting him to defend them against their enemies. And Pope Martin received them gladly and restrained the oncoming enemies. Thus the Scripture was fulfilled, Psalms [82.17]: "Fill their faces with shame; and they shall seek thy name, O Lord," and Isaiah 60 [.14]: "The children of them that afflict thee, shall come bowing down to thee, and all that slandered thee shall worship the steps of thy feet." We have recorded the facts as we heard them. This is the way things stand today; the end is uncertain. Those who remain will be able to see. "The whole world" is disturbed and "seated in wickedness" [I John 5.19]. And we are now at the end of the year 1284.

The Emperor Frederick who was said to be still alive in Germany, which rumor many people believed and sent messengers to him.

Also in that same year rumors went abroad that Frederick II, the former Emperor, was still alive in Germany, and that he had a huge German army whose expenses he paid with a lavish hand. These rumors were given such credence that many Lombard cities sent special messengers to find out the truth of the matter. Even the Marquis of Este sent a special messenger. Also, some Joachites believed that it was possible because of the Sibyl's words: "She," that is to say, the French hen [*Gallicana gallina*], "shall close his eyes in a hidden death, and he shall survive. The words will sound among the peoples: 'He lives' and 'He lives not,' with one of his chicks and one of the chicks of his chicks surviving him."⁸⁹ Merlin also says of him, "For twice fifty he will be treated leniently,"⁹⁰ a passage which the Joachites explained in this way, "twice fifty makes a hundred," as if saying that he would live to be a hundred.⁹¹ But there was nothing to these rumors. For it was later discovered that the man was an imposter or cheat who pretended such things in order to gain money, and now both he and his followers have been brought to nothing.

The Tartar king's son who killed his uncle because he allied himself with the Saracens.

Other rumors were abroad in that same year. For certain faithful reporters who have lately returned from abroad—the Friars Minor and the Preachers—say that a great novelty has taken place between the Tartars and the Saracens. They say that the son of the late king of the Tartars rose up in battle against his uncle, who was ruling and who was an ally of the Saracens, and killed him, along with a huge number of Saracens.⁹² Moreover, he commanded the sultan of Babylon to flee into Egypt; else he would kill him, if he fell into his hands, when he came to that land, to which he was now hastening. For he proposes, according to report, to be in Jerusalem on Holy Saturday, and if he sees the fire descending from heaven, as the Christians assert, he promises to kill all the Agarites he can find. For before he and his Georgian and Christian allies went into that battle in which he killed his uncle, he had coins minted with an image of the sepulchre on one side and on the other the words, "In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." He also had his standards and arms imprinted with the sign of the cross, and in the name of the Crucified, he slaughtered the Saracens and all those Tartars who opposed his cause. When they heard such reports, the sultan of Babylon and his subjects, and Agarites, who were hastening to the aid of the Turks, fled back home in a hurry, lest they should perish fighting with the Christians. Explicit.

The battle between the two Modenese parties.

Also, on Tuesday, September 19, the Modenese who were in control of the city met once again in battle at Montale the Modenese exiles who were living in Sassuolo. The battle was fierce, and there was great slaughter. Yet the exiled

Modenese were again victorious, as in the first battle at the beginning of the war, which took place on a Monday. And in these two battles there were some five hundred among the killed and captured. They fell in battle, and by "the edge of the sword" [IV Kings 10.25]; some were killed and some were led off to prison in chains.

The astrologer of Modena and the derision of the exiled Modenese at the expense of their fellow citizens.

At that time the Modenese of the city had a certain Brescian who called himself an astrologer and divine. And every day they gave him ten large silver pieces and every night three large Genoese candles of the purest wax. This man promised the Modenese by way of prophecy that if they would meet their enemy on the third, they would win the victory. But the Modenese retorted, "We will fight our enemies on neither a Monday nor a Tuesday, for on both those days they overwhelmed us. Choose another day of battle for us, and we give you to know that if this time we do not win according to your promise, we will pull out that last eye that remains in your head." For he was a one-eyed man, and he was also, as the outcome demonstrated, an imposter and cheater. Yet afraid that his lies would be found out, he packed all his money and goods and went his way without saying goodbye. Then the Modenese exiles began to make fun of the Modenese as men who [Deuteronomy 32.17]: "sacrificed to devils and not to God: to gods whom they knew not." Thus it is that Jeremiah says, 17 [.5]: "Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord," and thus the Lord said, Leviticus 19 [.31]: "Go not aside after wizards, neither ask any thing of soothsayers, to be defiled by them." On the same subject, see the verse above in that same chapter [.26]: "You shall not divine nor observe dreams."

The Parmese send twelve ambassadors to Modena who seek to bring about peace without success, because the Modenese will not listen.

Hearing all the evil that had befallen the Modenese, the Parmese, attempting to bring about peace, sent twelve ambassadors to them. But these men labored in vain, for "they gave no credit to them nor" heard them [I Machabees 10.46]. Whence the Lord said through Jeremiah, 15 [.12-14]: "Shall iron be allied with the iron from the north, and the brass? Thy riches and thy treasures I will give unto spoil for nothing, because of all thy sins, even in all thy borders. And I will bring thy enemies out of a land, which thou knowest not: for a fire is kindled in my rage, it shall burn upon you."

The verses which Merlin wrote as a warning to certain Italian cities.

These things took place so that the words of Merlin, the English magician, might be fulfilled. For Merlin wrote some verses in which future events are fully and accurately predicted about the cities of Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and the

Marches. And I believe they are worthy to be included here. Here is the beginning:⁹³

Venient in mundo et duo erunt sine fine utendo,
gravia cum dura multa sunt inde futura.

In Lombardia tunc errabit phylosophia.
superbia regnabit, cum ventis tota volabit.

Ipsa Toscana dicetur a gentibus vana,
peregrinando ibit, diffusa peccando peribit.

Romandiola sub iugo teneatur a stola,
que in perpensum tallionem reddit immensum.

Marchia Anchontana sub Ecclesia stabit Romana,
que semper lanam evellet sibi cotidianam.

Apulia vero tota erit plena veneno.
Multi morientur, et reges pro auro delentur.

Marchia delusa plorabit in sanguine fusa
et diu plorabit, sub dura potestate durabit.

Francia durabit et pluribus preponderabit,
et cum defecerit, effusio sanguinis erit.

Alamannia imperabit, zizaniam mundi fugabit,
qui retinet gentes imperium non diligentes.

Provincia sola diu stabit sub arida stola,
que relevata dicetur et accumulata.

Ab Hispanianis multus erit sanguis in terra diffusus,
Lombardos natos volens sibi fore ligatos.

Ecclesia plorabit, cum superbia tanta regnabit,
et non providebit, en dura servitute manebit.

Florentia florebit, in mundo tota lucebit,
lilium depictum in campis erit a Senis devictum.
Sed Convalescet, lilii cum victoria crescet.
Inepte peccando semper vivet dissimulando.

Mediolanum sibi turrim firmabit in vanum.
Aquila videbit, turrim ipsam totam delebit,
adducet gentes de longe supervenientes,
que dabunt duram delinquentibus in vano iacturam.

Parma petietur, multo langore repletur,

in malum recidet, quam medicus sanare non valet,
sed relevatur, unguento corone sanatur.
Quod erit antiquum, per exemplum patet iniquum.

Mutina perversa tota erit in fine demersa,
volens dominari, potentioribus equiparari.

Regium, regina civitas, erit ipsa supina
et non providebit, in dissensione multa manebit.

In ipsa Cremona sibi nidum acquirat corona,
et tamdiu stabit, ut aquila ipsa volabit,
pace decepta a sponso accepta,
et renpensata Lombardia erit cremata.

Feraria testatur quod mala subire paratur
propter peccata que diu erunt in ea patrata.
In servitute stabit, donec peccare cessabit,
et eiciet illum qui peccatum committit indignum.

Mantua pugnabit, in fine terga Verone dabit,
fugabit serpentes eam sub cauda tenentes.

Bononia regnabit, cum integra longe durabit,
eiciet unam ad mane partem ituram,
in brevi veniendo per intrinsecam eiciendo,
que non revertetur, donec tota sordicus ipsa lavetur.

Faventia oppressa multotiens erit obsessa.
Indicat scriptura quod mala sunt in ea futura.
Et tamen favet quod in ea pars Bononie cadet,
que dabit dorsum, semper eundo deorsum.

Gravia quam plura sustinebit Ymola dura,
que renpensata cito erit a langore sanata.

The poem which John Malvizio made in order to recall Modena from evil and to provoke Reggio to good.

In the same year, moreover, there was a certain citizen of Reggio, a notary, whose name was John Malvizio, a name which means "having one evil vice." And wishing to counsel his fellow citizens to avoid the foolish error of the Modenese, this man wrote the following poem:

O Modena, what do you expect when you seek trouble with yourself?
You're hurting only yourself; do you wish to suffer evil? you are suffering it.
You're persecuting yourself like one who suffers from despair.

Madly you strike your own self, you are perishing deservedly.
 O Criminal, why do you betray, destroy, burn, hate yourself?
 Why do you rip your own guts out like this?
 In this poem and elsewhere you can be written off as dead.
 O people at enmity with yourself, O Modena, spare yourself!
 Take a look at your buildings; you are falling by war and by fire.
 All of your people, knights and infantry, are all sorrowful.
 O Modena, come to your senses, in your great troubles
 And don't allow yourself to perish with your offspring.⁹⁴

Note that the sense of the poem is contained in Solomon's words, Proverbs 24 [.30-32]: "I passed by the field of the slothful man, and by the vineyard of the foolish man: And behold it was all filled with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall was broken down. Which when I had seen, I laid it up in my heart, and by the example I received instruction," and also in the following verses:

Happy is the man who takes warning by others' misfortunes,
 For your things are safe while your neighbor's house burns.⁹⁵

William, Marquis of Monferrato marries his daughter to the son of the late Palaeologus.

Also in that same year William, Marquis of Monferrato, married his daughter to the son of the late Palaeologus, who was ruling in Constantinople over the Greeks. And with his daughter he gave the kingdom of Thessalonica in dowry. This kingdom had belonged to the house of Monferrato since ancient times, that is, since the time of the great Emperor, Frederick I, for at that time Manuhel, Emperor of Constantinople, sent a message to the Marquis of Monferrato asking him to dispatch one of his sons to marry his daughter. And it was so done. And the Emperor gave him his daughter Kyramaria and the kingdom of Thessalonica. Thus it was that Thessalonica came into the possession of the house of Monferrato. Therefore, since the kingdom was no good to him in any case because of the power of the Greeks, the Marquis of Monferrato gave it in dowry with his daughter, whom he married to the son of Palaeologus in the year of the Lord 1284. But the son of Palaeologus gave many thousands of besants to his father-in-law. Moreover, he promised his father-in-law that for the whole time of his life he would keep in Lombardy a force of five hundred mercenary soldiers at his own expense.

The Marquis of Monferrato captures Tortona and kills the bishop.

But as a result of such help, the Marquis grew adventurous and captured Tortona, and killed and imprisoned many men, both citizens and foreign mercenaries. Now, the bishop of this place was a native of the city. And the Marquis said to him, "Tell me, Lord bishop, are the citizens of Tortona ruled by you; are they your servants?" The bishop answered, "No, my lord." Then the Marquis said,

"Why, then, does it displease you that they want to surrender to me?" And the bishop answered, "Because I have been placed over them as pastor, corrector, and guardian, and you are fighting against the Church." Then the Marquis said, "My Lord bishop, if you want to be my friend, I will be yours. Otherwise, I shall 'pour out my indignation upon' you [Ezekiel 20.13, 21]. Therefore, I am going to send my forces with three captains to your castles, and you are to go with them. You are to treat with your guardians in such a way that they surrender those castles to me." And the bishop said, "My lord, I will do my best to see that the castles are surrendered to you." Thus when they arrived at the castles, the bishop called the guards and besought them to deliver the castles to the Marquis. The guards, however, answered as with one voice in the hearing of the captains, "My Lord bishop, may it be known to you that we perform our duties for the honor of the Holy Roman Church, and we will not surrender to a man who continually fights against the Church party, not even to you while you are in enemy hands." And all of them replied in the same way. And when the captains heard this, they led the bishop away. As they were returning, they put the bishop to one side and spoke with one another about killing him. But guessing what they were about, the bishop said to them, "Behold I am in your hands: do with me what is good and right in your eyes: But know ye, and understand, that if you put me to death, you will shed innocent blood against your own selves, and against this city, and the inhabitants thereof,' Jeremiah 26" [.14-15]. Then speaking to one of the captains who was a relative of his, the bishop added, "Remember, you were once under my rule, and I could have done you great harm 'but my eye hath spared thee'" [I Kings 24.11]. And when he heard this, that man went wild with fury and struck the bishop with a javelin or spear and pierced his body, saying, "I will never again be under your rule." And with his sword the second captain struck the bishop a vicious blow on the the head. Then the third captain seriously wounded him in the arm. And so the bishop fell down and died, pierced by the sword of the impious. The lament that David made weeping over the dead Abner is fitting for this bishop, II Kings 3 [.33-34]: "Not as cowards are wont to die, hath Abner died. Thy hands were not bound, nor thy feet laden with fetters: but as men fall before the children of iniquity, so didst thou fall."

The Marquis honored the bishop in death by serving as his pall bearer, seeking to show that it was not his will for the bishop to be killed.

When the Marquis heard that the bishop was dead, he sent for his body, gathered together all the clerks and men in religious Orders in Tortona, and gave him an honorable funeral. And also in order to honor the bishop, he himself served as pall bearer, to show that it was not by his will that the bishop had been killed. But the guards of the bishop's castles still diligently performed their duty and did not allow the Marquis to take control. The Marquis continued to live in Tortona, and he gathered an army together, thinking at an opportune time to attack the Milanese. When they heard of this, the mercenary knights at Sassuolo came

to the Marquis. Appropriate for this Marquis are the words that Elijah said by God's command to Ahab, king of Israel, who had killed Naboth to get his vineyard, III Kings 21 [.19]: "Thou hast slain, moreover also thou hast taken possession," but another version reads: "Thou hast slain; thou shalt never inherit." Certainly not, for this passage follows immediately, "In this place, wherein the dogs have licked the blood of Naboth, they shall lick thy blood also." Why? "Because no man shall prevail by his own strength," as recorded in I Kings 2 [.9]. Whence the Wise Man in Proverbs says, 12 [.3]: "Men shall not be strengthened by wickedness." This passage was made manifest in Ptolemy, king of Egypt. For wishing to rule two kingdoms, he had his son-in-law deposed, but only three days after his son-in-law's death he himself died, I Machabees 11. Thus Ecclesiasticus 10 [.11] says: "All power is of short life." This is the way things are today, the end of which is unclear. Those who remain will be able to see.

The Modenese of the city party do damage to the Parmese by carrying off their merchandise: wagons, salt, and oxen.

Also in this year the Parmese were transporting salt from Cervia in Romagna in a large number of wagons, and the Modenese of the city party rushed upon the caravan at Bazzano and, out of their hatred for the Parmese, carried off the wagons, salt, and oxen. They did this because it seemed to them that before the war between them and their fellow citizens had begun which led to the destruction of their city, they could easily have settled all the difficulties. And they blamed their inability to do so especially on lord Matthew de Corigia and Lord Guido, his brother, who succeeded Lord Jacopo de Enzola, who died before his term as podestà was completed. They did it also because the Parmese were avoiding the use of the public road, where they would have had to pay a toll. Also, they did it out of their hatred for the Modenese of Sassuolo, because these men had promised the Parmese to give them protection on the southern route without payment of a toll. And they would have provided this protection if the messenger had gone to them when the caravan of salt arrived at Bazzano, but in his foolishness he entered the city of Modena instead, going to enemies rather than friends. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs, 26 [.6]: "He that sendeth words by a foolish messenger, is lame of feet and drinketh iniquity."

Then angry at this attack, the Parmese sent the following message to the Modenese: "You have committed a grave error in offending the Parmese, your ancient friends. You are, moreover, very foolish to make enemies gratis by injuring and provoking the Parmese, because you already have enough on your hands in your war with your fellow citizens of Sassuolo. Therefore, the purpose of this message is to inquire whether you intend to make amends and satisfaction for the injury you have done us. Let us be clear about this matter: whatever your decision, we will make the appropriate response. It is up to you to make the choice." But the Modenese simply refused to take heed. When the Modenese of Sassuolo heard this, they rejoiced—not, of course, at the injury done the Parmese, but

because they hoped to have the help of the Parmese against their enemies. Also learning of the matter, the Bolognese sent messengers to Parma saying that they were ready to lend their services in war against the Modenese; and they did this, both because of their hatred of the Modenese and because many of their own people had been in the Parmese caravan which the Modenese had attacked. But the Parmese did not acquiesce in the Bolognese request to take vengeance on the Modenese, both because it was the Christmas season, and because they remembered the ancient friendship which they once had with Modena. And so the Parmese paid eight hundred imperial pounds to the farmers to repay them for their wagons and oxen. But they absorbed the loss of the salt with equanimity.

〈. . .〉⁹⁶

. . . adultery will be committed and it will be known. He will destroy the glory of the Lombards and will demolish the forces of the eagle. He will raise his name up above all the princes of the earth, he will be feared by all men, and his name will be exalted. But in the foreordained time the eagle with a powerful beak and great wings will arise and hiss. Then he will gather the forces of the eagle into one group and will hiss, and afterward a great multitude will bring the kingdom of Sicily into question. And an eastern hen will be given to him with an o. and an a., which will hiss and tell the harm done to her chicks and the eagle. Then the eagle will come with his forces and a strong armed hand against the lion. Then there will be a great destruction and bloody slaughter, such as has not been till now since the beginning of the world and the time of the giants. Then the lion will fight with his band, and then avarice will be laid bare, and then the flower will totally wither, and then the ox will lay aside his horns and will be killed. Philosophy and the tower will be destroyed. Then the lion will be bound, and the spouse will not help, but will flee into exile, and the lion will not be found. He will again regain his power and fight with all his might, and will be killed. Then death will be powerful unto eternity. Then the wife will commit adultery, and she will have two husbands and one adulterer. Rome will be destroyed, and the name of God will be blasphemed. The eagle will hiss and will not be resisted. The party of the flower will be annihilated, and nothing will be able to resist, if not the God of gods. The tail will be cut off, and the eagles will have a bridle.

The regal griffin, born in France, strong, terrible, and powerful, will come to the East. His color will turn black, and although his tail will be broken off, it will follow him incredibly, and crossing with the Lombards, it will be united to the griffin. The animals and birds on all sides will be afraid. The griffin will precede them all to Rome, who waits to crown him. Once the viper is found, the griffin will hiss with the right meaning. The viper will be left in the caverns by two arms and the griffin will make war with a great multitude. Then the extremely long viper will receive a wound and will be slaughtered, and the griffin will remain in the viper's caverns. Yet the griffin will not rule over the animals and birds in

full breadth. The falcons will throw down their feathers before him, and the griffin will return to the flower and will surround two cities. Everywhere the Imperial party will be denuded. And woe to you, O city of riches, and to you, O ornate people! Siena will not rejoice, save in future hope. Then let the spouse rejoice and the pillars of the Church, because their joys will not be multiplied for long. The diabolic party which will be called the Church party will rejoice, and will be denuded from that other one and will destroy churches. You are hearing many things which are contained in the books of the prophets. A certain animal of diverse color and nature will arise, which will be called a leopard, and it will be born of the eagle of the north. It will be red in color, with the wings of an eagle, the beak of a pelican, the eyes of that bird which declares the health of a sick man,⁹⁷ the tail of a lion, and the heart and strength of a lion. It will have a gold sign on its head, wishing to conquer all men. The meaning and metaphor of this beast is extremely subtle. When it hears about the griffin it will come to oppose him and will cross the Appenine mountains, and then those who have been denuded will rejoice. Then Imperial joy will be renewed, and the leopard will join with the griffin. And although the leopard is small, it is large in strength, and it will defeat the griffin and put him to flight. The griffin will cry out for help from the spouse. Again in the fields they will take counsel to bind the griffin. Now it will be conquered. But the honorable and powerful leopard, resuming the custom of its predecessors, will raise up Arfexas and will devour him limb by limb. O Sorrow. O Lamentation. O the fortune that has befallen another which they will then suffer. And again, woe to those who love the griffin. The powers will flourish and drink from this. The lily will be deflowered, and the eagles will shine again. The flower of nature will be destroyed. O people of Lombardy, by the power of the griffin, woe to you of the tower! Your joy will not last long. The scholars' nest will be diminished. The leopard will reign for a long time, but peace will be proclaimed in that time, and will last a short time. Explicit.

The writings of prophets and seers are difficult to understand, as two examples make clear:

Scripture and the gate of St. Sophia.

See also below folio 466.

The predictions given above (which are the Sibyl's or someone else's) may be understood according to one's own fancy, for in Santa Sophia in Constantinople there is a column and a gate sculptured with historical figures which cannot be understood until they are fulfilled. It is written of wisdom that "She knoweth things past, and judgeth of things to come," Wisdom 8 [.8]. Also in Hebrews 4 [.13] the Apostle writes of divine wisdom that "All things are naked and open to his eyes." About us, however, it is written, Wisdom 9 [.16-17]: "And hardly do we guess aright at things that are upon earth: and with labour do we find the things that are before us. But the things that are in heaven, who shall search out? And who shall know thy thought, except thou give wisdom, and send thy Holy Spirit from above?," and Ecclesiastes 8 [.17]: "I understood that man can find no reason

of all those works of God that are done under the sun: and the more he shall labour to seek, so much the less shall he find: yea, though the wise man shall say, that he knoweth it, he shall not be able to find it." An example may be seen in Gerard de Rosa of Parma, who made himself out to be an astrologer and a divine. Yet when the Parmese exiles of the Imperial party captured and entered Colorno on the feast of Holy Sunday, they asked Gerard if this venture would turn out very well for them. He answered that it would turn out very well because they had entered the city in the sign of Scorpio. And yet in a few days the Parmese of the Church party came, expelled all of them, killed some of them, and recovered Colorno. Thus Scorpio was not a fortunate sign for those who entered the city, for the Lord says, Isaiah 44 [.24-25]: "I am the Lord, that make all things, that alone stretch out the heavens, that establish the earth, and there is none with me. That make void the tokens of diviners, and make the soothsayers mad. That turn the wise backward, and that make their knowledge foolish."

The gluttony of modern people in contrast to the ancients.

Also in this year, on the feast of St. Clare,⁹⁸ I ate for the first time ravioli without the outside layer of pasta. And I say this in order to demonstrate the delicacy of human gluttony in contrast to the moderation of the ancients, who were satisfied with natural food. Ovid speaks of this in the first book of the *Metamorphoses*:

Content with food gathered by no labor,
Men gathered arboreal fruit, mountain strawberries
And cherries, and berries from thorny bushes.⁹⁹

The abundance of butterflies in this year. That vegetables [olus] get their name from "to nourish" [ab olendo] and that, specifically, cabbages are called vegetables.

Also in the summer of this year a huge number of butterflies flew through the gardens and laid their eggs on cabbage leaves, from which eventually caterpillars hatched out and destroyed the vegetables. Cabbages are specifically called vegetables: "Vegetables [olus] get their name from 'to nourish' [ab olendo], because in the beginning men were nourished by vegetables, before they ate fruit and flesh. For they were nourished with the fruits of trees and vegetables, just as the animals were with grass." These are the words of Isidore, *Etymologies* XII.¹

The earthquake, lightning, thunder, and flooding from the sea which occurred in this year in various parts of the world.

Also in this year there were great earthquakes in various parts of the world, as the Lord had predicted, Luke 21 [.11]: "And there shall be great earthquakes in divers places." Thus when Brother Roglerio, a Friar Minor of Lodi and the companion of the Visitor from the province of Bologna, was returning from the curia where he had stayed with a certain cardinal, he reached Cavrenno where

he was to be a guest. And the inhabitants there said to him, "Holy father, earthquakes are frequent in this place." And just as they said this, there was an earthquake. So Brother Roglerio said, "He looketh upon the earth, and maketh it tremble: he toucheth the mountains, and they smoke," [Psalms 103.32]. And again 'Earth trembled and was still,' etc. [Psalms 75.9], and [Psalms 59.4]: 'Thou hast moved the earth, and hast troubled it; heal thou the breaches thereof, for it has been moved.'" After he had said this, Roglerio looked out and saw a house with a straw roof, and so he said that he wanted to sleep there that night with the words, "Because if I sleep in another house, the tiles or the roof timbers may perhaps fall on me and kill me while I sleep." And so the women of that place carried their beds into the house with the straw roof, and the Brothers slept there safely. But when a certain old man observed that, he said to Brother Roglerio, "You should not have done that. For you ought to always be prepared to receive death, so that 'the dust return into its earth, from whence it was, and the spirit return to God, who gave it,' Ecclesiastes, last chapter [12.7]." But Brother Roglerio answered, "St. Jerome says that 'It is wise to fear whatever may happen.'² And Ecclesiasticus says, 18 [.27]: 'A wise man will fear in every thing,' and also the Wise man in Proverbs 28 [.14]: 'Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil,' and Ecclesiasticus 3 [.27]: 'A hard heart shall fear evil at the last: and he that loveth danger shall perish in it,' and Proverbs 11 [.15]: 'He that is aware of the snares, shall be secure.'" I heard all these things from the mouth of Brother Roglerio himself, the companion of Brother Benvenuto, Visitor for the province of Bologna.

Also in that year the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle³ was on a Thursday, and the following night near the hour of matins there was heavy lightning and thunder, which was unusual at that time of year. And Venice suffered from huge floods from the ocean, such as the ancients have never recorded clear back to the time of its origin, up to our own time, though it was founded upon the very water itself. Ships sank and many men were drowned, and all merchandise which was not stored on the upper floors of buildings was completely destroyed. Similar misfortunes occurred in Chioggia which is situated in district of the lagoon, where salt is produced. And Cardinal Bernard, legate, who was living in Bologna, said that these things befell Venice because he had excommunicated that city, which he had done, by the will of Pope Martin, because they would give no assistance against Peter of Aragon.

The eclipse of the sun and the moon, and the authorities on this subject.

Also in those two days, that is, Friday and Saturday, the prophecy of Zachariah 14 [.6] was fulfilled: "In that day, there shall be no light, but cold and frost," an event which frequently takes place near Christmas. Also, on the vigil of the nativity of the Lord, which fell on Sunday, as we were saying matins, the moon was totally eclipsed. Thus the Lord in Matthew 24 [.29]: "The sun shall be darkened," which will take place in the future, as some say. "And the moon shall not give

her light," which I have seen many times since I entered the Order of the Friars Minor. On this subject see Apocalypse 6 [.12]: "And I saw, when he had opened the sixth seal, and behold there was a great earthquake, and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair: and the whole moon became as blood," and Isaiah 13 [.10]: "The sun shall be darkened in his rising, and the moon shall not shine with her light," and Isaiah 50 [.3]: "I will clothe the heavens with darkness, and will make sackcloth their covering," and Amos 8 [.9]: "The sun shall go down at midday, and I will make the earth dark in the day of light," and Ezechiel 32 [.7]: "I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light," and Joel 2 [.31]: "The sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood: before the great and dreadful day of the Lord doth come," and Joel 3 [.15-16]: "The sun and the moon are darkened, and the stars have withdrawn their shining. And the Lord shall roar out of Sion, and utter his voice from Jerusalem." I have given all these citations because sometimes there is an eclipse of the sun, sometimes of the moon, and sometimes an earthquake, and those who have to preach, without warning, on this subject may have material prepared on this subject and thereby avoid confusion.

I remember that when I was living in the convent at Pisa, forty years and more ago, there was an earthquake the day after Christmas, that is, the evening of St. Stephen's day. And Brother Claro of Florence, a Friar Minor, who was one of the great clerks of the world, preached to the people twice in the cathedral. His first sermon was pleasing, the second was not, and this was because he preached both times on the same text. And on his part the second sermon was really fine, since he did not repeat himself, but the "multitude" is "accursed" and simple-minded, "that know not the Law" [John 7.49] and thought that he had preached the same sermon because the text was the same. And so he was condemned for the very thing which should have given him honor. His text was this, Haggeus 2 [.7-8]: "Yet one little while, and I will move the heaven and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land. And I will move all nations: and the desired of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory: saith the Lord of hosts." Thus it is that the wise man says in Proverbs 23 [.9] "Speak not in the ears of fools: because they will despise the instruction of thy speech," and Ecclesiastes 9 [.17]: "The words of the wise are heard in silence, more than the cry of a prince among fools." Take note that earthquakes frequently take place in the mountains, for the wind is closed up in the caves there, and since there is no air hole through which it can escape it shakes and disturbs the earth. Whence earthquakes. This may be made clear by the example of the chestnut, which, tossed whole into a fire, is thrust out violently with great force to the fear of those who are sitting around the fire.

Also, in that same year of 1284 on Christmas and on the feast of St. Stephen, night and day, a heavy snow fell and weighted down the fruit trees, such as almonds and pomegranates, so heavily that they bent down to the ground and broke. And it was extremely cold and icy, so that the Scripture might be fulfilled, Ecclesiasticus

43 [.21-2]: "He shall pour frost as salt upon the earth: and when it freezeth, it shall become like the tops of thistles. The cold north wind bloweth and the water is congealed into crystals."

Cardinal Jacopo Colonna sends for Brother John of Parma whom he wanted to see because he was his very close friend.

Also, in that same year Lord Jacopo Colonna, cardinal and nephew of Pope Nicholas III, sent for Brother John of Parma, the former Minister General, who was living voluntarily and contentedly in the hermitage at Greccio, where St. Francis had once constructed the images of the manger and the Christ child. For Cardinal Jacopo wanted to see him and talk with him face to face, since he was his very close friend. And they rejoiced at seeing one another again, and they conversed with one another about holy things. For they were both like the man that the wise man describes in Proverbs 18 [.24]: "A man amiable in society, shall be more friendly than a brother."

About good and bad friends.

Such friends are difficult to find, as Ecclesiasticus says 13 [.32]: "The token of a good heart, and a good countenance thou shalt hardly find, and with labour." Thus the Lord said, Amos 3 [.3]: "Shall two walk together except they be agreed?" Certainly not, for Ecclesiasticus says 13 [.22]: "What fellowship hath a holy man with a dog?" Thus Ecclesiasticus teaches, 6 [.6-7]: "Be in peace with many, but let one of a thousand be thy counsellor. If thou wouldst get a friend, try him before thou takest him, and do not credit him easily," and below [.14-15]: "A faithful friend is a strong defence: and he that hath found him, hath found a treasure. Nothing can be compared to a faithful friend, and no weight of gold and silver is able to countervail the goodness of his fidelity," and Ecclesiasticus 25 [.12]: "Blessed is he that findeth a true friend." Why? because the Wise Man says in Proverbs 17 [.17]: "He that is a friend loveth at all times: and a brother is proved in distress." But the philosopher says, "In prosperity it is difficult to test a friend; in adversity, it is easy."⁴ Why? because Ecclesiasticus says, 12 [.8]: "A friend shall not be known in prosperity, and an enemy shall not be hidden in adversity," and below [.16-17]: "An enemy weepeth with his eyes . . . And if evils come upon thee, thou shalt find him there first." But enough has been said on this subject, because I may have handled it in another place. Now let us turn to other matters.

Brother John of Parma's companions at the time he was Minister General.

In this year also Brother Mark died. And he was the companion of Brother John of Parma when he was Minister General, and also the companion of many other Minister Generals, such as Brother Crescenzius and Brother Bonaventure. But since I spoke fully about Brother Mark above, I will keep silent here.

Brother John of Parma's second companion when he was Minister General was Brother Andrew of Bologna. And Brother Andrew was an honorable, good, friend-

ly, and down-to-earth man. He was very religious and devoted to God. He was learned in the art of letter-writing, and it was he who wrote the letters that St. Louis received in the Chapter at Sens when he was going on his first Crusade. This letter pleased him very much because of the generosity and courtesy of Brother John of Parma, the Minister General. Brother Andrew was also Minister of the province across the sea, that is of the Holy Land or the land of promise, a land highly praised by the Lord, as recorded in Ezechiel 20 in many places. Thus when reproaching the Jews, he says [Ezechiel 20.6]: "In that day I lifted up my hand for them, to bring them out of the land of Egypt, into a land which I had provided for them, flowing with milk and honey, which excelleth amongst all lands." And below in that chapter the same thing is repeated through its contrary, always in praise of that land [.15] "So I lifted up my hand over them in the desert, not to bring them into the land which I had given them flowing with milk and honey, the best of all lands." Therefore, let Frederick II, sometime Emperor, blush. For either jokingly or seriously, believing it to be the truth, he used to say in insult to God that He had not seen his kingdoms of Sicily, Calabria, or Apulia; else He would never have commended the promised land so highly. But the Psalm warns [74.6]: "Speak not iniquity against God." Brother Andrew ended his life laudably in peace as penitentiary in the papal court.

The third companion of Brother John of Parma was Brother Walter, an Englishman [*Anglicus*] and a truly angelic [*angelicus*] man. He was a good cantor, a good preacher, and a good letter writer. Slender and of just perfect height, he was a handsome man of a holy and honorable life. He was a learned man of good manners. He studied under Brother John of Parma before he became Minister General, while he was still lector at Naples. Brother Walter was also given a position in which he had to live at the papal court, but he worked as hard as he could to get himself transferred, "rather choosing to be afflicted with the people of God, than to have the pleasure of sin for a time, Esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasure of the Egyptians. For he looked unto the reward," Hebrews 11 [.25-6]. Thus the Wise Man says in Proverbs 16 [.19]: "It is better to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud." Yet I heard that Walter was later made bishop against his will; I'm not sure where. He was my friend. Take note, in fact, that all the companions of Brother John of Parma were intimate friends of mine.

Brother John of Parma's fourth companion was Brother Bonagiunta of Fabriano in the March of Ancona. A learned man, he was a good custodian, and a good cantor, preacher, and letter writer. He was a bald man of medium height, with a face like St. Paul's. When I was a young novitiate in the convent at Fano in 1238, he was living there with me. He was the first and last bishop of Recanti.

Brother John of Parma's fifth companion was Brother John of Ravenna. He was a large, fat, dark man, a good man of honorable life. I never saw a man who ate lasagna with as much gusto as he did. He was Guardian at Naples when John of Parma was lector there before becoming Minister General.

Brother John's sixth companion was Brother Anselm Rabuino of Asti in Lombardy. He was a large, dark man with the air of a prelate, a man of honorable and holy life. In secular life he had been a judge. He was Minister, first of Terra di Lavoro and later of the March of Treviso. He greatly loved Brother John of Parma, and sounding out the will of the Lombard Ministers and Custodians, he brought it about that Brother John was elected Minister General at Lyons. Brother Anselm was an acquaintance of the High Pontiff, Pope Innocent IV. When I was living in the convent at Pisa, Brother Anselm was Minister of Terra di Lavoro, and he wrote me asking me and my brother Guido de Adam to come and live with him in his province, but we were not allowed because the Pisan Brothers loved us.

Brother John's seventh companion was Brother Bartholomew Guiscolo of Parma. He was a great speaker and a great Joachite, a courteous and generous man. In secular life he was a master of grammar; in the Order a man of honest and holy life. He knew how to write, illuminate, and preach. But I have spoken of him sufficiently above.

Brother John's eighth companion was Brother Guidolino Gennaio of Parma. He was a learned man and a fine cantor. He sang extremely well in *cantu melodiato*, that is, harmony, and in plainsong he sang better than it was possible to discern, for his voice was very fragile. He was a good letter writer with a beautiful hand. And he was a good Corrector at table in the convent at Bologna. He knew his Bible extremely well, and he was a man of honest and holy life, so that the Brothers all loved him. He died in Bologna, and, buried there, he rests in peace in the convent of the Friars Minor.

Brother John's ninth companion was Brother Jacopino of Buceto. He was a man of honest and holy life, and he was a good preacher with a great voice. He was Guardian of the convent at Rimini.

Brother John's tenth companion was Brother Jacopo de Asandri of Mantua, a man of honest and holy life. He was especially learned in the decretals, and he was an excellent man of good counsel. He was once Minister in Slavonia, which is called Dalmatia.

Brother John's eleventh companion was Brother Drudo, Minister of Burgundy and lector in theology. With divine power, Brother Drudo would preach to the Brothers every day, as I heard with my own ears when I was in Burgundy with him. He was a noble, handsome man, a man of honest and most holy life, more than can be believed. For in a marvellous manner beyond human thought, he was devoted to God. Brother John of Parma took Drudo with him when Pope Innocent IV of good memory sent him to the Greeks to lead them back to unity of faith with the Roman Church.

Brother John's twelfth companion was Brother Bonaventure de Iseo, and he also accompanied Brother John on the mission to the Greeks. This Brother Bonaventure was an old man, both in the Order and in life. He was wise and industrious, a most sagacious man of honest and holy life. He was beloved of

Ezzelino da Romano. Yet he acted in an excessively lordly manner, despite the fact, as it was said, that he was the son of an inn-keeper. He was a Minister in the Order from the old days, for he had been Minister in Provence, in Genoa, in Bologna, and in the March of Treviso. He composed a large volume of sermons on the Church feasts and the hours. He had a laudable end. May his soul rest in peace.

And note that Brother John of Parma did not have all these companions at the same time when he was Minister General, but one after the other. For Brother John wanted to visit the entire Order, and since his companions could not bear up under such heavy labor, it was necessary for him to have a multitude of companions. These twelve companions had many good qualities, but I keep silent for the sake of brevity.

Brother Hugh of Digne and his sister, Lady Donolina, who was frequently raptured into ecstasy.

Now let us turn to Brother Hugh of Digne, who was Brother John's very close and great friend. He was one of the greatest clerks in the world and a great Joachite, a man of honest and most holy life, more than can be believed, as I saw with my own eyes. But since I spoke at length of him above, I will keep silent here. Brother Hugh died at Marseilles, when it was pleasing to God, after having accomplished many good works. He lies buried in a stone tomb in the church of the Friars Minor at Marseilles. God showed him illustrious by miracles. And near him in the stone vault lies his sister, Lady Donolina, whom God similarly honored with miracles. This lady never entered any religious order, but always remained in the world, chaste and holy. She chose the Son of God as husband, and the blessed Francis as special spiritual father, and she wore the cord of St. Francis in sign that she was bound by his love. She would remain in the Church of the Friars Minor almost the whole day in order to give herself up to prayer. And there was no one "that spoke an ill word of her" [Judith 8.8] or who attributed a single evil deed to her. For everybody revered her—both men and women, secular and religious—because of her great holiness. She had received from God the special grace of being raptured in ecstasy, in which state the Brothers saw her a thousand times in their church. And if they lifted up her arm, it remained in that position the whole day long from morning until evening, so totally absorbed was she in God. This became known throughout the city of Marseilles to all of the citizens. Eighty noble ladies of Marseilles—some of great importance, some average—followed this lady as disciples, that by her example they might save their souls, and she was their master and teacher.

A Bishop who was a Friar Minor and a holy man.

Now, since our pen is turned to Provence and to Marseilles, it behooves us to report an event which now comes to mind. For in Marseilles a boy was born on the feast of St. Benedict⁵ and was, therefore, christened Benedict. After he was weaned, he was set to learning his letters, and this was also on the feast of

St. Benedict. After he grew up and was learned, he entered the Order of the black monks, again on the feast of St. Benedict. In the process of time he was made sacristan, on the feast of St. Benedict, and then after many years as a result of his good life he was elected abbot, on the feast of St. Benedict. And so, thus gradually ascending, he was elected, on the feast of St. Benedict, bishop by the canons of Marseilles, in which office he performed laudably. Later, on the feast of St. Benedict, he entered the Order of the blessed Francis, in which he lived humbly and laudably for ten years. Finally, on the feast of St. Benedict, he ended his days. And he lies buried in a stone vault in the church of the Brothers in Marseilles. And God has shown him illustrious through miracles. This was a man of truly venerable life, blessed [*benedictus*] in grace and in name. To this man the Lord said what is recorded in Genesis 24 [.31]: "Come in, thou blessed of the Lord: why standest thou without? I have prepared the house, and a place." And no wonder, for the Lord had promised, John 14 [.2]: "I go to prepare a place for you." Thus Jeremiah says, Lamentations 2 [.17]: "The Lord hath done that which he purposed, he hath fulfilled his word," like the Psalm [88.35]: "Nor change the utterance of my lips." Also was fulfilled in this man the passage in Isaiah 65 [.16]: "He that is blessed upon the earth, shall be blessed in God, amen." Whence the passage in Deuteronomy 28 [.3]: "Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed in the field." This bishop was blessed because he began well and ended well. The Friars Minor of Marseilles received many good books from this man, because he wished rather "to be humbled with the meek, than to divide spoils with the proud," Proverbs 16 [.19]. Thus Ecclesiasticus 3 [.20] says: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shalt find grace before God," because [Psalms 83.12]: "The Lord will give grace and glory." Whence the passage in Job 22 [.29]: "For he that hath been humbled, shall be in glory."

Brother Roland of Pavia.

Now let us turn to Brother Roland of Pavia. He was a holy man, humble and very lowly. He was a priest and a preacher of great eloquence, with great merit before God. He was famous for many deeds among the Brothers who had known him, but one will suffice here. A man of secular life one evening went to the Guardian of the convent where Brother Roland was living and said to him, "Father, I recommend myself to God and to you, and I ask you to recommend me to the prayers of the Brothers, 'that we may be delivered from importunate and evil men,' II Thessalonians 3 [.2], because I have powerful and evil enemies. And it is said that this very night they are planning to enter my house by violence and kill me." And so the Guardian diligently recommended him to the Brothers, beseeching them by the love of God to perform some work of piety. And they did so with fervor. The next day, the secular returned and told the Guardian all that had happened to him that night. And he said:

Let the grace be Christ's, and the thanks given to a friend.⁶

Then he added, "May you know, reverend father, that last night my enemies sought 'my soul' [Psalms 39.15] and 'with swords and clubs' [Matthew 26.47, 55] entered my house in order to kill me, but there appeared a certain Friar Minor (whom I would recognize if I saw him) and put them to flight, like flies and gnats before a swat." When he heard this, the Guardian was amazed but joyous, and he said to the man, "Stay here by the door of the chapter meeting, and as the Brothers go out, whisper to me which one is the Brother you saw." Then the first bell for vespers rang. And as the second one rang, the Guardian asked the man of secular life, "Is it this one?" And he responded, "No." And he did the same as each of the Brothers passed by. When Brother Roland, to whom the man had never spoken, went out the door, however, he said to the Guardian, "This is the Brother through whose help and goodness God saved me last night." As a result the Minister General sent Brother Roland to the convent at La Verna as a favor and consolation. And he remained there in spiritual consolation as long as he wished.

This convent at La Verna is in the province of Tuscany in the bishopric of Arezzo in the mountains. And this is where the seraph appeared to St. Francis and gave him the stigmata in likeness of our Lord Jesus Christ. I travelled through this place once when I was returning from Assisi, where I had gone for the sake of devotion. And the sacristan there showed me a large piece of the Lord's cross which Brother Mansueto had received from the king of France of good memory, St. Louis, when he had served as Pope Alexander's messenger to him. And when I was in La Verna, I saw all the places of devotion that were there. And on Sunday I celebrated conventual Mass, and after the reading of the gospel I preached to the people gathered there, both men and women. After dinner I went to Santa Maria de Bagnoregio, and my companion, Brother Jacopino Savino of Piacenza, preached there. Then we went to Meldola, then to Forlì, then to Faenza, where we were living.

Brother Lothario, by whose benefit the convent of La Verna was kept and not left desolate, and the reverence of the Brothers there.

And take note that when I was at La Verna, Brother Lothario, who had long before been my Custodian in Pisa, was living there, an old and sick man. I believe that that convent would have been deserted, as he himself told me, if it had not been for his good works. I noted also how the Brothers there commemorate St. Francis, in matins always singing the antiphon, "*O martyr desiderio*," and in vespers, "*Celorum candor*" because these two antiphons contain references to the appearance of the seraphim; and always at the beginning of these antiphons the Brothers genuflect.

Brother Nicholas of Montefeltro.

Let us now turn to Brother Nicholas of Montefeltro, and speak briefly of him. This man was Minister for many years in Hungary and afterward in Slavonia and Dalmatia. Also, for many years, that is, until his death, he lived as a regular

friar in the convent at Bologna. He was the humblest of any man I have ever seen in the world. Thus the passage from Moses fits him perfectly, Numbers 12 [.3]: "For Moses was a man exceeding meek above all men that dwelt upon earth." He held himself as nothing and wished to be held as such. Thus he was a truly humble man, as St. Bernard says, "A truly humble man does not wish to be called humble but rather to be considered vile." For "The Lord is high," who "looketh on the low" [Psalms 137.6], just as Isaiah 66 [.2] says of him: "But to whom shall I have respect, but to him that is poor and little, and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my words?" Such, truly, was Brother Nicholas. He had such great humility that whenever anyone sought to do him honor, he fell prostrate on the ground and, if possible, kissed his feet. He held himself the vilest and lowliest of all men, believing himself truly to be so. When the bell rang for dinner, he was the first Brother to come to pour water for washing the hands of the Brothers. And when guests arrived he was the first to come forward to wash their feet. And if he appeared physically awkward in performing such services (since he was fat and aging), yet his love, humility, sanctity, courtesy, generosity, and alacrity made him skillful, pleasing, and acceptable. This man truly fulfilled what the Lord says, Luke 22 [.26]: "He that is the greater among you, let him become as the younger; and he that is the leader, as he that serveth." He was buried with honor in the church of the Friars Minor in Bologna. God performed no miracle through him after his death, for he asked God not to do so, just as that Brother, the most holy Giles of Perugia, did. For these two did not wish to be like the man described in Ecclesiasticus 48 [.15]: "In his life he did great wonders, and in death he wrought miracles."

Brother Giles, who lies in a stone tomb in the church of the Brothers, was the fourth Brother in the Order counting from St. Francis. His life has been written by Brother Leo, one of the three special companions of St. Francis.⁸

Three miracles God performed through Brother Nicholas.

During his life, however, Brother Nicholas did three miracles — or, rather, God through him — which are worth recounting. The first one occurred when the Guardian of a certain convent assigned a young clerk and subdeacon to cook in the absence of the regular cook. This young man humbly obeyed, but he accidentally dropped his breviary in a kettle of water so that it was soaked through and through. The book was completely ruined, and the young Brother wept with great sighs, saying that he was the more disturbed because the book was on loan to him. Brother Nicholas heard him, and, seeking to comfort him, said, "Son, weep no more, but lend me your book, for I need it a little in order to say my hours." And so going aside with the book, Brother Nicholas poured out prayers to God, and God restored the book to its original beauty without a mark on it. When the young Brother who had wept so bitterly over the loss of the book saw it restored, he was astonished and he blessed God with all his might.

The second miracle God performed through Brother Nicholas was as follows:

A certain lady of Bologna whose son was sick with fistula saw in a dream that if Brother Nicholas would make the sign of the cross over him, he would be immediately healed. For this lady was very devoted to the Friars Minor. And so she came with her son to the Guardian and told her dream to him. (The Guardian at that time was Brother Andrew of Bologna, whom I spoke of above, the second companion of Brother John of Parma, when he was Minister General.) Then after hearing the dream, Brother Andrew called all of the priests of the convent together except Brother Nicholas and recounted it to them, the lady in the meantime waiting with her son at the gate. Brother Andrew said to the priests, "We will be able to get Brother Nicholas to do this thing only through a trick. Therefore, all of you go to that lady and take Brother Nicholas with you, and I will then come. Then you tell me that the lady wishes to have a favor from the Brothers, namely, for every priest to make the sign of the cross over her son, and I myself will begin the benediction immediately. And after I have finished, you tell Brother Nicholas to do the same."

Therefore, Brother Andrew made the sign of the cross over the boy, but it had no effect, because this grace was reserved for another. When both the boy's mother and the other priests, however, asked Brother Nicholas to make the sign of the cross over the boy for the love of God, he refused completely, saying, "Let Lady Marchesina, his mother, do it, for I know that I am not worthy to do so." But Brother Andrew, his Guardian, commanded him, by the authority of the bond of obedience, without further excuse and without delay to make the sign of the cross over the boy. And immediately upon his doing so, the boy was fully healed, so that in the presence of the Brothers, his mother straightway removed his bandages. But the Brothers, giving thanks to God, preserved all these things in their hearts [cf. Luke 2.51].

On another occasion, God did a third great miracle through Brother Nicholas. There was a young man in the convent at Bologna named Brother Guido, the son of Massaria. And when he slept, he snored so loudly that nobody could have any quiet with him in the house. And what is worse, he disturbed terribly not only the sleeping Brothers but also those in vigil. And so the Brothers made a bed for him in the room where they stored their firewood. Yet this did no good, for his horrible, accursed snores still resounded throughout the convent. Then all the priests and elder Brothers gathered together in the room of Brother John of Parma, the Minister General, and requested that this young man be expelled from the Order because of his enormous defect. I myself was there, and it was decided that the boy should be returned to his mother, because she had deceived the Order, knowing ahead of time her son's defect. Yet he was not immediately returned to his mother, through the working of God, who intended to work a miracle through Brother Nicholas. And so considering that the boy was going to be expelled from the Order for a natural defect rather than for guilt, Brother Nicholas called him early one morning to assist him at mass. Then after mass hoping to receive some grace from Brother Nicholas and obeying his command,

the boy got on his knees behind the altar. And Brother Nicholas touched his face and nose with his hands seeking by the Lord's help to bring health to him, but commanding him all the while never to mention it to anyone. But why go on? The boy was suddenly healed, and afterward slept as quietly and peacefully as a dormouse, without ever again disturbing the Brothers. Later, he transferred to the province of Rome and was there a priest, confessor and preacher, obedient to the Brothers and very useful, remembering the good God had done him through the prayers and the merits of blessed Nicholas. May the name of the Lord be blessed forever and ever. Amen.

Brother Bertold, a Friar Minor of Germany, who was a fine preacher.

Now, let us turn to Brother Bertold⁹ of Germany. He was a Friar Minor, a priest and a preacher, and, as a man of religious orders ought to be, a man of honest and holy life. He wrote an exposition of Apocalypse, but I have not made a copy of this, save for the section on the seven bishops of Asia, which are given under the name of Angels in the beginning of Apocalypse. And I did this in order to know the meaning of those angels, but I was not interested in the rest because I had the exposition of Joachim, which I consider to be the best of all the others. Brother Bertold also wrote a great volume of sermons covering the entire year for all feast days as well as all Sundays. But I have copied only two of these, for they deal very well with the Antichrist. One of these begins, "Behold this child is set for the fall" [Luke 2.34], and the other "And when he entered into the boat, his disciples followed him" [Matthew 8.23], and both of them treat fully the antichrist and the Last Judgment.

Take note that Brother Bertold had the special grace of preaching from God. And everybody who has heard him says that from the days of the Apostles till the present day he has not been matched in the German tongue. A great multitude of men and women followed him, sometimes from as much as sixty or a hundred miles around, sometimes from a large number of cities, in order to hear the eloquent and saving words which came forth from the mouth of him who gives "his voice the voice of power" [Psalms 67.34] and who gives "the word to them that preach good tidings with great power" [Psalms 67,12]. He would go up in a *bet-tefredum* or a wood tower built like a bell tower which he used in the fields as his pulpit. And in the top of this tower had been constructed a wind-indicator, so that the people could tell by the direction of the wind where to sit in order to hear best. Thus, marvellously, he could be heard and understood as well by those sitting at a distance as those near at hand. And nobody got up and left until his sermons were ended. And when he preached on the Last Judgment, they all trembled like a reed in the water. And they begged him for the love of God not to preach on such subjects, because it terrified them so much to hear him.

A farmer hears Brother Bertold preaching thirty miles away.

One day when Brother Bertold was scheduled to preach in a certain place, a peasant asked his lord's permission to go hear his sermon, but the lord answered, "I am going to go hear him preach. You, however, are to go plow the fields with your oxen," in accordance with the words of Ecclesiasticus 33 [.28]: "Send him to work, that he be not idle." When the peasant began to plow early on the morning of the appointed day, however, he heard Brother Bertold preaching, even though he was at that time thirty miles away. And immediately he unhitched the oxen from the plow so that they could graze and sat down to hear the sermon. There were three miracles in this event that are worthy of record: first, because he heard the sermon at a distance of thirty miles; second, because he memorized the entire sermon; and third, because he plowed as much after hearing the sermon as on other days he was accustomed to do by plowing continually. Afterward, when the peasant asked his lord to tell him about Brother Bertold's sermon, the lord could not remember it. The peasant, however, repeated every word of it, adding that he had heard and memorized the whole thing in the field. Then recognizing this as a miracle, the lord gave the peasant full permission to go hear Brother Bertold preach whenever he wished as long as his work was done. For it was Brother Bertold's custom to announce ahead of time the time and place of his sermons for the convenience of the people.

A certain German woman who followed Brother Bertold for many years in order to hear him preach.

At this time there was a certain noble lady who had a great, burning desire to hear Brother Bertold preach, and so with her riches and attendants she followed him for six straight years through cities and towns where he preached, and not once was she able to have a private conversation with him. At the end of the sixth year, however, she had spent all of her riches, and on the feast of the assumption of the Blessed Virgin¹⁰ she and her companions had nothing to eat. And so she went to Brother Bertold and told him all these things. And when Brother Bertold heard this, he sent her to the richest banker in that city, telling her to tell him to give her as much money as the worth of a single day of indulgence which she had obtained by following Brother Bertold for six years. And when the banker heard this, he laughed and said, "And how shall I know how much a single day of indulgence is worth for which you followed Brother Bertold?" But she answered, "He told me to tell you to put money in the dish on one side of a scale, while I was to blow my breath on the other side. By this sign you were to know the worth. He therefore, placed a large handful of coins on one side of a scale, and she breathed on the other. And immediately her side went down and the other side, as if weighted with a feather, rose. When he saw this, the banker was astonished, and so he put more and more coins on his side, but he could not weigh down the lady's breath, for the Holy Spirit weighed down the dish on the lady's

side so heavily that the coins could not make it rise. When he saw this, the man, the lady, and the other women present went immediately to Brother Bertold, and recounted the entire event to him. And the banker said to him, "I am prepared to make restitution and ready to give my goods to the poor for the love of God, for I desire to become a good man, for truly I 'have seen wonderful things to-day'" [Luke 5.26]. And Brother Bertold required him to give foodstuffs generously to that lady on whose behalf he had seen these things, and to her companions, which he gladly and faithfully performed in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is the honor and glory forever. Amen.

The bandit whom Brother Bertold converted by his preaching, through whom God mercifully works his miracles.

Once when Brother Bertold was travelling with a lay companion late in the day, he was captured by some assassins, the followers of a certain bandit, and carried off to a castle, where he was kept that night without food and treated very harshly. And this bandit had done so much harm to his fellow citizens that his proper punishment if captured, that is hanging, was painted in the communal palace. The next day early in the morning the executioner came to the bandit and said, "What does your lordship command to be done with those friars who were brought to us yesterday?" And the bandit replied, "Expedite them," which was to say, "Kill them." For as is written of David, I Kings 27 [.11], that "David saved neither man nor woman, neither brought he any of them to Geth, saying: Lest they should speak against us," so it was of this bandit and his assassins who preyed upon others, killing some and carrying others off to prison until they could raise a ransom for themselves. As Brother Bertold was sleeping, his companion who was awake saying matins heard the sentence of death given by the bandit — because there was only a thin wall between them — and he called out to Brother Bertold many times. But when the bandit heard Brother Bertold's name, he thought that perhaps he was the famous preacher who was said to do such great miracles. And, immediately calling back the executioner, he ordered him not to harm the Brothers, but to bring them to him. And when they were brought, he asked them their names. Then the lay brother answered, "My name is such and such. But this is Brother Bertold, that famous and eloquent preacher through whom God has performed so many miracles." And when he heard this, the bandit immediately cast himself at Brother Bertold's feet and embraced and kissed him. Then he asked Brother Bertold, for the love of God to preach to him, because he had often desired to hear the word of salvation from him. Brother Bertold agreed, but with this stipulation, that all his evil followers present in that castle be brought before him, so that all might hear him preach at once. The bandit readily agreed. While the bandit gathered all of his men together, therefore, Brother Bertold went aside for a few moments to pray. Then his companion came to him and said, "May you know, Brother Bertold, that the sentence of death has been passed on us by this man. Therefore, if you ever preached well of the pains of hell and the glories

of paradise, you have need to do so now." When he heard this, Brother Bertold gave himself up wholly in prayers to God. And when he came forth, he preached the word of salvation so splendidly to that audience that they were all moved to most bitter tears. Thus before Brother Bertold left, he heard the confessions of them all, and he commanded them to give up that castle, to restore all their ill-gotten gains, and to persevere for the rest of their lives in penitence — if they wished to gain eternal life. But the bandit prostrated himself at Brother Bertold's feet and begged him tearfully for the love of God to receive him into the Order of the Blessed Francis. And he received him, with the hope that the Minister would grant this favor. When he wished to follow him, however, Brother Bertold forbade him because of the fury of the people he had wronged and who had not heard of his conversion.

But when Brother Bertold arrived at the city, the people wanted to hear him preach. And so they gathered on the sands of a river where, near the pulpit, stood gallows on which thieves were hanged. (You may take for yourself as an example the sands of the river Reno of Bologna.) But after Bertold's departure the aforesaid bandit, inflamed by divine love and drawn by the desire to hear Brother Bertold preach, forgot all the evil things he had done to the citizens. And so coming alone, he arrived at the place of the sermon, and was immediately recognized, captured, and led off without delay to be hanged. Then all the audience ran off after him, crying out, "Let this worst enemy of ours be hanged and let him die the most shameful kind of death! For 'the man that crushed us and oppressed us unjustly, we must destroy in such manner that there be not so much as one left of his stock in all' our 'coasts,' II Kings 21" [.5]. But when Brother Bertold saw the people running away and leaving his sermon, he marvelled greatly and said, "It never happened to me that anyone ever left my sermon before the benediction." Then one of the citizens said, "Father, you need not be amazed, for a bandit who was our worst enemy has been captured, and is being taken to the gallows." When he heard this, Brother Bertold trembled all over and said sorrowfully, "Know that this man has confessed to me, and all his companions, and I sent them all to do penance. And this man I received into the Order of the Blessed Francis, and he has just now come to hear me preach. Therefore, let us run and free him." And so they all began to run swiftly. But when they arrived at the gallows, he had already been hanged and was dead. Then he was taken down by Brother Bertold's command, and they found a parchment around his neck with the following inscription in golden letters: "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time: For his soul pleased God: therefore he hastened to bring him out of the midst of iniquities," Wisdom 4 [.13-14]. Then Brother Bertold sent for the Friars Minor of the convent of that city to come bringing a cross, a coffin, and a habit, informing them that they would see and hear the wonders of God. And it was done. Then Brother Bertold told them and all the others the entire story given above. And they carried that man's body and buried it with honor in the convent of the Friars Minor, praising God, who had brought about such things.

Thus was fulfilled the Scripture, Ecclesiasticus 20 [.12]: "There is that buyeth much for a small price." He himself could repeat the passage in the last chapter of Ecclesiasticus [51.35]: "Behold with your eyes how I have laboured a little, and have found much rest to myself." This is a fine exemplum for the conversion of sinners, for it shows that nobody need despair while he is alive, for [Psalms 67.23]: "The Lord said: I will turn them from Basan, I will turn them into the depth of the sea." Whence St. Basil says in the *Hexameron*: "Let no one who has remained in evil for a long time despair, for it is clear that nature herself transforms the very substance of trees."¹¹ Enough has been said on this subject for the present. Now let us return to the usual course of our narrative.

The seventy-two rascals of Gerard Segarello and his foolishness.

In the year of the Lord 1284, Indiction XII, which I began above on folio 429, seventy-two of those who "say they are" Apostles "and are not" [Apocalypse 2.9], among whom were young boys as well as old men, came travelling on the public road through Modena and Reggio on their way to Parma to see Brother Gerard Segarello, who was their leader. For they hoped to obtain blessing from him and the license to travel throughout the world. And he took them into a certain church in Parma, undressed all of them and dressed them again, and receiving them unto himself and blessing them, he sent them out to travel wherever they wished. Yet Pope Gregory X of Piacenza laid an interdict on them in full council at Lyons, forbidding them to multiply any further. Yet they still dress themselves in their habit and go running about, making fools of themselves throughout the world. And they "fear not God, nor regard man" [Luke 18.4], that is, the High Pontiff, the vicar of Jesus Christ. Yet they believe themselves to be in a state of salvation, although they do not obey the Roman Church. These men believe that they are following the Scripture which says, Luke 10 [.1]: "And after these things the Lord appointed also other seventy-two: and he sent them two and two before his face into every city and place whither he himself was to come."

The twelve women who went to see Gerard Segarello.

Also, after a few days there came along that same public road twelve young women with mantles about their shoulders, who called themselves Apostle-Sisters of that Order. They too came to Parma to see Brother Gerard Segarello for the same reasons as given above. In leading such women about with them, these men who "say they are" Apostles "and are not, but are" [Apocalypse 2.9] rascals and bestial peasants think they are fulfilling the words of the Apostle in I Corinthians 9 [.5-7]: "Have we not power to carry about a woman, a sister, as well as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have not we power to do this? Who serveth as a soldier at any time, at his own charges?"

Pope Martin, who commanded that a Crusade be preached against King Peter of Aragon.

Also, in that same year Pope Martin IV sent letters commanding that a crusade be preached against Peter of Aragon, who was occupying Sicily. And the Pope gave four reasons for this action. First, he was occupying Church land against the will of the Church, and refused to obey orders to leave. Second, the call for a crusade was done as a favor to King Charles, to whom the Church had given the land. Third, heresy had run rife there, and the inquisitors who were concerned with the evils of heresy could not enter the land because of Peter of Aragon. Fourth, as a result of the presence of Peter of Aragon's army there, assistance to the Holy Land was being impeded, whereas in the past Sicily had been invaluable in this cause with respect to food and abundance of arms and warriors. Yet the crusade was not preached after all, for in a short time both King Charles and the Pope died.

The death of King Charles, and the holy woman who received great visions from God.

In the following year, 1285, Indiction XIII, immediately after Epiphany,¹² which was celebrated on Sunday, King Charles died at Foggia, and his body was borne to Naples and buried there. And take note that he died on the same day on which he had been crowned many years before.¹³ He was a fine warrior, and he wiped out the shame which the French had received beyond the sea under St. Louis. He left behind good heirs, both sons and grandsons. A certain holy woman had received great visions about his death. For in that same year of 1285, a woman from the town of Barletta received a dream from God, and she recounted it to the Friars Minor, whose devotee she was. She said, "I saw in a nocturnal vision one standing before me and saying, 'Know thou beforehand that' [Genesis 15.13] in less than a year four high-placed people will be given over to death by God, 'Where a house is appointed for every one that liveth,' Job 30 [.23]. The first will be King Charles; the second, Pope Martin; the third, King Philip of France; the fourth, King Peter of Aragon." The event proved the truth of all these things, because everything turned out as predicted. Also, when King Charles died, this same lady had another dream, which she also recounted to the Friars Minor, "It seemed to me that I was in a large, very beautiful garden, where I saw a huge, terrible dragon. Terrified by its appearance, I began a headlong flight. The dragon, however, swiftly pursued me, crying out and begging in human voice for me to wait for him, because he wished to talk to me. When I heard the human voice, I stopped to hear what he had to say. And turning, I said to him, 'Who are you, and what do you want to tell me?' And he answered, 'I am King Charles, who was living in this beautiful garden, but King Peter of Aragon has now expelled me with a piece of flesh.'" The dragon in the dream was speaking of the wife of Peter of Aragon, on behalf of whom he occupied Sicily in opposition to Charles. And the meaning of the word flesh is made clear in John 1 [.13]: "Who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God."

When the Friars Minor heard of King Charles' death, they knew that that woman had seen a true vision.

The eclipse of the moon. The golden rose which is given by the Pope on the Sunday on which is sung "Rejoice, O Jerusalem."

In that same year after the death of King Charles, the moon was eclipsed in the hour when we were singing matins, the fourth of March, the Sunday on which is sung "Rejoice, O Jerusalem," on which Sunday a rose is given by the Pope. This rose is gold, and it contains moss and balsam. These three substances denote the trinity of Christ. Gold, which is preeminent among metals, stands for the excellence of divinity. Whence the Song of Songs 5 [.11]: "His head is as the finest gold," that is, divinity, and I Corinthians 11 [.3]: "The head of Christ is God." Balsam, which is hot and fragrant, stands for the spirit of Christ, which was full of the most fervent love. Whence John 15 [.13]: "Greater love than this no man hath," etc. Also he spreads everywhere the odor of all-pervading love. Whence holy spirits say, Song of Songs 1 [.3]: "We will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments." The moss, which is born of the unicorn's flesh, and comforts his spiritual members with its fragrance, stands for the human body which Christ received from Adam, which animates the faithful to bear adversities through the fragrance of the passion. Whence I Peter 4 [.1]: "Christ therefore having suffered in the flesh, be you also armed with the same thought." The Pope gives this rose to the prefect of Rome, because God the Father gave his Son as the price for those who love him. Whence the Lord said, John 14 [.21]: "He that loveth me, shall be loved of my father . . . and will manifest myself to him." The Pope gives this rose to show forth these mysteries.

The wedding of the sea on the day of the Ascension by the doge of Venice.

In a similar manner the doge of Venice and the Venetians wed the sea with a golden ring on the day of the Ascension of the Lord. And they do this partly for the pure joy and fun of it, partly because of a pagan custom by which the Venetians sacrifice to Neptune, partly to show that the Venetians are the masters of the sea. After the ceremony all the fishermen who wish (for none are compelled to do so) strip themselves nude, and with a mouth full of oil which they later spew out, dive to the bottom of the sea to look for the ring. And the ring belongs to whoever finds it, without any question. The Psalmist speaks on this subject [Psalms 106.23-4]: "They that go down to the sea in ships, doing business in the great waters: These have seen the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep." Note that Neptune is called the god of the sea by the poets and gentiles.

Also, in that same year Easter fell on the twenty-fifth of March, that is, on the day of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin, which had not happened in seventy-two years. And some people considered this to be an unlucky event, but an event which was expected to happen again in another ten years, i.e., in 1295.¹⁴

The death of Pope Martin and the election of Pope Honorius IV.

In that same year on the feast of the Resurrection Pope Martin III solemnly celebrated Mass. On the following Wednesday during the octave of Easter, when the Introit of the Mass "Venito benedicti" was sung, he died, and he chose to be buried in the Church of the blessed Francis in Assisi, because he was so close a friend of the Order of the Friars Minor. And immediately after the Easter octave, on April 2, Lord Jacopo Sabelli of Rome, who was of the college of cardinals and was preeminent among them, succeeded him as Pope. He was an old man, "old and full of days" [Genesis 35.29], suffering from gout in his feet and hands. He took the name Honorius IV¹⁵ and immediately upon being made Pope went to Rome and recalled the Cardinals (who were dispersed in various provinces as legates) and discussed with them the problems of universal peace in the world. He had been left as the executor of Pope Martin's will. As a measure of friendship, he sent a huge treasure to the son of King Charles who was in Peter of Aragon's prison in Sicily. And he crowned Charles king, the grandson of King Charles, and he is expected to do much good, if he continues as he began.

The deception of a certain man of religious orders whom the devil promised the papacy.

The deceit and cleverness of the devil, who tries to deceive the servants of God. After Honorius became Pope, a certain man in religious orders knew that he had been deceived. For while Pope Martin was still alive, the devil frequently appeared to this man — sometimes alone, sometimes with a company of other demons, and always by day with the greatest splendor and beauty. For as the Apostle says, "Satan himself transformeth himself into an angel of light," II Corinthians 11[.14]. He, in fact, appeared to him once in the form of the Crucified one, at other times taking various forms: the blessed Virgin, St. Francis, St. Anthony, St. Clare, and St. Agnes. Sometimes, all of these saints appeared in company with the image of the Crucified One. And their appearance was beautiful to him and their promise delightful to hear. For they promised that he would become Pope immediately after the death of the present one. But this Brother, as it seems from the frequent conversations he had on this subject with a friend of his, appeared to care very little for the papacy, save that he hoped, if he should gain that office, to bring peace to the whole world. Yet his close friend in whom he confided told him that it seemed completely impossible that he should be made Pope, because he was a private person of little worth and because the Cardinals, to whom the election belongs by law and custom, had no knowledge whatsoever of him. But he always answered that this was not in human hands, but belonged to that one who could do all things. In the process of time, however, the Pope died, and another was elected. And he was left frustrated and deluded in the promise made him. When his friend, however, poked fun at him for his deception, he answered that the one who appeared to him had told him that, "Because you would not do a certain thing which I commanded you, you have lost the papacy." It can

thus be conjectured from this that the devil had suggested something harmful and dishonorable which the Brother would not do. Later, the Brother died, and thus was never made Pope. By this example we should be wary, as the Apostle says, II Corinthians 2 [11]: "That we be not overreached by Satan. For we are not ignorant of his devices." Thus the poet spoke well:

Happy is the man who takes warning by other's misfortunes,
For your things are safe while your neighbor's house burns.¹⁶

But he spoke just as well who said, I John 4 [1]: "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God." A certain holy father answered the devil well when he appeared to him in the form of the Crucified as he was standing in prayer before the altar. For the devil said to him, "I am Christ, worship me." But the priest not wishing to see him cast his eyes down to the floor and said, "Get thee behind me, Satan, for I do not care to see Christ in this life." Then the devil disappeared in confusion. The man who was promised the papacy, however, was a Friar Minor, but I will not reveal his name for conscience's sake. See below for more on this subject, folio...¹⁷

The devil seeks to deceive a young dying man and make him despair, but the young man escapes his hand by the assistance of a Brother.

There was another Friar Minor, a young man, to whom the devil appeared and spoke the following words as he lay dying, "I have some sins recorded against you, for which you will be damned." And the Brother answered him "Tell them to me, wretch, that I may know what they are, for 'in the Lord I put my trust; how' you demons 'say to my soul; get thee away from hence to the mountain like a sparrow?'" [Psalms 10.2]. When the lector, however, who was there with some other Brothers, asked him what he had seen and to whom he was speaking, he said, "It is the devil, who disputes with me and says that I did not properly observe the rule of poverty, and that I was too gluttonous." And the lector said to him, "You tell him, 'Let my sins be placed on the balance on which the infinite ransom hung.'" Thus St. Bernard said, "Whatever I lack because of my own weakness I take from the body of my Lord,"¹⁸ and Chrysostom, "On the balance of the cross hung neither gold, nor silver, nor an angel, but He Himself, so that he might inflame us the more vehemently to his love."¹⁹ But the devil said to that Brother again, "I still have this much against you: You are an idolater, for frequently at mass you worshipped a little piece of bread as your God." Then the Brother answered, "I simply did what the Lord taught. For he said [Luke 22.19]: 'This is my body, . . . Do this for a commemoration of me.'" And all Catholics and good Christians from the time of Christ to the present have done the same." Then the devil asked him, "Tell me where the body of the Lord is named in the Creed." When the Brother, however, answered by the prompting of the lector, "The communion of saints," the devil blushed and went away in confusion. That Brother then died and went to the Lord, to whom is honor and glory forever and ever,

Amen. For he did "with temptation" take "issue" [I Corinthians 10.13] and "delivered the soul of the poor out of the hand" [Jeremiah 20.13] of the powerful one, according to the words of Job 29 [.17]: "I broke the jaws of the wicked man, and out of his teeth I took away the prey."

The devil warns a Brother that he will pull him out of the Order of the Friars Minor, a prediction which was fulfilled.

Once, two peasants brought a companion of theirs who was possessed by a demon to a convent of the Friars Minor. And the lector spoke to the man, "I would know for a truth that you are a demon who has entered this farmer, if you would speak to me in Latin." The demon did so, but he made so many errors in his Latin that the Brother made fun of him, saying that he would make a poor grammarian. But the demon replied, "I can speak as good a Latin as you, but this peasant's tongue is so thick and awkward for speaking that I can hardly make it work at all." After he had said this, he listened and heard a certain young Brother going through the convent singing, and he said to the Brothers standing about, "Do you hear that Brother who is going about singing. He is totally mine." And when this young man came into the room where the demon was, the Brothers said to him, "This demon says that you are totally his." When he heard this, he blushed and retraced his steps and went immediately to a priest, to whom he confessed his sins, especially those for which he had remorse of conscience. And coming back, he said to the demon, "Tell me, wretch, what I have done to make me totally yours." Then the demon answered, "I knew a little while ago, but now I cannot remember. Yet 'know thou beforehand that' [Genesis 15.13] I have tied your feet with such a chain that before forty days are up, you will leave the Order of the Friars Minor and go your way, returning to your vomit, so that [Apocalypse 22.11] 'he that hurteth, let him hurt still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.'" And it happened just as the devil said. But see the power of confession through which sins are hidden. For before confession the demon knew them, but not afterward. For just as "charity covereth a multitude of sins" [I Peter 4.8], so confession hides a multitude of crimes. For confession is "beauty . . . before" God [Psalms 95.6]. Whence Joshua said to Achor, Joshua 7 [.19]: "My son, give glory to the Lord God of Israel, and confess, and tell me what thou hast done."

How the devil deceived another Brother whom he found alone and caused him to be crucified.

The deception of another Brother by a demon. There was a certain Brother of the Order of the Friars Minor, a "simple" and pure man, "upright, and fearing God" [Job 1.1]. He lived in a hermitage in the custody of Naples in the province of Terra de Lavoro. Once when all the other Brothers went out on their necessary duties—some to beg, some to hear confessions, some to preach—they left this Brother because of his holiness and dependability to watch over the hermitage. Suddenly, the devil appeared to him in angelic form as he was praying in the church, and said to him, "I am an angel of God, and God has sent me to tell

you that your life is so pleasing to God that, as far as human frailty goes, you are like to the Son of God himself, save for one thing, without which you cannot be saved." When the Brother asked him what that one thing was which was necessary for his salvation, and would make him like the Son of God, he answered, "You must crucify yourself, because Christ said, [Matthew 16.24]: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.' And when the Brother asked the devil how he was to do that, the devil answered, "Very easily. Get yourself some large nails, a hammer, and a cross, and when the Brothers leave you alone again, you are to follow these instructions: first, nail your feet to the cross and then one hand. And don't worry about the other hand." Then after persuading him to do all this, the devil left him. And when he found his opportunity, the Brother did everything commanded. When the Brothers returned, therefore, they found him half-dead hanging on a cross. They took him down from the cross and rebuked him for his foolishness in doing such a thing. But he told them that an angel of God had appeared to him and commanded him to do it so that he could be like the Son of God. Then the Brothers recognized the truth of the Wise Man's words in Ecclesiastes 4 [.10,9]: "Woe to him that is alone, for when he falleth, he hath none to lift him up. It is better therefore that two should be together, than one, for if one fall he shall be supported by the other."

All these things I heard some forty-five years ago when I was living in the convent at Pisa from Brother Richard the Englishman who was living in a convent at Naples when these things happened. Such stories are very valuable as a warning against the devil's traps. For if the demons "in the green wood . . . do these things, what shall be done in the dry" [Luke 23.31]. "Green wood" can be called any holy man who has the strength of God's grace in him. "Dry wood" are the secular sinners in whom the devil "worketh" many evils "on the children of unbelief" [Ephesians 2.2], some of whom the demons cause to die by their deception, some to despair, some to drown, some to fall headlong from a precipice, some to fall into the fire. These "in miseries . . . shall not be able to stand" [Psalms 139.11] and cannot have quiet, because they shall turn "from the snow waters to excessive heat" [Job 24.19], where "their worm shall not die and their fire shall not be quenched" [Isaiah 66.24].

The Brother who cast a demon out of an obsessed woman, and who spoke wisely with the demon.

There was a certain holy man of Imola, a Friar Minor named Benintende, who had risen to the high office of priest. This man lived with me in the convent at Ravenna for many years. He was skilled in hearing confessions, and he genuflected three hundred times every night. Moreover, for the whole time of his life he fasted every day, on solemn feast days, as well as on common days. Once a certain woman possessed of the devil was brought to him. And when the woman was sitting at a window with the Brother, he said to the demon, "Tell me, wretch, do you know how many orders of angels there are in heaven?" And the demon said, "Of course,

I know and know very well that there are nine." Then the Brother said, "Name them for me." And when the demon named them up to the third hierarchy he suddenly stopped and would not name the rest. When the Brother asked him, however, why he would not name the remaining sublime orders, he answered, "It is too painful for me to name them. But I shall cruelly torment this whore who has brought me here to suffer such embarrassment." Then the Brother said to the demon, "It's clear that you were of those orders that you could not name for the pain. See therefore what misery you have arrived at, since you who should live in heaven have by your pride been reduced to living in a whore. Wherefore, I command you, although you are already most miserable and vile because of your foolishness, to leave this good creature of God, that is, this woman, and that you never presume to molest her again, for I am one of those of whom the Lord spoke in the last chapter of Mark [16.17]: 'In my name they shall cast out devils.' Therefore, I abjure you in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit to leave her and never more to have the power to enter her again." At this, therefore, the devil went out wailing, and the woman gave thanks to God and was fully liberated.

Another Brother who confounded and rebuked the devil by speaking wisely.

A certain man in religious orders was praising God while sitting on the privy "for the necessities of nature" [Deuteronomy 23.12]. And a demon came and rebuked him, saying that such a place was not suitable and honorable for giving praise to God. But the Brother answered, "I am so accustomed to singing divine praises that I cannot cease praising God. For I learned in the Scripture that God is everywhere; therefore, everywhere is suitable for praising him. The Apostle teaches also, I Timothy 2 [.8]: 'I will therefore that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without anger and contention.' And whoever says 'every place' excludes no place. Therefore, I shall praise God while emptying my bowels. For God abhors no filth except the filth of sin. But you, wretch, who were created to praise God in heaven have lost heaven because of your pride, as the Psalm says [100.7]: 'He that worketh pride shall not dwell in the midst of my house.' Therefore, because you and your companions exercised your pride there, hear what the Scripture says about demons, Psalms [35.13]: 'They are cast out, and could not stand.' For it is written of your prince that he walked 'against Him with his neck raised up, and is armed with a fat neck,' Job [15.26], but God's 'wisdom has struck the proud one. . . . and his obstetric hand brought forth the winding serpent,' Job [26.12-13]. Of you lesser ones, however, the Scripture says that God 'in his angels . . . formed wickedness,' Job 4 [.18], and still your foolishness does not cease, as the Scripture says, Psalms [73.23]: 'The pride of them that hate thee ascendeth continually.' I ask you to tell me if you were one of those who said to the Lord [Matthew 8.31]: 'If thou cast us out hence, send us into the herd of swine.'" And the demon answered, "Why do you ask this?" Then the Brother answered, "Because like rejoices in like. For every animal seeks its own kind. You

are a pig: you are impure; you speak impurities; you love impurities; you seek impurities. For you were created to live in heaven, and now you seek out toilets and go visiting latrines." After the Brother had said these things, the demon blushed and departed in confusion. For demons are easily confounded and put to shame by being reminded of the glory they have lost and the misery they have gained.

Another Brother who was reproached and struck by a demon one night as he slept.

There was another Brother who was struck by a demon during the night while he slept. In Provence there was a certain Friar Minor who ate a quail one night at dinner and then went off to sleep. And while he was sleeping, a demon came and struck him with his fist, so that the Brother woke up in fear; then went to sleep again. After he got off to sleep, the same thing happened. Then he went to sleep a third time, and the demon came again and struck him "with the fist wickedly" [Isaiah 58.4]. He awoke again and said in fear, "Ha, God, must I be killed because I ate one quail yesterday evening?" Then the demon answered, "You have complained; you have been ungrateful; you have been discontent. Therefore, I have taken your prayers from you." After saying this, he left. The Brother, however, amended his life thereafter, for perhaps he had indeed been lacking in just those things that the demon reproached him for. Thus we read that St. Francis said to his companion who was tormented by demons one night in the court of a certain cardinal, "Demons are our Lord's stewards, whom God uses to keep men on their toes. It is for this reason, I believe, that he allowed his stewards to attack us, because our house does not present a good appearance to others in the court of the great."²⁰

A clerk of Berceto whom the devil caused to be killed and who killed another man at the same time in a battle between the two.

In the bishopric of Parma on Mount Bardone there is a town called Berceto about thirty miles from Parma. A certain clerk from this town by the name of William was living in Parma, and he was a large, handsome, strong man, but also an evil caller-up of demons. Once when the wife of a man called Ghidino, an iron-worker, and the daughter of Picco de Asserumburgo, was possessed by a demon, this clerk was called to exorcise her, and he commanded the demon to come out of her. Then the demon replied, "I will come out of her, but I will arrange such a destiny for you that you will no longer bother me or be able to call me out of my dwelling places, because 'know thou beforehand that' [Genesis 15.13] only a short time from now I will have you killed, and you will kill another man." The truth of this was shown by the event. Only a few months later in Parma he had a quarrel with Arduino of Chiavari, and they started fighting with one another. Then "The strong hath stumbled against the strong, and both are fallen together" [Jeremiah 46.12]. And it was a man who was present when they killed one another who reported it to me, and I have told it faithfully and truthfully just as I heard it from his mouth. This man was Brother Jacopino de Tortelli,

who is now a Friar Minor. But the woman who had been possessed of a demon was totally freed and is now in the convent of the Order of St. Clare in Parma. And her husband Ghidino entered the Order of the Friars Minor, but he "returned to his vomit" [II Peter 2.22] and having put "his hand to the plough" [Luke 9.62] looked back and left the Order in his novitiate and still remains in the world, so "He that hurteth, let him hurt still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still" [Apocalypse 22.11].

Jesting verses in praise of good wine. Good wine is cultivated in a district called Vernazza.

This Lord Arduino of Chiavari was a learned man; he was handsome, strong, and warlike. On the day that he was killed, he had prepared the next day to leave Parma to return to his own country. The land where he was born was called Chiavari; it was on the seashore in the bishopric of Genoa near Lavagna, where the Friars Minor have a convent. And I have been there frequently. Near the place abounds the wine of Vernazza, which is wine of the finest — so much so that I include here the verses of a certain jesting poet in praise of it:

Ah, that nectar of the vine, joy of life: glorious wine:
 All vintages are fine, but, ah let the best be mine.
 One glass, a mere amenity, the power's in a trinity.
 When the fourth follows after, duty is quashed in joyous laughter.
 At the fifth, a tipsy haze, and mind a-wandering in a maze.
 With the sixth, a double trinity, body droops in luxurious supinity.²¹

With these things called to memory, therefore, let every man beware of danger, for "many are the snares of the deceitful" [Ecclesiasticus 11.31] and so "a wise man will fear in every thing," as Ecclesiasticus [18.27] says. So too the Wise Man in Proverbs says [28.14]: "Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil," and St. Jerome: "It is wise to fear whatever may happen."²²

The eight dangers described by the Apostle and examples of those dangers.

But someone says, "How shall I guard myself from danger when the whole world is full of danger? For the Apostle enumerates eight dangers in II Corinthians 11 [.26]: 'In perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils from my own nation, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils from false brethren.'" There is an example of the danger of waters in St. Clare, who freed those overwhelmed by floods in Spain.²³ Psalms [65.6]: "in the river they shall pass on foot." St. Martin provides an example of the danger of robbers, for a certain thief, whom he later converted, tried to kill him with an axe.²⁴ St. Francis does too, for thieves covered him up in the snow, when he was travelling through a forest singing praises in French to the Lord,²⁵ just as is written in the Response "*Dum seminudo corpore*," etc. An example of the dangers from one's own nation is found in Jeremiah 38 [.19], where King Sedechias

said: "I am afraid because of the Jews that are fled over to the Chaldeans: lest I should be delivered into their hands, and they should abuse me." Also Darius' kin are said to have been those princes who conspired against him and wounded him, in the time when Alexander the Great conquered the world.²⁶ The dangers of the gentiles are recorded in I Machabees 3 [.52], where it is written: "The nations are come together" in a multitude to fight against us, and we are ignorant of what we ought to do. To you, Lord God, we turn our eyes, lest we perish. A similar passage is in II Paralipomenon 20 when the Ethiopians and the sons of Edom, Moab, and Amon have gathered together to fight against the Jews. Then King Josepheth completely gave himself up in prayers to God, saying [.12]: "As we know not what to do, we can only turn our eyes to thee." The Lord spoke to the Jews of the dangers in the city, Jeremiah 25 [.29]: "For behold I begin to bring evil on the city wherein my name is called upon: and shall you be as innocent and escape free?" and Job 24 [.12]: "Out of the cities they have made men to groan, and the soul of the wounded hath cried out, and God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenged." Of the dangers in the wilderness it is written in Numbers ...²⁷ that in the wilderness the Jews tempted God ten times, as he himself complained about them. Thus he said to them [Numbers 14. 29]: "In the wilderness shall your carcasses lie." It is written that the dangers of the sea are many. Thus Ecclesiasticus 43 [.26] said: "Let them that sail on the sea, tell the dangers thereof." Jeremiah speaks of the danger of false brothers, 9 [.4]: "Let every man take heed of his neighbour, and let him not trust in any brother of his: for every brother will utterly supplant," etc.

A Document on Avoiding Dangers.

But someone will say, "teach me how to avoid dangers." Hear the Apostle, Romans 12 [.19]: "Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath." Cato also said:

Flee slander lest you become a slanderer.²⁸

Our Lord Jesus Christ was not ashamed to do that, as recorded in John 5 [.13]: "Jesus went aside from the multitude standing in the place," and John 8 [.59]: "But Jesus hid himself, and went out of the temple." St. Gregory says of the passage: "Truly, it is more glorious to imitate God by fleeing an injury in silence than by conquering with an answer."²⁹ Whence the Wise Man said, Proverbs 20 [.3]: "It is an honour for a man to separate himself from quarrels," and Proverbs 24 [.19]: "Contend not with the wicked." Also hear the Lord, Matthew 5 [.39]: "If one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other." Once, when a certain holy father turned the other cheek in this way when struck by a demoniac, the devil, reminded by such humility of his own pride, blushed and went out of the man he possessed.³⁰

Here are specified the six things useful and necessary to salvation.

Do you wish to know the things necessary to man for salvation? I will list them briefly: You must shun and abhor vice, and have, love, and preserve virtue, for it will preserve you well in the service of Christ. But you will say, "Specify for me those things useful and necessary to salvation, which being observed, the Lord will consider me worthy and will save me." I answer, First, fear God, of which it is recorded, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom. . . . For he that is without fear, cannot be justified," Ecclesiasticus 1 [.16, 28], and again, 5 [.5]: "Be not without fear about sin forgiven," and 27 [.4]: "Unless thou hold thyself diligently in the fear of the Lord, thy house shall quickly be overthrown." The blessed Job did this well, who said, 31 [.23]: "For I have always feared God as waves swelling over me, and his weight I was not able to bear." Hence, the sinner who fails to fear the Lord is reproached, Jeremiah 2 [.19]: "Know thou, and see that it is an evil and a bitter thing for thee, to have left the Lord thy God, and that my fear is not with thee." Thus one commended for the proper fear, Ecclesiasticus 1 [.13]: "With him that feareth the Lord, it shall go well in the latter end," and Ecclesiasticus 33 [.1]: "No evils shall happen to him that feareth the Lord, but in temptation God will keep him, and deliver him from evils."

The young man whom God snatched from temptation. A certain king who did not wish to hear about the humbling of the proud. Psalms [72.18]: "When they were lifted up thou hast cast them down," and Baruch [5.7]: "For God hath appointed to bring down every high mountain."

That was made clear in the young man who, being enticed by a young woman to sin, poured out his prayers to God and suddenly found himself transported across the river a mile from her house.³¹ Whence the Lord says, Apocalypse 3 [.10]: "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I will also keep thee from the hour of temptation."

A second necessity for salvation is humility, which the Lord taught when he said, Matthew 11 [.29]: "Learn of me, because I am meek, and humble of heart," and [Luke 14.11]: "Every one that exalteth himself, shall be humbled; and he that humbleth himself, shall be exalted." Tell the exemplum of that king who did not wish his chaplain to repeat the following verse to him: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble" [Luke 1.52]. Whence Job 22 [.22]: "For he that hath been humbled, shall be in glory." And so "Humble thy spirit very much," Ecclesiasticus 7 [.19].

The third necessity for salvation is patience, because as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 14 [.29]: "He that is patient, is governed with much wisdom: but he that is impatient, exalteth his folly," and Proverbs 19 [.19]: "He that is impatient, shall suffer damage." The patience of the king of Ireland, whose foot St. Patrick accidentally pierced with his pastoral staff while he was preaching. For the king believed that he could not receive the Christian faith save by suffering

as Christ did. But St. Patrick healed him immediately.³² Also the patience of Abbot Anastasius who by his patience converted the man who had stolen his Bible.

The fourth thing necessary to salvation is a good life, of which Isidore speaks: "Do you wish never to be sad? Live well! An evil spirit is never secure."³³ whence Jeremiah 46 [.5] said: "I have seen them dismayed, and turning their backs." There is an example of this in the case where the children of Israel ascended the mountains in their wilfulness and fought the enemy against Moses' command. Thus they were put to flight by the enemy, as recorded in Numbers 14. The same in Joshua for the sin of Achor, 7.

The fifth necessity for salvation is not to listen to the suggestions and temptations of the demons, nor to be on friendly terms with them, for such friendship is prohibited by God, Numbers 25 [.17-18]: "Let the Madianites find you their enemies, and slay you them: Because they also have acted like enemies against you, and have guilefully deceived you . . . Thou shalt not make peace with them, neither shalt thou seek their prosperity all the days of thy life for ever," Deuteronomy 23 [.6]. Why? because their natural malice cannot be changed, as it is written in Wisdom, 12 [.10] and the devil does not cease "to slay the nations," Habacuc 1 [.17]. For "His enemy came and oversowed cockle among the wheat," Matthew 13 [.25]. And so "Never trust thy enemy," Ecclesiasticus 12 [.10]. As St. Francis says, "If the devil has a single hair against a man, he will soon make it grow into a huge beam."³⁴ And as St. Bonaventure, the Minister General, said in a sermon to the Brothers in Bologna where I myself was present, "Consenting to the suggestions and temptations of the devil is like casting oneself off a high tower and halfway down wishing to have a flagpole to grab onto to keep from falling all the way." I have spoken sufficiently of the devil above, folio 401, from the paragraph "for the devil labors for this," etc., to "Do not marvel if people ignorant of God follow idolatry."

The sixth and last necessity for salvation is perseverance in good to the end. The Lord spoke of such perseverance [Matthew 10.22]: "He that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved." Thus on the passage in which the Jews said to the Lord [Matthew 27.42]: "If he be the King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross," St. Bernard says: "Nay rather, since he is king of Israel, let him not come down, but let him hold the sceptre, let him perfect salvation on earth, and let him now demonstrate that perseverance which he himself taught."³⁵

The devil who killed two students and treated a third roughly.

Now let us turn to other things which pertain to this subject of the deception by demons which we began. There were three students of Tuscany, friends and companions, who were studying in Bologna. And all three decided at the same time to enter the Order of the Friars Minor. And so they arranged for one of them to go back to Tuscany to get money so that they could buy the proper dress and meet their other expenses, as is fitting for those who renounce the world and enter a religious order, on which subject Elisha and Matthew have given fine ex-

amples worthy of imitation, III Kings 19 and Luke 5. But when this student had got as far as Casalecchio and come to the bridge over the Reno or the road that leads to Crespellano, the devil struck him, knocked him into the river, and drowned him. His body was later found in the village of Polesio not fit for burial. (This village of Polesio is where Brother Peregrino of Bologna had his property. Brother Peregrino is a spiritual, learned man, who abhors wine and drinks nothing but water. He was twice Minister in the Order of the Friars Minor, once in Greece, and once in Genoa.)

When, however, the student did not return, because he could not, being drowned as I said by the demon, the other two decided that a second should make the trip to Tuscany for the reasons mentioned above, as well as to inquire after their companion. When he arrived at the same place and a little further, however, the devil threw a huge stone from the roof of a small church on his head and broke his skull. He died immediately and was buried there near that church. When he did not return, because he could not, the third student entered the Order, not knowing what had happened to his friends. This student was Brother Peter from Cori, from whose mouth I heard the story I am now writing. And when Brother Peter was in his novitiate in Bologna, he accompanied a brother priest to the village of Polesio to hear confessions. And while the Brother was sitting in the church busy with confessions, Brother Peter was outside talking with some men, when there suddenly arrived a demoniac with a cruel and terrible appearance. And Brother Peter said to the demoniac, "I will know that you are possessed by a demon if you can speak to me in Latin and tell me what happened to my two student friends." Then the demon began to speak in excellent Latin, so that Brother Peter was astonished to hear such fine language from a rustic, country man. The demon said that it was he who had killed the two students, as narrated above. But when asked about the third, he said, "I don't know what happened to the third, because he fled and got away from me." Then, however, he added, "A man may flee but he cannot escape, for truly I will lead him to such an end that [I Kings 3.11] 'Whosoever shall hear it, both his ears shall tingle.'"

Then Brother Peter asked the men of that region if the demon had spoken the truth about the body of a student found there, and they answered that it was true to the letter. And when he made inquiry about the other student, he found that report to be true also. What more? Brother Peter grew in the Order of the Friars Minor, and became a very learned man, greatly experienced in canonical law. He had even read the whole Bible in French. "And as day came after day" [II Paralipomenon 21.19] "year . . . added to year" [Isaiah 29.1], he became Minister in Genoa, in Sicily, and in Tuscany for seven years. But he was a suspicious man, who rebuked and confounded men gladly, so that he could keep them under his control, "Whom he would, he set up: and whom he would, he brought down" [Daniel 5.19]. He was a crafty man, hot-natured, malicious, and as sly as a fox. He was a base and low hypocrite, a pestiferous and accursed man, a man whom Pope Alexander IV despised with a passion and a mortal hatred, for he had been

the son of a certain priest of his diocese when he was still in a minor office. He was my Minister and Custodian when I was living in Tuscany. After I left, however, he committed many enormous, shameful acts, which are too low to name, for which he was fully punished by the Brothers. He left the Order many times, and he came to a bad end, as he indeed merited. And so the demon's predictions about him appear to have been true. Whence Ecclesiasticus 7 [.1] says: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee," and again [.3]: "Sow not evils in the furrows of injustice, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold."

Our point of departure for all these things was that Brother who was deceived by the demon into thinking he would be Pope. These stories are useful to help one recognize the malicious traps of the devil. For he does not play around but seeks to deceive and drag down to death. And just as it is said of God that he "Will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth [I Timothy 2.4], so the devil wishes all to remain in their error and go to hell. And so "believe them not," that is, the demons, "when they speak good things to thee," as Jeremiah 12 [.6] says. Therefore, enough has been said on this subject. Now let us return to our original subject.

In the year 1285, Indiction XIII, which I began above, the whole month of May was full of fleas, and there were such huge numbers of them that even for the middle of summer they would have seemed exorbitant. And so I frequently remembered the commonly repeated verses:

Three awful creatures annoy and vex,
Regarding no tenderness and no sex,
Nailing all to the cross of their ending x:

Pulex,
Cimex,
Culex.

In balmy weather, a constant affliction,
And nothing avails: neither force nor malediction.
With a mighty leap the flea is out of sight,
And the gnat escapes by its volatile flight,
And the bedbug surely by the devil's instigation
Has built-in resistance to any fumigation.³⁶

Whence St. Augustine said to wretched but proud man, "Why is earth and ashes proud?" [Ecclesiasticus 10.9]. Rule your fleas, and sleep."³⁷

The thunder heard at an unusual season.

Also in that same year, Saturday, the seventh of March, near Vespers, there was terrible, frightening thunder and tremendous flashes of lightning. Then suddenly a heavy hail mixed with snow began to fall and it destroyed the crops and fruit trees, especially the almonds, pomegranates, and the early figs, that is, the

first fruits of the fig trees, of which Micah spoke, 7 [.1]: "My soul desired the first ripe figs."

The general chapter of the Order of the Friars Minor.

In that same year a general chapter of the Order of the Friars Minor was held in Milan on the feast of Pentecost, the thirteenth of May. During this meeting many Ministers were removed from office, and changes were made in the constitutions, with certain additions and deletions being made. And Brother Peter, Minister of Aquitaine and a professor, was vicar in that chapter, and there were many voices calling for his election as Minister General, since Brother Bonagrazia had died, but Brother Arlotto of Prato³⁸ in Tuscany was elected instead. He was a professor at Paris, and he became Minister General of the Order.

The general chapter of the Preachers.

In that year was also celebrated a general chapter of the Order of the Preachers at Bologna. And because they were also lacking a leader, they elected Brother Munio of Spain.

The diversity of the names used for the leaders of various orders.

And note that whereas we Friars Minor call our leaders *Minister General*, the Preachers call theirs *Masters*. For they have reference to the words of the Lord [Matthew 23.8-10]: "For one is your master . . . who is in heaven . . . Christ, the" Lord. We the Friars Minor, however, have reference to the words the Lord used in teaching the Apostles: "The Son of man is not come to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a redemption for many," Matthew 20 [.28], and Luke 22 [.27]: "But I am in the midst of you, as he that serveth." The Hospitalers call their leaders *Preceptors*, in accordance with Peter's words to the Lord, Luke 5 [.5]: "Master [*Preceptor*], we have laboured all the night, and have taken nothing," etc. All these names are good, despite the difference, for all ultimately lead back to God. The monks call their leaders *Abbots*, according to the words of the Apostle [Galatians 4.6]: "Crying: Abba, Father." For *abbot* and *father* are the same.

Note too that the Preachers have had more Masters from beyond the mountains than from Italy. The very good reason for this is that their first Master, St. Benedict, a Spaniard, was from beyond the mountains. But we have had more from Italy. And there are three reasons for this: first, because St. Francis was from Italy; second, because the voices from Italy prevail in the chapter meetings; third, because the Italians know more about governance. Also, the Italians are afraid that if the French control the Order, they would too greatly relax the rigor of the Order. And take note that they resent our having professors in the University of Paris. We, on the other hand, work as hard as we can to prevent their election as Ministers General, for the reasons mentioned above. Call to mind here the trick of the Philistines, which is recorded in I Kings 13 [.19]: "Now there was

no smith to be found in all the land of Israel, for the Philistines had taken this precaution," etc.

The leaders of the Dominican Order, whose names are contained in the word Dirigimur. Gregory gave a similar example.

Take note that it was revealed to a certain spiritual Brother of the Order of the Preachers that the Order would have as many leaders as letters in the word *Dirigimur*, which has nine letters. And if this is true, there are only two to go, that is, *u* and *r*. Take the first letter and you have Dominic; the second, Jordanus; the third, Raymond; the fourth, John; the fifth, Gombert; the sixth, John again; the seventh, Munio, who is now ruling. St. Gregory gives a similar example in the third book of the *Dialogues*.³⁹ For when a certain bishop lay dying, his clerks asked him who would succeed him to the bishopric, and he gave this response: "After Constantine, a mule-keeper; after the mule-keeper, a fuller; after the fuller, nobody. O, city of Aquinus, you shall have these two and no more." And all these things turned out to be true, as St. Gregory explains. And note that Joachim, to whom God revealed future events, said that the Order of the Preachers had to suffer with the order of the clerks, but that the Order of the Minorites would last to the end.⁴⁰

The large number of wars. The letter the king of the Tartars sent to the king of Hungary after making peace with him.

Also in the year that these two general chapters were held, William, Marquis of Monferrato, with his allies, the men of Torre of Milan and their friends, led a large army to the city of Milan. The Modenese were also fighting a fierce civil war, in which there were frequent battles. Moreover, the Tartars invaded the whole of Hungary, slaughtering, burning, and plundering. And in their raids they killed all the Brothers of a convent of the Preachers, except two who escaped by hiding. Then the Tartars made peace with the king of Hungary, to whom the king of the Tartars sent the following letter:

David John, King of Tharsus and the Eastern Isle: the grace of God to the King of Hungary and his people. Our heart is elevated over all humankind, by the will of God, and our throne is exalted over the necks of the rebels, so that the kings of the earth worship the girdle of our loins — all except the King of France, for the Lord has assured me that he is a faithful and good Catholic. And he said to me [Job 1.12]: "Put not forth thy hand upon his person." Our sword shall devour the enemies of the Crucified, and our horses and asses shall eat their remains. Yet because we are travelling in the winter, our camels and dromedaries are sluggish because of the difficulties encountered. Peace be to all men. Let them send us wine instead balsam, wheat in place of gold, because we are pilgrims in foreign lands, led by a star. And we plan to bring back to their own homeland our lord Balthasar and our brothers-in-law Gaspar and Melchior.

When all these wars were taking place, however, I remembered the Lord's words to his disciples, Matthew 24 [.6-7]: "You shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet. For nation shall rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom," and the words of God in ancient times, Genesis 8 [.21-22]: "For the imagination and thought of man's heart are prone to evil from his youth. . . . All the days of the earth, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, night and day, shall not cease."

The king of France enters Spain with a large army against King Peter of Aragon. The Modenese clash together twice in this year.

Also in this year after the death of his brother, King Charles, the king of France led a huge, almost innumerable, army into Spain against Peter of Aragon, hoping to totally destroy him. This is the way things stand today on the feast of St. Sixtus,⁴¹ 1285; the end is unknown. For "Various is the event of war: and sometimes one, sometimes another is consumed by the sword," as it says in II Kings 11 [.25].

Also in this year the Modenese of the city party and the exiles had a fierce battle at Montale, and the fighting was bitter on both sides. Many men were wounded, many killed, and many captured. And in the same year they had another battle at Gorzano, and the same thing happened, for the slaughter was heavy on both sides, and many people were killed, even among the knights. Yet the Modenese of the city party boasted that they had been victorious in both these battles. Wherefore, becoming overconfident from victory, they went out during the same year and burned Balugola, a town in the Modenese mountains.

The exchange of prisoners by the Modenese at Rubiera.

Also in that same year by a mutual agreement the knights and foot soldiers of Modena came to Rubiera, which is on the public highway in the bishopric of Reggio, and met with the men of Sassuolo. The two forces did not mix together but remained rigidly separate. The podestà of Reggio was there, accompanied by twelve ambassadors. The Friars Minor and the Preachers were also there. Then an exchange of prisoners — some four hundred from both sides — was carried out. This was done on the vigil of St. Peter in Vincoli, that is, the last day of July, though it had been discussed long before.

The fifteen hundred Modenese who were killed.

Yet the harsh and brutal war continued between the two Modenese parties, and some fifteen hundred were killed on both sides.

Catalogue of the Modenese dead.

The most important of those men killed from Modena is as follows: Lord Matthew of Montecuculo; Lord William of Montevecchio; Lord Ponzio Provinciale, captain of the city party; Lord Gerard Rangone; Lord Gerardino de Boschetti;

Lord John de Rosa, archpriest of Bazoaria de Presule; Lord Rainerio de Dentibus of Balugola; Raimonduccio de Garzoni; Lord Nordolo de Livizano; Lord Nevo de Livizano; Gigliolo de Poltoneri; Bartholomew de Campilio; Lord Thomas de Lovoletto; Ardesio de Lovoletto; Lord Negro de Leccaterra, who was the finest man in the world with a lance; Carentano de Carentani; Modenese de Ricci; Zacharias de Tripino; Francis de Spezano; and Thomas de Spezano. Explicit the catalogue of the Modenese casualties in the time of that harsh civil war brought about because of their own stupidity. Let them look to it!

The Genoese and the Pisans and their two battles.

Now it is time to speak of the Genoese. Lord Uberto de Spinola was ruling in Genoa, and in the year of the Lord 1285, the eighth of June, he sailed with a hundred galleys to Pisa to make war and to capture. And Lucca went with an army against the Pisans at Ripafratta, where there is a Pisan castle near the river Serchio, and they burned the fields, crops, vineyards, and houses. And the preceding year the Genoese and the Pisans had had two battles at sea. The Pisans were defeated, and had lost some ten thousand men, dead and captured; the Genoese only two hundred. And note that the aforesaid Lord Uberto held the rule of Genoa by violence for twelve years against the wishes of the Grimaldi, who were of the Church party.

Pope Honorius begins to defend the Pisans.

In that same year Pope Honorius IV issued orders that the war between Lucca and Pisa should cease, for Lucca was besieging Ripafratta, a Pisan castle near the river Serchio. And the Pope excommunicated all those who thereafter made war against the Pisans, since the Pisans had placed themselves under the protection and the defense of the Church. For "where sin abounded, grace did more abound" as the Apostle says, Romans 5 [.20].

In this year construction was started on the church of the Friars Minor at Reggio.

Also in that same year construction was begun on the church of the Friars Minor at Reggio. And Brother Gilimo de Conrado of Reggio laid the first stone in the main column, by the street near the church of St. James, on the Saturday before the octave of Pentecost, that is, on May 18, the 15th Kalends of June. Moreover, the whole month of May was very rainy that year; it rained every day, and the farmers, disturbed because they could not work, blamed the rain on the Friars Minor because they had exhumed the dead in laying the foundations of their church. And the harvest was very poor that year, because the grain had been destroyed everywhere, partly by storm, partly by other calamities. In the summer there was no rain, but a great drought. And there was a scarcity of vegetables, because the fields were not irrigated, and the rain did not fall, and there was a scarcity of squash and cereal crops, wine, oil, turnips, chestnuts, and all kinds of other fruits.

About comets and signs in the sun, moon, and stars.

Also on Monday, June 4, of the same year, there was an eclipse of the sun toward the hour of Vespers. It was only a partial eclipse, and few people saw it because the sky was cloudy that day. I have seen many of these eclipses of the sun and moon and signs in the stars since I entered the Order. And they take place not only because the Lord predicted that they would do so, Luke 21 [.25]: "There shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars," but also because they portend future events. Indeed, among other solar eclipses that took place in my days, the great one took place in 1239, which I fully described above, folio 279; and in the first year of Gregory X's pontificate, toward matins in May 1272, Indiction XV, the sign of the cross appeared in the moon, and lasted throughout the night, and this sign was seen by many people throughout the world. Moreover, among other great signs in the stars, a notable one took place in the pontificate of Pope Urban IV, and was seen throughout the world. For in the year that Pope Urban died, a comet like a little torch appeared in the heavens near the feast of St. Apollinare and lasted until Urban died.⁴² I also described this phenomenon above, folio 406, at the point where I wrote "In the year of the Lord 1264." Isidore wrote about comets: "It is called a comet [*comis stella*] because it pours out of itself hairs of light [*comas luminis*]. And the appearance of this kind of star signifies either plague or famine or war. These comets are *crinite* in Latin, because they spread their fires out like hair [*in modum crinium*], and there are, the stoics say, more than thirty comets, the number and influence of which certain astrologers have written about."⁴³

The public works of Parma.

Let us speak in this place of the public works of Parma. In this year the Parmese began construction on a large, beautiful palace near Piazza Nuova, and they built the gate of Saint Benedict. They also began construction on the stone bridge over the Enza, a river which flows by the public road between Reggio and Parma, five miles from Parma. Moreover, they cast a great bell for the community tower, because the former one had broken. But because of a defect in the metal, the bell was faulty in its handles or "ears" so that it could not be hung. And so a second one was cast by the same master. It was a beautiful bell, but was faulty in its tone because of some defect. So the Parmese sent to Pisa for a master bell-maker. And the master came to Parma like a great baron, dressed nobly, and he lived in the convent of the Preachers. And he employed all his art in casting the bell. Moreover, he had a great abundance of new metal for the bell, and whatever he asked for, the Parmese supplied him in abundance. Working alone with nobody to bother him, he made a fine mold for the bell, and poured it in the partially built church of the Preachers (whose foundations had just been laid) for he was fearful that, while, being poured, the metal might spring forth out of the mold and not be properly distributed. Yet the bell was defective, both in form and tone.

For God was punishing the Parmese for their pride in wishing to have a bell like those in Borgo San Donnino and Reggio, but this one could scarcely be heard throughout Parma. Whence the passage in Daniel 4 [.34]: "Them that walk in pride he is able to abase," that is, "The Most High" who "ruleth in the kingdom of men" [Daniel 4.14]. Thus in that year the Parmese spent a thousand imperial pounds in casting those bells, and they still did not get a good one. At that time there were only four Brothers living as custodians in the convent of the Preachers in Parma, for the Preachers had left Parma at the time that they had burned a certain woman named Alina as a heretic. They did not return because they wanted the Parmese to ask them to return with honor. But the Parmese cared little for them, for toward the religious orders they are always hardhearted and uncaring.

Also in that same year the Parmese built the great wall near the Parmese river, behind the Templars' Church of Santa Maria from the bridge of Lady Egidia to the stone bridge with small markets built on it, over which the public road runs. Also, in the same year they built two towers on the banks of the Taro, one on each side, where that river enters the Po. And they stretched a great iron chain between the two towers, so that nobody could enter or leave Parma with merchandise without the consent of the Parmese. And they did the same on the river Enza, where it enters the Po at Enzano. And they did the same at the mouth of the Parmese river at Colorno or Copermio.

The high mortality rate among men in various parts of the world.

Also in that same year in the village of Poviglio in the bishopric of Parma, eighty men died in less than three months. For this is the general rule or proven fact that a high mortality rate among beasts precedes by one year a high mortality rate among men. And in Rome that year there was a high rate of mortality and sickness—so much so that among those wearing the mitre alone, abbots and bishops, some twenty-four died in the pontificate of Pope Honorius IV from Easter to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

About the public works of Parma again.

Also in this year the Parmese decreed that a stone bridge should be built over the Taro five miles from Parma on the public road which leads to Borgo San Donnino. Also they had a tower built onto the castle called Grondola, which they own in the mountains three miles from Pontremoli.

In order to explain more fully the public works of Parma, it is necessary to turn back to earlier times and report those things done before my birth.

In 1196 the Parmese began construction on the baptistery, and my father placed stones in its foundation as a memorial, as he told me himself. For between my house and the baptistery there is no space. My father's name was Guido de Adam, and I am his son, Brother Salimbene of the Order of the Friars Minor.

Also in 1199 there was an attack by Borgo San Donnino on Piacenza and Milan and their allies with their carroccio, but they were defeated.

The great snow which is called the "snow of St. Agatha."

In 1207 construction on the stone bridge over the Parmese river was delayed because of a deep snow. This snow was called the "Snow of St. Agatha," because it fell on her feast day,⁴⁴ and it is memorable because it was as deep as a man is tall.

In this year St. Francis started the Order of the Friars Minor.

In this same year of 1207 St. Francis started the Order of the Friars Minor in the tenth year of Pope Innocent III's pontificate, and St. Francis lived in the Order for twenty full years.

In 1210 the moat of Santa Croce in Parma was dug. And the Emperor Otto⁴⁵ came to Parma.

In this year the Order of the old religion was started in Parma.

In 1211 the small Parmese pennies were first minted in Parma. And in this year the order of the old religion was started in Parma.

In 1213 the Cremonese fighting alone captured the Milanese carroccio.

In 1215 Lord Robert of Parma, son of Manfred Pio, was podestà of Parma. And in this year the Parmese and the Cremonese besieged Castelnovo, a Piacenzan stronghold.

In 1216 the Po froze.

In 1217 the expedition of Zibello took place.

In 1221 Lord Torello de Strata of Pavia was podestà of Parma. Construction was then begun on the new communal palace.

In 1223 Lord Henry Avvocato was podestà of Parma. And at the beginning of his rule the great earthquake on Christmas took place, a disaster which frequently comes to mind.

In 1224 Lord Manfred de Cornazano was podestà of Parma. In this year Obizzo, bishop of Parma, died. He was from Lavagna, and he was the uncle of Pope Innocent IV.

In 1226 the Emperor Frederick came to Parma.

In 1227 Lord Torello de Strata of Pavia was again podestà of Parma. And at that time construction was begun on the Torello castle in opposition to Borgo San Donnino, because Borgo San Donnino would not obey Parma. But because Borgo San Donnino surrendered to Parma, the Parmese stopped construction on this castle. This is enough of the Parmese buildings. We shall perhaps speak of other buildings later in the course of this narrative. But now let us expedite matters and return to the year begun.

The death of Manfred Torta de Alberghetti.

In 1285, Manfred Torta de Alberghetti of Faenza was killed in the village of Sezaria, five miles from Faenza, and both he and his son were killed by his relatives, while they were at dinner with them on the way from Ravenna.

Lord Malatesta of Rimini, whom certain people tried to kill.

In that same year the relatives of Count Taddeo de Bonacomite rose up against Lord Malatesta of Rimini and struck him, seeking to kill him in Cesena near the convent of the hermits. Luckily, however, the door of the convent was open and by their help he escaped his enemies.

The statute passed by Reggio against the fishmongers, because of their foolishness.

In that same year, it was decreed by the full council of Reggio that fishmongers would not be permitted to sell fish from the beginning of Lent until Easter, under penalty of twenty-five Bolognese pounds, and that no one would be permitted to buy their fish, under penalty of ten Bolognese pounds. And this law was observed scrupulously. The reason for the law was as follows: whenever a knight or judge asked a fisherman, "How much for this fish?" he would not even answer, although asked repeatedly. Far from it, he would look away and say to his partner, "Put the basket away." Thus the passage in Proverbs 29 [19]: "A slave will not be corrected by words: because he understandeth what thou sayest, and will not answer." Furthermore, they were asking three or four grossi for a small tench or eel. When the fishermen and fishmongers, however, saw how strictly the law was being applied and how much they were being hurt by it—for a record of each man's catch was made and the fish were put into a fish-pond until after Easter—they went to the Friars Minor and begged them to request the podestà, the captain, the city fathers, and the entire council to relax the law. For their part, the fishermen promised that they would sell their fish in a pleasant and courteous manner to all comers at a reasonable price. But even so, the rule was not relaxed, in keeping with the words of the Apostle about Esau in Hebrews 12 [17]: "For he found no place of repentance, although with tears he had sought it." The citizens of Reggio threatened to treat the butchers in the same way at Easter, unless they too agreed to sell their wares in a courteous and reasonable manner. When they heard this, the butchers behaved in accordance with the words of the Wise Man in Proverbs 19 [25]: "The wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be wiser: but if thou rebuke a wise man he will understand discipline." The man who brought the foolishness of the fisherman to the attention of the council was a judge in Reggio, Lord Gerard Varolo, who was, in fact, the one who drew up the law. He did what the Wise Man teaches in Proverbs 26 [5]: "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he imagine himself to be wise."

The men of Sassuolo capture some Modenese women by the advice of Lord Burigardo, who was himself captured along with some of his followers that same month by the city party of Modena.

In that same year of 1285, the men of Sassuolo captured three hundred Modenese women, who had gone out into the vineyards to pick grapes, and they took them to Sassuolo and put them in prison. This took place on Tuesday, Sept.

4. But the women were soon released, because the Modenese did the same to the women from Sassuolo. In that same year also, on September 21, the feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, twenty-four men of Sassuolo who were in Rubiera were captured by the Modenese and taken to Corticella, a mile and a half from Rubiera. Notable men among the captives included Lord Burigardo, a captain in the army of Sassuolo and a man skilled in weapons and warfare. He came from Gap, a small town in Provence, and it was he who had suggested capturing and imprisoning the women earlier that month. But in that same month he himself was captured and imprisoned in Modena. Another important prisoner was Lesnardo of Crema. All the other prisoners were French, except for a single Modenese. And note well that (as the men of the city party of Modena themselves even admitted) if Lord Burigardo had attacked the city when he first came to the aid of the men of Sassuolo, the Modenese had already decided to take flight and abandon the city, so great was the "fear" that "fell upon" them [Luke 1.12].

The Modenese begin negotiations for a peace settlement.

But the Lord ordained otherwise, and thus on October 7, the Sunday within the octave of the feast of St. Francis, a compromise peace settlement was reached between the men of Sassuolo and the Modenese of the city party.

Lord Guido de Corigia and Lord Matthew, his brother, act as intermediaries in the peace negotiations between the two Modenese factions.

Lord Guido de Corigia and Lord Matthew, his brother, were the key figures in securing this return to peace. Lord Mastino de San Vitale also worked hard to bring about this peace. Brother Peter de Collecchio of Parma, a Friar Minor and lector in the convent at Modena, worked equally hard by going to and fro between Parma, Modena, and Sassuolo as a messenger and intermediary. There was a great desire on both sides to secure peace at all costs, for they were both compelled to negotiate by their poverty and wretchedness, and by the huge debts they had incurred. For their purses had been completely emptied by the need to pay the Tuscans, the French, the troops from Romagna, and many other countries. And I myself, Brother Salimbene of Parma, a Friar Minor, was involved with Brother Peter de Collecchio in going to Sassuolo to ask Lord Manfredino, as well as other leaders of the Sassuolo party not to refuse peace, in keeping with the words of the Apostle in Romans 12 [.18]: "If it be possible, as much as is in you, have peace with all men." These leaders replied courteously that they had always desired peace with their fellow citizens and that they were prepared to accept the decision of the intermediaries, even if it seemed harsh. At that time I went to Carpi to observe the feast of St. Francis,⁴⁶ and on my arrival there I found the representatives of the Marquis of Este gathered in the church. And at that very time Lord Guido de Corigia and his brother, Lord Matthew, arrived from Parma, and the peace council began immediately. And because "designs are strengthened by counsels" [Proverbs 20.18], they returned to the negotiations

that same night and signed an agreement which was known only to the archpriest of Carpi. Early the next morning the envoys of the Marquis of Este returned to Ferrara, while Lord Guido and Lord Matthew proceeded to Modena to settle the peace. After a few days, the two brothers went to Parma to plead with the podestà, the captain, and the entire council to become involved in these negotiations, because the Modenese wished to have their approval of any settlement arrived at. And this request was granted gladly. Then Lord Guido obtained from the Parmese a loan of one thousand pounds, and Lord Matthew a similar sum from Reggio, so that the mercenaries in Modena could be paid off and dismissed and the negotiations carried on in greater tranquillity. These negotiations lasted for many days because they were particularly complex.

Lord Guido de Corigia does great honor to Lord Burigardo.

The Modenese who had captured Lord Burigardo sent him along with Count Lesnard and the other prisoners to Reggio where they remained in captivity in the city palace for fifteen days. Then Lord Guido de Corigia came, released Lord Burigardo, and took him to Corigia, a town in the bishopric of Reggio, and did great honor to him. Not long afterward, he took him to Castelnovo in the bishopric of Parma, where Guido and his brother had estates, and there he also honored him by giving a banquet in his honor with all kinds of delicacies. And Lord Burigardo said to Guido [Tobias 9.2]: "Even if I 'give myself to be thy servant I should not make a worthy return for thy care.'" And he added, "You have freed me from the prisons of the Modenese, Lord Guido, and delivered me 'out of the hands of my enemies' [Psalms 30.1] who had set out to harm me and 'sought my 'life' [Exodus 4.19]. Therefore, whenever there is a war against you, in whatever place, you will find me prepared to help and serve you as long as I live." Then Lord Guido thanked him and allowed him to go his way in peace, himself providing safe conduct for a part of the way. Lord Burigardo then returned to Sassuolo, where he was received with joy and honor, like one of the very angels of the Lord.

Lord Burigardo's devotion to God.

Note that Lord Burigardo was a very devout man, so dedicated to God, in fact, that he always retained his own chaplain in his house to say Mass daily and celebrate the divine office, as I have seen with my own eyes. Once when he was in Reggio, he sent the Friars Minor a huge candlestick to honor and venerate the body of Christ whenever it was elevated before the congregation during Mass.

Lord Matthew and Lord Guido de Corigia show their anger to the Modenese because of their seeming reluctance in concluding peace.

After Lord Burigardo's return to Sassuolo, however, people began to despair of ever achieving peace. The men of Sassuolo, in fact, began once again to fortify their city. But Lord Matthew de Corigia made a long speech in favor of the men

of Sassuolo, employing his eloquence in their behalf. Moreover, he made his annoyance with the Modenese clear because of their great reluctance to conclude a peace settlement with their fellow citizens in Sassuolo. For both he and his brother had spent the whole time from the feast of St. Francis to the feast of St. Lucy⁴⁷ in their efforts to bring about the peace. The Modenese, however, elected Lord Guido as their podestà for the following year, and immediately, in accordance with the terms of the peace treaty, he ordered all the castles and fortifications in the bishopric of Modena to be destroyed. Yet Lord Matthew left Modena in great anger, for the reasons I have already given, and he made it known to the Modenese that he was going to live in Sassuolo since, despite the fact that he had worked so hard for their well-being, they had refused to heed him. And his brother, Guido, also left, letting it be known that he was going to live with Obizzo, bishop of Parma, who favored Sassuolo, and, moreover, that he would always continue to nurse his hatred for Modena until peace returned to the city. And I was reminded of Moses and Aaron, who, the Scripture says, left Pharaoh in anger. Upon reflection, however, even the Modenese realized that they had been behaving badly, for they had sowed their fields and built homes throughout the bishopric, without any hope of enjoying them as long as the war continued. Thus they sent word that they would do anything possible to achieve peace with their fellow citizens. Thus the fulfillment of the Scripture in Ecclesiastes 7 [.4]: "Anger is better than laughter: because by the sadness of the countenance the mind of the offender is corrected." This is the situation today, shortly before Christmas. The end is unknown.

No hope of peace among the Lombards.

Yet I myself have little hope for peace among the Lombards, for peace to them is somewhat like the children's game in which the hands are placed on the knees one on top of the other; then one player jerks his hand out and slaps it on top of the other player's hand, and declares himself the winner, and so on and so on. But:

The conquered frequently conquers the victor.⁴⁸

And further:

The past is an indication of the future.⁴⁹

A noteworthy exemplum drawn from Ecclesiasticus 12 [.10]: "Never trust thy enemy" and Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31]: "Bring not every man into thy house." See also below, folio 506.

What we are saying is obvious. In my time, I once saw the Imperial party of Parma in exile in Borgo San Donnino asking their fellow citizens for a peace settlement, but once inside the city they demanded equal treatment with the Church party, and thus, after many struggles, were thrown out of the city again, as is written in Psalms [35.13]: "They are cast out, and could not stand." The same

thing happened in Bologna, Modena, Reggio, and Cremona. For although the Church party was welcomed back into Cremona by their fellow citizens joyfully, these ingrates deceitfully repayed their kindness with malice in less than a month by shamefully exiling the Imperial party that allowed them to return. Therefore, the best advice is to be found in Jeremiah 9 [.4-5]: "Let every man take heed of his neighbour, and let him not trust in any brother of his: for every brother will utterly supplant, and every friend will walk deceitfully. And a man shall mock his brother, and they will not speak the truth: for they have taught their tongue to speak lies: they have laboured to commit iniquity." Whence Ecclesiasticus 12 [.10-12] says: "Never trust thy enemy: for as a brass pot his wickedness rusteth: Though he humble himself and go crouching, yet take good heed and beware of him. Set him not by thee, neither let him sit on they right hand, lest he turn into thy place, and seek to take thy seat: and at the last thou acknowledge my words, and be pricked with my sayings."

Thus the serpent wisely answered the man who sought to make peace with him after each had done great harm to the other, as is made clear in that exemplum that I have a habit of quoting. A certain lord, so the story goes, owned a very beautiful garden filled with fruits which were a pleasure to behold and a delight to eat. But one day the gardener saw a snake there and chased it all the way to its hole with hoe raised to give it a mortal blow. But then stopping at the entrance of its hole, the snake spoke to the gardener: "Spare me, do not kill me. For I will not harm you by remaining in the garden. I will simply eat the fruit that falls from the tree and rots, and you will have gained a friend, for I will be your companion during your tedious hours of work." Then upon reflection, the gardener decided that the snake's words were quite reasonable, and so he said, "Not only will I grant your request, but I will take you into my own house and feed you from my own table for as long as you wish to stay with me." And in this fashion they lived together for a while. But one day while the gardener was away, the snake killed his son, an infant in the crib, and then fled to the safety of its hole. Thus when he returned, the gardener found his son dead and the snake gone. And so after great lamentation, he picked up his hoe and went looking for the snake. But the snake, of course, stayed safely in his hole. One day, however, the gardener caught the snake napping, and before he could get away, cut off his tail. This vengeance assuaged the grief he felt for his dead son, and so a few days later he again came upon the snake and said, "Shall we make peace?" "No," replied the snake, "for you will never be able to love me when you recall the death of your son, nor can I love you while I see my tail so distorted from the blow you struck. Let us each do what he must as he sees best for his own benefit." This is a perfect exemplum for the Emperor Frederick who sowed the seeds of dissension, and factions, and curses throughout Italy, which last to this very day and cannot be resolved, because of man's innate wickedness and the evil wrought by the devil, who is properly called the enemy of mankind and who "oversowed cockle among the wheat and went his way," Matthew 13 [.25]. If you wish to know what

he went to do, hear Apocalypse 12 [.17]: "To make war with the rest of her seed."

The perversities of the Emperor Frederick.

But Frederick has now left this world, and although he did indeed have some good qualities, he was also excessively wicked and perverse, as is clear from the above exemplum. Once after his excommunication by Pope Gregory IX, the Emperor was passing through the lands of the Patriarch of Aquileia and he sent word to the Patriarch that he should come and hear Mass with him. (This Patriarch was Lord Bertold, a fine man, who was the uncle of St. Elizabeth, and I myself knew him well.) Even before the Emperor's messenger arrived, the Patriarch became aware of the impending invitation, and so he sent for his barber to come and bleed him. Afterward, he got out of bed and sat down to dinner, and then he sent word to the Emperor that he was unable to come to Mass with him since he had just been bled and had got up to eat. But the Emperor sent word to him again, saying that he should put everything aside and come to him. And so finally wishing to assuage the Emperor's anger, he humbly obeyed him, and went with him to hear Mass. In this regard, the Emperor Constantine is reputed to have said: "He who sets out to do evil, desires first to capture and make use of the good." Moreover, both John and Paul say the following about Julian the Apostate: "Just as soon as he was cast out from the sight of the face of God, Julian began trying to drag down others with him." The event with the Patriarch took place at Pentecost in Vicenza in the Mark of Treviso.

I have recounted many evil deeds of the Emperor Frederick elsewhere in this chronicle, and also in a shorter chronicle, though certainly not all of them, because there is such a huge number of them. Nevertheless, it should be made clear that he was not as cruel as Ezzelino da Romano, who governed for a long time in the Mark of Treviso. It must be understood too that once he was a very easy-going man, but he had many foes and assailants "that sought" his "life" [Exodus 4.19] and desired to murder him, especially in Apulia and Sicily, but throughout the entire kingdom as well.

The Modenese besiege and capture Magreta; the miracle worked by the Blessed Virgin in that place.

In 1285 the exiles from Modena laid siege to Magreta in the bishopric of Modena, and they captured it quickly because it was poorly fortified and, besides, had few defenders. Then Negro de Leccaterra (whom I mentioned above in my list of the Modenese dead) went into the Church of the Blessed Virgin, which was in that town, and set fire to it, seeking to burn it to the ground, and he called out, "Now defend yourself, Holy Mary, if you can!" But immediately after uttering these evil words, a spear pierced his breastplate, struck his heart, and killed him instantly. And because his own men had not thrown the spear (and would not, certainly, have done so at him), it is generally believed that he was struck down by Mercury — both because Mercury is thought to be the normal avenger

of wrongs done the Holy Virgin, and because it was he who killed Julian the Apostate with a spear during the Persian war. Moreover, this man Negro was famous for killing men with a spear, and had done so many times. Thus the Scripture was fulfilled, Wisdom 11 [.17]: "By what things a man sinneth, by the same also he is tormented," and I Kings 26 [.8]: "I will run him through with my spear even to the earth at once, and there shall be no need of a second time," and Ecclesiastes 5 [.1]: "Speak not any thing rashly, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter a word before God. For God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few," and Psalms [74.6]: "Speak not iniquity against God," and Isaish 32 [.6]: "The fool will speak foolish things," and Ecclesiastes 7 [.18]: "Be not foolish, lest thou die before thy time," and Ecclesiasticus 5 [.9]: "For his wrath shall come on a sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will destroy thee," and Ecclesiasticus 7 [.1, 3]: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee . . . Sow not evils in the furrows of injustice, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold," and Wisdom 16 [.14]: "A man indeed killeth" his own soul "through malice, and when the spirit is gone forth it shall return, neither shall he call back the soul that is received."

In this year the Papal court moves to Tivoli, and there is great sickness there.

In that same year, the Papal court, that is, Pope Honorius IV and his cardinals, took up residence in Tivoli, and the rate of mortality there in that year was so high that among the visitors to the city alone two thousand died. Frequently, the Friars Minor heard four funeral Masses in their church in a single day. Moreover, there was an aged foreigner in the city, who had just recently been elected bishop and had come there for consecration, and he died along with twenty-five members of his household. My information comes from the Minister of Tours (or of St. Martin) who had been there at the time. And these facts reminded me of the words of the prophet Amos, 5 [.16-17]: "In every street there shall be wailing: and in all places that are without, they shall say: Alas, alas! and they shall call the husbandman to mourning, and such as are skilful in lamentation to lament. And in all vineyards there shall be wailing," and below, 8 [.3]: "Many shall die: silence shall be cast in every place." And take note that, as I recall having mentioned already, it is a firm and reliable rule that whenever there is a sickness among cattle in one year, there will inevitably follow a sickness among men in the next. Also, it is normal to have a high mortality rate among men following a famine.

Also in September of that same year, Brother Vitale died in Bologna, that same city in which he was serving as Minister. He had served as Minister for fifteen or sixteen years, but he was, as it appears, a man of little worth. After his death, the Brothers—that is, the Guardians, the Custodians, the Lectors, and other qualified men—held a meeting in the convent at Bologna in order to have a proper election. And in October they elected Brother Bartholomew of Bologna as Provincial Minister. Brother Bartholomew had been a professor in the University of Paris. Finally, Brother Philip de Boschetti of Modena was sent to Paris to Brother

Arlotto, the Minister General, for confirmation of that election. And it was done.

The death of Philip, King of France.

In that same year King Philip⁵⁰ of France died in Spain in the city of Gerona, while he was leading an army against Peter, King of Aragon. Likewise, many of his troops died, not struck down by their enemies, but by the Divine Will, by which all things live or die. Philip was the son of St. Louis. His body was taken to Paris for burial, and he was succeeded by his son Philip.⁵¹

The names of the kings of France. In a very short time the Church party experienced great difficulties. The tower of Bianello falls, an augury of the future.

Take note that in modern times all of the kings of France have been called either Louis or Philip. Note too that in a very short time the Church party was in dire straits, suffering great losses and heavy misfortunes. The first was that the son of King Charles was captured in a naval battle by Peter of Aragon's forces, and was imprisoned in Sicily. The second was the death of King Charles himself, who died a short time after the capture of his son. The third was that in that same year Pope Martin went the way of all flesh. Fourth, the king of France did the same. And all of these events took place in the same year of 1285.⁵² It was in that same year also that Pope Honorius IV had ordered that the Church taxes of the next three years were to be given to King Charles' son for succor and liberation of Sicily from the harsh rule of Peter of Aragon, who was in power against the will of the Church. In that same year also the tower at Bainello collapsed. Bianello is a castle which once belonged to the Countess Matilda, and it is situated in the mountains of the bishopric of Reggio, where there are four other castles, all built very close together, only about an arrow-shot apart. The name of the first is Montevetro. The second, Bianello, is occupied by Lord Guido of Canossa and his brother, Boniface. The third is called Monteluccio, which contains only the Church of St. Leonard. The fourth is called Montezane, and it is occupied by a priest named Lord Gerard, "old" and ancient and "full of days" [Genesis 35.29]. This man did many good things, and nobody lives in that castle in the Church of St. Nicholas except him and his servants. Take note that in better days these four castles were occupied by knights and ladies, but now they are in ruins with their towers and palaces tumbling down, and the houses completely deserted. Let them look to it! For "They were brought to be few: and they were afflicted through the trouble of evils and sorrow," [Psalms 106.39].

In that same year near the feast of St. Lucy,⁵³ Barnabo died, the man called "de Regina," who was a native of Reggio. He died suddenly in his bed without any preceding symptoms. He was a great friend of mine, and the delight of priests, canons, cardinals, and prelates in general, as well as soldiers, barons, and all men who love light conversation and banter, of which he was a master. For he was very fluent in French, as well as such Italian dialects as Tuscan and Lombard. Besides, he knew how to adapt himself well to the style of those to whom he was

speaking, that is to say, he spoke like a child with children, and like a woman gossiping with her friends when he talked with women. Moreover, he was excellent at imitating the preaching style of old-time preachers, such as those of the time of the Great Halleluiah, that time when they set themselves to performing miracles, as I saw in those days with my own eyes. The old-time preachers were Brother John of Vicenza, a Dominican, who did miracles in Bologna; Brother Bartholomew, also of Vicenza and of the same Order, who performed miracles in Parma; Brother Jacopino of Parma, a Dominican, who did miracles in Reggio and was called, as a result, "de Reggio"; Brother Gerard of Modena, a Friar Minor, who traveled throughout Italy preaching and working miracles; Brother Leo, archbishop of Milan and a Friar Minor, who did some fine preaching in Milan; and many others that I myself saw and knew. May their memory rest with God! Amen.

The death of Master Roland, bishop of Spoleto, who did many good things.

In that same year, Master Roland of Parma died. His father was Master Taberna, a handsome and courteous man. He was an excellent tailor, and made clothes for the nobility. When Master Roland went to Paris to study, he was very poor, but he studied many subjects there for many years and became a great and learned clerk. Then he went to the curia where he practiced law and became wealthy and "rich, and very glorious." [II Paralipomenon 32.27]. And when Pope Nicholas III was creating new Cardinals, he gave this office to Lord Gerard Albo of Gainaco, a village in the bishopric of Parma, and he made Master Roland bishop of Spoleto.

Master Roland, Bishop of Spoleto, investigates the miracles of St. Louis.

Pope Martin IV, however, relieved Master Roland of the bishopric of Spoleto and sent him to France to investigate the miracles of St. Louis of blessed memory, for the Pope wished to canonize him. Roland fulfilled this mission very well indeed, and when he arrived in Reggio on his way back from France, he told me that he was taking to the Pope an account of some seventy-four miracles of healing that God had wrought through the King, his servant and friend. And these miracles were all supported by reliable witnesses and properly authenticated by notaries. The Pope was delighted at this news, for before he had become Pope, he himself had been the first to inquire into these miracles in France, and thus after becoming Pope he sent Roland on this mission in his place. Afterward, the Pope rewarded Roland for his labors by giving him the best bishopric in France—a see, however, which he was prevented from assuming by his death. Moreover, the Pope himself died that same year and was thus unable to canonize the blessed Louis as he had wished. Perhaps this canonization is being reserved for another Pope.⁵⁴

Master Roland, bishop of Spoleto, performed other services, in Parma, which are worthy of record. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, church of the Brothers of Santa Fenicola, for example, he built a beautiful chapel with marble columns near the street, and he provided it with the proper endowments so that Requiem

Masses could be sung on the appropriate days for the souls of his father, mother, and all his kinsmen that were buried there. He also bought the home of Lord Gerard (formerly of Corigia, and father of Lord Guido and Lord Matthew) which is situated next to the Church of the Glorious Virgin, close to the entrance of St. John the Evangelist, where the monks live, and there built a great wall for a palace. And immediately behind this, he bought the homes of the Boveri, and on that site built walls and gardens and a house with many rooms, so that he might live quietly and peacefully when he came to Parma. At the suggestion of the Humiliati of Parma, he planned to buy their house and estate just beyond the gate of St. Benedict, as he told me himself, so that he could live there in summer or whenever he chose. His offering price was one thousand Imperial pounds, but they were asking two hundred pounds more than that, and so the bargain was never concluded, because "He that violently bloweth his nose, bringeth out blood," as we read in Proverbs 30 [.33]. Moreover, he bought extensive lands near Gainaco, including, in fact, the entire village of Sinzanese, which had once been owned by Lord Thomas Hugo Armari and, later, by Antonino de Bussoli, from whom he bought it. And he gave this property to the French Brothers of the Carthusian Order. These Brothers with their black habits look like the Dominicans, as I saw with my own eyes when they came to the church of the Friars Minor on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin to hear Mass. For they had come to Parma in order to take possession of this property.

The harshness and churlishness of Lord Roland Taberna towards the religious Orders of Parma.

Take note that Roland Taberna, whom we have already mentioned, was always harsh and churlish toward the religious Orders of Parma, and was never friendly nor well-disposed toward them. He left nothing to them, for example, at the time of his death.

The Parmese have always shown a complete lack of respect toward the religious Orders of their city.

This turn of mind is, in fact, characteristic of almost all the Parmese, clerk or lay, men or women, noble or commoner: they are invariably disrespectful, crude, and churlish in their treatment of the servants of the Lord, whether they are fellow Parmese or outsiders. As a result, the clearest possible sign that the wrath of God is upon them is plainly visible, because the Apostle says to Timothy: "But if any man have not care of his own, and especially of those of his house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." [I Timothy 5.8]. Also, the Lord says of his servants in Zachariah 2 [.8]: "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye." Moreover, speaking of Jerusalem in a passage which is appropriate to the Parmese and can easily be adapted to them because of their cruelty and lack of charity toward the poor servants of God, the Lord says, Ezechiel 16 [.49]: "Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her, and of her daughters: and they did not

put forth their hand to the needy, and to the poor." Thus it is that I, Brother Salimbene of Parma, who have served in the Order of the Friars Minor for forty-eight years, I myself have never wished to live among the Parmese on account of the disrespectful attitude which they display, and in fact have, toward the servants of God. They show no generosity to them, although they could do so with a lavish hand if they wished, for they give generously to wandering actors, jugglers, and mimes, as well as to those who are called the "knights of the court," as I have seen with my own eyes. In truth, a city the size of Parma in France could easily support a full hundred Friars Minor in a fine and proper manner, with everything necessary at their disposal.

Cardinal Gerard Albo does many good things for the Parmese.

In this same year Cardinal Gerard Albo gave alms to the Friars Minor in the amount of twenty Imperial pounds, and he gave the same amount to the Brothers who went as messengers to him in the curia. These messengers, Brother Gerardino Rangone and Brother Francis Tornilio, were also from Parma, and each of them received ten pounds. Moreover, he sent fifteen pounds to Lord William Rangone of Parma as a favor to his son, the messenger Brother Gerardino. Furthermore, he requested the Cardinals to permit Lord William Rangone to come and live with him, and thus Lord William was made a member of his court and became a very great man. This Cardinal also had a very fine and beautiful dormitory built at his own expense for the ladies of the old Religion of Parma, because his own sister was living in that community. He also donated a hundred Imperial pounds to the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin of Parma to pay for the casting of a splendid, sonorous bell to be rung in her honor, which was indeed done. Further, he gave two hundred Imperial pounds to the Dominicans of Parma towards the construction of their church, which was built immediately upon their return from their Babylonian captivity, that is to say, following their reconciliation with the Parmese for the death of Lady Alina — for which they had left Parma and remained away for many years.

The death of Peter, King of Aragon, and his good qualities.

In that same year King Peter of Aragon died on the Vigil of St. Martin,⁵⁵ after making confession to the Guardian of the Friars Minor, and he lies buried in their convent at Villanuova. And messengers were sent to Pope Honorius IV in an effort to restore peace between the sons of Peter of Aragon and the sons of the King of France, who are said to be related by blood. The Duke of Austria took these peace negotiations upon himself, because he was married to the sister of Peter of Aragon.

In praise of Peter of Aragon, as demonstrated in the following example. Peter of Aragon was a man of great courage, "a strong man armed" [Luke 11.21], an expert in warfare. For he was a man of great audacity and ambition, as is made clear in the matter of Sicily, which he dared to invade in spite of King Charles

and Pope Martin. This is made clear too in another example which I shall relate here. There is a high mountain on the borders of Provence and Spain, called Canigou by the natives of that region, but which we call Cliginoso. This is the first land glimpsed by sailors as they approach, and the last to disappear from view as they sail away. No man lives on this mountain, nor has any ever dared to scale it on account of the dangers and difficulties involved in climbing its great height. Men do, however, live in the foothills. Peter of Aragon resolved to climb this mountain to discover for himself what was on the summit, and so he summoned two of his soldiers, close and beloved friends of his, and explained what he intended to do. They were delighted, and promised not merely to keep it secret, but indeed to accompany him on the expedition. With the necessary rations and equipment ready, they left their horses in the foothills and began the slow climb on foot. After they had reached a considerable height, they began to hear loud and terrifying thunder. Lightning flashed, storms raged, and showers of hail lashed down, which so terrified them that they fell prostrate as if rendered unconscious by the great fear which overcame them [cf. Luke 21.26]. Peter, however, who was stronger and tougher than they, had a great desire to complete this undertaking, and so he reassured them, saying that if they could overcome their fears and afflictions, the exploit would bring them great honor and glory. Then he gave food to them, and they ate together. Thus after resting from the weariness of the laborious climb, he encouraged them to boldly resume the ascent with him — a situation which was repeated several times. Finally, however, Peter's two companions began to fail, because they could scarcely breathe on account of their great fatigue and the terror caused by the thunder. So Peter asked them to wait there for him until the following evening, saying that if he had not returned by that time, they were completely free to go back down the mountain. Then Peter began the strenuous climb alone. At the top he found a lake, and when he threw a stone into it, a huge, horrible dragon came forth and began to fly about, and its breath filled the air with gloom and darkness. Then Peter descended again and told his companions all that he had seen and done, and he gave them permission to reveal all these things when they got back down the mountain. I myself believe that this feat of Peter of Aragon can be compared with the deeds of Alexander, who also undertook many dangerous and terrible adventures in order to deserve future praise.

Praise of King Charles and his good qualities.

King Charles was a man of great courage, "a strong man armed" [Luke 11.21], an expert in warfare. He exposed himself to many dangers in order to gain fame, as was shown in many clear and proven cases. First, when he killed Manfred, Prince of Sicily, son of the former Emperor Frederick. Second, when he killed Conradin, son of Conrad, son of the aforesaid former Emperor. And he won fame in this way in many other battles. Once, when he heard that a certain knight from Campania, the region between Rome and Terra di Lavoro, was defeating

all opponents in single combat, Frenchmen and Lombards alike, he told his son, the prince, to set a day for combat and let it be known that a certain anonymous knight wished to meet this knight from Campania in single combat. But when he heard this, Charles' son tried his best to dissuade his father from undertaking the venture, pointing out that this knight was very powerful and skilful at arms, and "For he that is high hath another higher, and there are others still higher than these: Moreover there is the king that reigneth over all the land subject to him," Ecclesiastes 5 [.7-8]. The King, however, refused to heed his son's entreaties, and fixed a day for the battle. As soon as each was ready, at the third blast of the trumpet, they galloped forward and clashed. And so "the strong hath" powerfully "stumbled against the strong" [Jeremiah 46.12] with such vigor that everyone was astounded. But not only did they refuse to fall; they did not even budge in their saddles. Yet their impact was so powerful that both their lances were shattered from tip to handle. Then King Charles was ready to fight with the mace, and cheerfully bore the first blow. The knight from Campania came upon him swiftly, like a falcon upon a little bird or a hawk upon a duck. Raising his mace in both hands, he struck the king such a heavy blow that had it landed squarely it would have killed the king without a doubt. But instead it glanced off his head and struck his shoulder and ribs, and it hit the saddle with such force that the horse's knees buckled under him, and the king was thrown to the ground unconscious with two ribs broken. Then the Prince, along with some other knights, took him back to his tent and removed his armor. Only then, with great surprise did they recognize him as King Charles. When the knight from Campania heard who he was, however, he was stricken with fear, and he got on his horse immediately and took flight, and he lived for some time in hiding in the March of Ancona. But as soon as Charles regained consciousness, he asked his son if his opponent was still in the field, because it was now his turn to try his prowess with the mace. Then his son replied, "Lie still, for the doctors say you have two broken ribs." The King endured all of these tribulations in order to preserve the honor of the French, because he did not want any Lombard to have the name of being stronger than a Frenchman.

In modern times four men were strong hunters before the Lord, that is, oppressors of men.

And take note that these four men we spoke of above were strong hunters before the Lord, that is, oppressors of men. For Pope Martin was obstinate in seeking to conquer Romagna, and he got what he wanted. But as a result many men fell "with the edge of the sword" [IV Kings 10.25] and much gold was spent. King Charles led an army against Prince Manfred and Conradin and conquered them. And King Peter of Aragon fought against Charles in Sicily, occupied his kingdom, and invaded Apulia. But the kings of France avenged Charles, his uncle, by leading a large French army into Spain against Peter. And yet in one and the same year they have all gone the way of all flesh.

St. Augustine's excellent description of life in this world.

Augustine speaks thus of life in this world:

O life, how many you have deceived, how many seduced, how many blinded! When you flee, you are nothing; when you are truly seen, you are a shadow; When you are exalted, you are smoke. You are sweet to the foolish, bitter to the wise. Those who love you do not know you; it is those who hate you that understand you. You should be feared; You should be fled, for you are like a shadow or a dangerous dream. You are brief, and you are false. You are a highway: long to some, wide to some, narrow to some, joyous to some, sorrowful to some. A thing to be questioned and not to be believed. You are wretched and mortal and deceptive. Run, run, wise man, flee what it is necessary to flee. Life is like a man sitting in a foreign home. He knows neither the day nor the hour when it will be said to him: Get out, for this is not your home. O vanity of the world: you have promised so much to us, and you have deceived us. He is God's enemy who is your friend. Friendship to this world is enmity to God. Flesh, why do you love the soul, when you should desire nothing but serving God? Before sin is committed, it is sweeter than honey; afterward, more bitter than gall.⁵⁶

Thus Augustine.

Primas on life in this world.

Hugh Primas wrote a fine poem on life in this world:⁵⁷

Alas, alas! O life below,
Why do you delight me so?
So fleeting is my tenure here,
Then why so lovely, why so dear?

Ah, life so fleeting, life so brief,
Your every joy must end in grief;
Since you will betray and bring me low,
Why do you enchant me so?

Alas! alas, short fragile breath,
Hateful you are, your name is death;
Since you are a consummate liar,
Why do I still hope, expect, desire?

Life in the world, a sick, sad hour,
Sadly declining, frail as a flower;
I know all this, and feel and see;
Why are you still sweet to me?

Life in this world, empty and vain,
Filled with anxiety, sorrow, and pain;
Since I know this to be true,
Why do I suffer so much for you?

Life in this world, always dying,
Ever hastening, constantly flying;
Since your tenure is so brief
Why am I so full of grief?

Life of the world, a fragile thing,
Feeble and weak, but with a poisonous sting,
Like a serpent, malicious, unkind,
Why do you stay ever in mind?

Life of the world, lowly and base,
Why do you never nobility embrace?
What good do you gain or see
In seeking to annihilate me?

Life of the world, cruel, severe.
Proud, faithless, so insincere,
What do you expect to win
By compelling me to sin?

Life of the world, a wretched time,
Full of hatred, evil, and crime,
You are man's sad, mortal plight;
Why think yourself so great a delight?

Life of the world, so vexatious,
False, foresworn, sadly fallacious,
So abandoned, so full of flaws,
Why subject me to your bestial laws?

Life of the world, bitter as gall,
Frivolous, yet proud above all,
Though you are so merciless and dire,
Why strike me in your furious ire?

Life of the world, mere vanity,
False and uncertain, foolish inanity,
You are worms and ashes, foul putrition;
How can you serve as my definition?

Life of the world, a foul abuse,
Babbling, vagrant, and vainly loose,

Since you are so trifling and low,
Why, fool, do you roar at me so?

Life of the world, foolish life,
Life so brief and full of strife,
Since you are so crude, low, unrefined,
Why do you delude my mind?

Life of the world, thing of impurity,
To the wicked alone do you give securtiy;
Full of evil, full of care,
Why to me are you so fair?

Life of the world, so unkind,
Lustful, drunk, enslaved, and blind,
Total lack of good, total lack of ease,
Why, I wonder, seem you still to please?

Life of the world, life injurious,
Incestuous, vile, mad, and furious,
You have no honor, you are not free,
Why then must you seize on me?

Life of the world, so shameless,
Impotent and false and finally aimless,
Since you are ever an enemy in the end,
Why do you seek to be my friend?

Life of the world, bitter and brief,
Ignorant and lost, with no relief,
Since you are so filled with pain,
Why should I, do I, wish to remain?

Life of the world, no life,
Filled as you are with endless strife,
Since you are dying continually,
Why do you strive to stay in me?

Life of the world, foul disease,
No rest for the soul, no comfort or ease,
Since you are so harsh and so unfair,
Noli me tangere, I pray, beware.

Do not seek to please me,
Do not seek to ease me,
Do not seek to make me fear,
Do not love me or hold me dear.

Your seeming fair does not please;
I count it all as foul disease;
Since you can never relieve me,
Be not slow, therefore, to leave me.

I curse your love,
I renounce your favor,
I despise your honor,
I hate your beauty.

I will never love you,
I will never trust you,
I will ever fight you,
I will always condemn you.

By yourself, to yourself, I swear,
I discount all your beauty fair;
Since you give but tears and pain,
For you I have naught but disdain.

Therefore, life so tedious, empty, and vain,
Evil love of this world insane,
Why follow the one who flees you,
Or love him who does nothing to please you?

Love of the flesh, life in this world,
Against you my curses are hurled;
Why do you not blush for shame
To embrace one who despises your name?

Blush now, and believe now,
That I wish you to leave now;
And if you will not go in peace,
With force I will gain release.

I shall cast you from my heart,
For Christ himself will take my part;
You shall not return, I swear it;
You shall not return, I cannot bear it.

Marvel not, O plague so dire
That I seek to harm you in my ire;
For you've done me such great wrong;
Listen closely, the list is long:

You have harmed my every sense,
My brain grows weak, my nerves grow tense,

Hearing dulled, sight grows bleary,
Hands now shake, body weary.

You have tried to devour me whole,
To weaken my body and injure my soul;
You have sought to take my breath,
And deliver me over to wretched death.

The sins you urged me to commit
I can scarce recount for the shame of it;
Nevertheless, I will not spare you,
Do your worst; fearlessly I dare you.

If ever I did something right,
Against your will I had to fight,
For following simply your lead,
To evil and wrong I did accede.

If ever to fast I set my will,
You taught that hunger would make me ill,
And warned me like some cautious nurse
To eat soon lest I grow worse.

If I was generous with the poor,
You repulsed them from my door,
Saying, "If so recklessly you give,
In the poorhouse you'll be forced to live."

If ever honest poverty I praised,
This objection you always raised:
"Work to earn, and labor to achieve,
For truly 'tis better to give than to receive."

If for my sins I wished to shed tears,
The very sins you taught me for years,
You said that such false lacrimosity
Convicted me of base hypocrisy.

If to reform I turned my hand,
To correct faults and to understand,
You never ceased muttering this advice,
"To save one's self doth suffice."

Reproaching a sinner in any way,
Invariably, I always heard you say,
"Those you rebuke and chastise
You cause to hate you and despise."

If I sought to be meek and obedient,
You always taught me this expedient:
"You ought not, as a superior,
To humble yourself to an inferior."

If I spent my time in books,
You stirred me up with words and looks:
"Get out of here, go, earn your keep,
All you do is read and sleep."

But if I wished to work instead,
Here is what you always said:
"You'll harm yourself without a doubt,
Why slave, and work, and wear yourself out?"

If I refused to hold a grudge,
Or haul my neighbor before the judge,
You said, "Allow this, I warn you,
And everybody will contemptuously scorn you."

If I wished to sleep a bit,
You called me lazy and unfit,
"In sleep," you said, "what do you gain,
But bleary eyes and a dull brain?"

If I wished to be thrifty and save,
You said, "Money does no good in the grave;
If you watch every penny that goes out,
People will call you a miserly lout."

If I wished to be generous and free,
"Be careful," you said, "you shall see,
What was saved up for a rainy day
Will soon be wasted and squandered away."

Wholeheartedly, I condemn you
With resolute mind I condemn you;
Since you have no final goal,
I renounce you with all my soul.

Therefore, life, unlikely thing,
To you only base fools cling;
I prefer to waste away and die
Than submit to your mortal lie.

The Parmese expel the heirs of Ghiberto de Gente from Campegine.

In that same year, that is, 1285, the Parmese completely expelled all the heirs of Lord Ghiberto de Gente — sons and grandsons — from Campegine. The reason for this expulsion was not only the old hatred that they bore the father but also their new hatred for the sons. The passage in Ezechiel 18 [.2] can be repeated about the hatred for the father: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the teeth of the children are set on edge." Thus Ecclesiasticus 41 [.10] says: "The children will complain of an ungodly father, because for his sake they are in reproach." The sons themselves can repeat the words of I Kings 12 [.19] about the new hatred for the sons: "For we have added to all our sins this evil."

Lord Ghiberto de Gente's faults.

We have spoken sufficiently above, folio 397, of Lord Ghiberto de Gente's faults which provoked the hatred of the Parmese, but some remain which should not be hidden. Once when Ghiberto was podestà of Parma, Pope Innocent IV, (who was then living in Naples), sent word to Lord Bertolino Taverneri to come to him. Since Bertolino was married to his niece, Lady Helena, the Pope wanted to make him podestà of Naples. And so Bertolino asked permission to go, which Ghiberto granted. Yet after Bertolino had prepared for the trip at great expense Ghiberto withdrew the permission, and, moreover, confined him to the village of Noreto, where his property was. And so Bertolino lived there for many days in anxiety and fear, expecting sudden attacks from his enemies, and especially from Pelavicino, who hated him and who was at that time podestà of Cremona. Then hearing various rumors one night — which indeed he frequently heard — he rode out of the village and spent the entire night under the open sky sleepless, ready for flight. Finally, however, seeing that Ghiberto de Gente would show him no mercy and allow him to return to Parma as he had promised, Bertolino broke the sentence of confinement and went to Pope Innocent IV, who made him podestà of Naples. And during his rule Pope Innocent died there in Naples⁵⁸ and was buried in the cathedral of that city. Moreover, Pope Alexander IV owed his election to Bertolino, for Bertolino refused to allow the Cardinals to leave the city until they had elected a successor to Innocent. But Pope Alexander was not unmindful of the great favor done him, for until the day of his death he provided for Bertolino out of his own household. Bertolino was a courteous, valiant, and powerful man, and he was a close friend of mine. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God. It was said that Uberto Pellavicino had him poisoned. And Ghiberto de Gente had Bertolino's houses destroyed and his palace pulled down, because he had broken confinement by going to the Pope. And this was not only a despicable act on Ghiberto's part but also a very foolish one, for in the face of a command from a superior power (such as the Pope), a subordinate is not bound to obey a command from an inferior power (such as Ghiberto). Whence we read that the Apostles said to the chief priests, Acts 4 [.19]: "If it be just in

the sight of God, to hear you rather than God, judge ye." But note that "We ought to obey God, rather than men" [Acts 5.29]. And thus that prophet who had come from Juda into Bethel was killed by a lion because he disobeyed the Lord, and he was not excused because he obeyed a man who deceived him. A record of this is in III Kings 13. Moreover, Lord Bertolino left no sons, nor did his brother, Lord Jacopo, who died after him and left his riches to the Templars. Thus the house of Lord Bertolino Taverneri was totally obliterated in Parma. Yet he had been a great baron in the time of Frederick the Emperor. And so it can be said of him fittingly: "He storeth up: and he knoweth not for whom he shall gather these things," [Psalms 38.7] and "Be not thou afraid, when a man shall be made rich, and when the glory of his house shall be increased. For when he shall die he shall take nothing away; nor shall his glory descend with him" [Psalms 48.17-18].

The rule of Pellavicino in Cremona and Ghiberto de Gente in Parma.

At the time that Ghiberto de Gente was ruling in Parma, Pellavicino was ruling in Cremona. Once, however, when Ghiberto was engaged in a friendly conversation with Pellavicino, Pellavicino said to him, "Ha, God! Should I not be the ruler of Parma?" Then he threw his sword and sheath to the ground with great force in order to show his anger. But Ghiberto de Gente did not wish to grant him the rule in Parma because he wished it for himself, for such control would confer not only great honor but also great monetary gain. Yet Ghiberto granted this much to Pellavicino: he permitted him to enter Parma with five hundred armed men, with whom he rode through the city "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10] as if on a tour of the city. But Parmese crossbowmen rode along with Pellavicino with bows cocked, ready to shoot them in order to frighten him into leaving the city. And Ghiberto rejoiced at their departure, because he was afraid they would depose him if they remained in Parma. Once when Pellavicino with his armed forces had to go through the district of Cò di Ponte, where the Marquis of Lupi lived, one marquis sat outside under his portico with a servant washing his feet to show Pellavicino that he was as afraid of him as of a goat's tail. For both the marquis of Lupi and the marquis of Pellavicino once lived in the same village of Soragna in the bishopric of Parma five miles north of Borgo San Donnino. Therefore, they were great enemies of one another. Pellavicino, at all events, could never gain control of Parma as he wished, and even Ghiberto de Gente lost his control eventually. For Ghiberto de Gente committed all the aforesaid evils, and the Parmese hated him exceedingly for it. No ruler, therefore, should ever do all the evil he can to his enemies, for meanwhile:

Like the capricious fickle moon, Fortune's wheel turns soon.⁵⁹

Thus Ecclesiasticus 7 [.1] says: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee," and again [.3]: "Sow not evils in the furrows of injustice, and thou shalt not reap

them sevenfold," and Isaiah 3 [.11]: "Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him."

*Guido da Polenta took sufficient revenge and refused to go to extremes. Whence the passage: "There is a golden mean in things," and "It prevails in all things."*⁶⁰

Guido da Polenta, who was living in Ravenna, acted better than this, because he took sufficient revenge and would not go to extremes. For when he was a little boy, the Emperor took his father hostage, and Lord Guido Malaborra, brother of Count Roger of Bagnacavallo, prevailed upon the Emperor to behead him, or have him beheaded. And so when Guido da Polenta grew up he did the same thing to Guido Malaborra. Yet later when he went to Bagnacavallo with a host of armed men and met Count Roger with only a small force, his companions tried to persuade him to finish Count Roger off so that he would no longer need to fear him. But he answered, "We have done enough. Let that which has been done suffice. For evil deeds can always be done, but, once done, they cannot be recalled." And thus he allowed Count Roger to go free. Whence we read that Saul said when David spared him many times, refusing to kill him when he could easily have done so, I Kings 26 [.25 and I Kings 24.20]: "Blessed art thou, my son David. For who when he hath found his enemy, will let him go well away?"

The hatred that Ghiberto de Gente brought upon his heirs by his dealings with the Parmese.

The following can be said about the hatred for the heirs of Ghiberto de Gente. He had a son named Pinotto, who by many actions caused the Parmese to hate Ghiberto's heirs. For, first, against the will of the Parmese, he invaded and captured Guastalla and sought to occupy it. Second, he took a wife whom he later killed, and as a result, God willing, many evils came upon his own head. His father had wanted to take this woman as his wife after he had been exiled and confined to Ancona by the Parmese, but Pinotto snatched her away for himself, allured by his love of riches, as well as the beauty of the woman.

Pinotto has his wife smothered.

This lady was called Beatrice. She was from Apulia, but she was living in Ancona. She was a wealthy and beautiful woman, and she was alert, gracious, generous, and courteous. Moreover, she was very skilful at chess and dice.⁶¹ She was living with her husband, Pinotto, in Bianello, once a castle belonging to the Countess Matilda, and she came frequently in company with other ladies to the convent of the Friars Minor at Montefalcone, both for recreation and for conversation with the Brothers. I was living there at that time. And she confided in me that they wished to kill her. I understood whom she was speaking about, and I was sorry for her. And so I taught her that she should confess and live always in a good state so that she would always be ready to receive her death, because, as St. Bernard witnesses, nobody should live in a state that he is unwilling to die in. At that time Pinotto left Bianello in a high fury against Lord Guido, his

cousin, as I saw with my own eyes. And he took his wife to Corigia, a village in the bishopric of Reggio. And there he had a squire named Martinello smother his wife to death with a pillow. She lies buried in that same village, and she left behind three daughters, who are very beautiful ladies.

The misfortunes of Pinotto and his evil ways.

And because it is written that "God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenge," Job 24 [.12], it is important to mention some of the misfortunes of her husband. First of all, he was hated not only by the Parmese but also by his own cousins and nephews. Second, he was captured by the freebooters of Sassuolo and had to pay horses and two hundred imperial pounds in ransom. Third, when he sought to avenge himself by robbing someone on the Parmese public road, the Parmese sent to Campegine, where his lands were, and had his crops plowed up, and they pulled down fourteen or twenty of his houses in Campegine "Even to the foundation thereof" [Psalms 136.7]. Fourth, after the death of his first wife (whom he had killed), he married a certain other woman, who, because of many impediments on both sides, could not legally be his wife. Her name was Lady Beatrice like the first one, and she was very beautiful, the daughter of Lord Bonaccorso, the son of Lord Jacopino de Palude. He married her as a widow after the death of her first husband, Lord Attone de Sesso. Fifth and last, he again captured some men and kept them in prison for ransom, although they had never offended him in any way.

Therefore, after he had been banished from Parma and still did not cease from his evil ways, he gave reason for the Parmese to expel not only him but all of the heirs of Ghiberto de Gente from Campegine. This Pinotto was also called Lord Jacopino. He was a handsome man, courageous, audacious, fearless, and extremely proud like all the Parmese. He had two sisters. The eldest was called Lady Aica, and she was the wife of Gerard, son of Lord Bernard Roland Rossi. The second was Lady Mabilia, the wife of Lord Guido de Corigia, and she had a haughty, disdainful nature. And when she began to grow ill of that last "illness whereof" she "died" [IV Kings 13.14], she died suddenly without the ability to speak. She left many daughters and two sons. The brother of these two sisters was Lord Lombardino, and he married a beautiful lady from Pavia named Aldessona, who bore him sons and daughters. This Lord Lombardino was Ghiberto de Gente's first-born, and while Ghiberto was still podestà of Parma, he had Lombardino knighted with great honor. At that time all those who could afford it gave lavish gifts to him and counted it a great favor if they were accepted. The same was true of Lord Jacopo Taverneri at the time that he was knighted, when his father Lord Bertolo was flourishing under the Emperor in Parma.

The sickness and death among cats.

Also in that same year there was a great wave of sickness and death among cats. For the cats became sick and scabrous like lepers and later died. And in November of that year of the feast of St. Calixtus, at the hour of matins two stars

appeared joined together in the eastern sky, and they remained so every night for a long period of time, but finally toward the feast of All Saints they began to disengage and separate.⁶²

The attempt to arrive at a peace settlement among the Modenese.

At this time there was an attempt to arrive at a peace settlement among the Modenese, but it failed because the matter was too complicated and because the judgment given did not please the Modenese of the city party. But the Modenese of Sassuolo were agreeable in all things, because they knew that the negotiators were favorable to them. These negotiators were Lord Guido de Corigia and his brother, Lord Matthew.

Pope Honorius IV appointed only one Cardinal during his pontificate.

Also in this year before Christmas Pope Honorius IV appointed his only Cardinal, a man of his own family. He appointed him to succeed the Cardinal bishop of Toscolano, who had died that year. This Cardinal had just recently become bishop of Monreale in Sicily.

Gerard de Enzola is condemned by the Parmese for the vengeance he took for the honor of his brother, but is only fined.

Also, in that same year Gerard de Enzola was condemned and fined a thousand pounds Parmese, which he freely paid. The reason for this judgment was as follows: When his father, Lord Jacopo de Enzola, was podestà of Modena, he became ill, died, and was buried in the cathedral in Modena. And on his tomb he was depicted with honor as a knight on horseback. Yet during the time of his government those murders and evil deeds were perpetrated which were the beginning of the Modenese civil war, and justice and vengeance had not been done, in accordance with the words of the Lord in Scripture, Exodus 22 [.18]: "wizards thou shalt not suffer to live." Because of this, the Modenese were excessively angry, since they saw the evil days that came upon them as a result. And so they pulled the eyes out of the likeness of the podestà, and shit upon his tomb. Later, they sent two ambassadors, commoners, to Parma, and one of them spoke many shameful things in the Parmese council against Lord Jacopo de Enzola, the dead father of Gerard, and this is against the Scripture, Leviticus 19 [.14]: "Thou shalt not speak evil of the deaf, nor put a stumblingblock before the blind." Therefore, Gerard de Enzola, angered by the words of this ambassador, acted in accordance with the Scripture, Ecclesiasticus 1 [.29]: "A patient man shall bear for a time, and afterwards joy shall be restored to him." For when this ambassador was leaving, Gerard, accompanied by certain wild young men, rode behind him on the road, and just over the border of the bishopric of Reggio, he seriously wounded and mutilated him, though he did not kill him. And so the Parmese brought judgment against him. Thus it is that Ecclesiasticus says, 11 [.34]: "Of one spark cometh a great fire, and of one deceitful man much blood," and Ecclesiasticus 28 [.22]:

"Many have fallen by the edge of the sword, but not so many as have perished by their own tongue." These things have been recounted to show how justly the Parmese preserved the law in contrast to the deficient Modenese.

This Lord Jacopo de Enzola married a widow of Padua named Lady Marchesina. Lord Matthew de Corigia arranged this marriage for him when he was podestà of Padua. Lord Jacopo received a large dowry with this woman, which he lent out at usury, and with his gain he bought fields and vineyards and great possessions in the village of Poviglio, and became "rich, and very glorious" [II Paralipomenon 32.27]. And in Parma he bought my house near the baptistery, and he had it practically as a gift, that is, at very low price with respect to my father's valuation and its well-known worth. Later, Lord Jacopo was knighted in the gate of the baptistery facing the plaza. Then he went to Modena, having been elected by the Modenese as podestà. But before he finished his term of office, he died of a throat disease, which the Greeks called apoplexy. He confessed to Brother Jacopino de Porto of Modena, and put his soul in order. He left ten pounds imperial to the Friars Minor of Parma and the same to the Friars Minor of Modena for the good of his soul and in restitution for his ill-gotten gains. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God. Truly, the following verse can be said of him [Psalms 48.17-18]: "Be not thou afraid, when a man shall be made rich, and when the glory of his house shall be increased. For when he shall die he shall take nothing away; nor shall his glory descend with him," and Job 20 [.20]: "When he hath the things he coveted, he shall not be able to possess them." He left a daughter named Aica, who was married first to Gerardino de Arcili, and, after his death, to Ezzelino, son of the late Lord Aimericio de Palude, to whom she bore sons and daughters. The brother of this lady and the son of Lord Jacopo was Gerardino, a generous and courteous young man, who lived honorably.

The family of Lord Guidolino de Enzola, who lived near the cathedral in Parma.

Jacopo de Enzola's grandfather was Lord Guidolino, a man of medium height, "rich, and very glorious" [II Paralipomenon 32.27] and a very religious man, a man I have seen a thousand times. He separated from the other members of the Enzola family, who lived in Borgo Santa Cristina, and came to live in Parma near the cathedral of the Glorious Virgin. And every day he heard mass in the cathedral and when he could, all of the daily offices, until nocturne. And when he was not engaged in the church offices, he sat with his neighbors under the community portico near the bishop's palace and spoke of God and listened to others speaking of him. Also, he used to prevent the boys of the city from throwing stones at the baptistery and the cathedral, destroying bas reliefs and pictures. Whenever he saw any boy doing this, he would chase him down and whip him with his belt, acting as if he were official guardian, though he did it only out of his zeal for God and divine love. For in the words of the prophet [Psalms 68.10]: "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up," upon which Augustine comments: "Good zeal is fervor in the faith, through which the mind, cast down by human fear, is en-

kindled for the defense of truth."⁶³ Moreover, this Lord Guidolino owned many other houses, a bake house, a wine cellar, besides the tower, palace, and garden in which he lived. And once every week he had a general love feast of bread, beans, and wine in the street near his house, prepared for all the poor of the city who wished to come, as I saw with my own eyes "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10]. Lord Guidolino was a great friend and a special benefactor of the Friars Minor, fulfilling the precept of Ecclesiasticus 4 [.7]: "Make thyself affable to the congregation of the poor."

This Lord Guidolino de Enzola was married to Ammessa, the sister of Lord Gerard de Corigia, called de Dentibus, who was the father of Guido and Matthew de Corigia. Lady Ammessa bore Guidolino two sons, named Matthew and Hugo, and he himself knighted them, as I saw with my own eyes. And they were both special friends of mine. At the time Parma rebelled against the Emperor, these two brothers were captured and imprisoned by the Emperor, and were later buried in the convent of the Friars Minor in Parma. Matthew de Enzola's wife was Lady Richeldina, sister of Lord Bernardino of Cornazano, and she bore him three sons. The first was Lord Bernard de Enzola, a worthy knight, who was podestà of Perugia when Pope Clement IV was living there. He was a friend of mine, which is proved by the fact that when I was in Perugia at the time that he was podestà, he sent for me immediately and dispatched me to the Pope. He died an untimely death, as did all his brothers, and he left many sons. The second son of Lord Matthew, son of Guidolino de Enzola, was Lord Jacopo, podestà of Modena, whom I have discussed fully above. The third son was Lord Guido, whose wife was the daughter of Lord Albertino de Trucchi of Ferrara, who bore him many sons. One of these was called Turchio, and he was banished by the Parmese because he was a harsh and accursed man. For although he was stained with many crimes, "He added this also above all" others [Luke 3.20]: without any reason whatsoever, he cruelly killed the abbot of Brescello with his lance as he was sitting at table eating with him. Isaiah curses such a man in the words, 3 [.11]: "Woe to the wicked unto evil: for the reward of his hands shall be given him." Also in Ecclesiastes 8 [.13] the Wise Man says: "But let it not be well with the wicked, neither let his days be prolonged, but as a shadow let them pass away that fear not the face of the Lord." Guidolino de Enzola's son, Lord Hugo, was married to Lady Luchesia de Monasterio (or de San Marco), and she bore him two sons: Lord William and Lord Matthew. She also had two daughters. One of these was married to Lord Jacopino de Panceri of Reggio, but she brought forth no sons. The other was wife to Lord Bonaoccorso de Montilio, and he had many sons by her. Later, Lady Luchesa, angry at her sons, married Lord Gerardino, son of Lord Lanfranc de Pii of Modena, and in the process of time died, leaving no sons or heir.

Lord Jacopino de Beneceto.

Also, Lord Guidolino, the grandfather of these—the one who had such love for the poor—had one daughter. She was a worldly and wanton woman. Lord Jacopino de Beneceto took her to wife, and she bore him two sons: Arpo and Peter. Lord Jacopino, a handsome knight, was a very rich man in goods and houses and treasure, but he wasted it all on minstrels and feasting and maintaining a lavish court—so much so that his sons had nothing to eat without begging from others, as his son Arpo told me in tears. Also Lord Arpo de Beneceto, Jacopino's brother, entered the Order of the Friars Minor, along with Lord Bernard Bafulo, when the Friars Minor were first beginning to be known in Parma.

Lord Bernard Bafulo, who became a Friar Minor.

Lord Bernard Bafulo was a very rich and famous knight, of great renown in Parma, a man of great courage, proven in arms and experienced in war. Inspired by divine love, he showed remarkable fervor at his entry into the Order, fulfilling in works the words of the Apostle, Hebrews [13.13]: "Let us go forth" with Jesus "without the camp, bearing his reproach."

Brother Bernard Bafulo has himself whipped through the streets of Parma, by which example many people performed good works.

Once, without the knowledge of the Brothers, he gave the following orders to two of his servants: One was to ride on horseback, the other to tie him to the tail of that horse. Then they were to make their way slowly through the public streets of the city, whipping him all the way and crying out loudly: "Beat the thief, beat the thief." And when they arrived at the gate of St. Peter, where the knights were accustomed to lounge about at play, the men there thinking him to be a thief in truth, took up the cry: "Beat the thief, beat the thief!" Then Lord Bernard lifted up his head and said to them, "You have certainly spoken the truth in those words 'Beat the thief,' because I lived as a thief against the most high God and my own soul, and so I have merited to be beaten with such scourges." And he commanded his servants to continue until they were outside the gate. When the men sitting there, however, recognized that this was Lord Bernard Bafulo, they groaned and said with "compunction in their heart" [Acts 2.37], "Truly, [Luke 5.26] 'We have seen wonderful things today.'" Blessed be God [Ecclesiasticus 7.12] "That humbleth and exalteth," and [Romans 9.18]: "Hath mercy on whom he will; and when he will, he hardeneth." Clearly, this act was an inspiration and a "change of the right hand of the most High" [Psalms 76.11], for through this action many were inspired to give up the world.

The order of Martorano.

At that time Bernard Vizio with certain others started the order of Martorano.

The Order of the Knights of Jesus Christ.

At that time too in Parma another religious order was started: the Order of the Knights of Jesus Christ. And no one could enter the Order who had not previously been a knight. These Brothers were like those who are now called Godenti by the common people, save that they were called the Knights of Jesus Christ, while the Godenti are called the Knights of St. Mary. But the Knights of Jesus Christ were only in Parma, while the Godenti are widespread in many cities. But because I have spoken of these orders above on folio 405, it is not necessary to speak more of them here.

Brother Illuminato, who, inspired by divine love, had himself whipped through Parma.

Also during this time, that is, when Lord Bernard Bafulo had himself whipped through Parma, two brothers entered the Order of the Friars Minor. One of these was Brother Illuminato; the other, Brother Bernardo. Because they had been usurers, these two brothers restored all their ill-gotten gains and gave clothing to two hundred of the poor. They also gave two hundred pounds imperial to the Friars Minor to help pay for the construction of their convent which was then being built in a field of the city. This was the field where markets were held in ancient times and where later the Parmese held tournaments during Shrovetide. Also inspired by divine love and the example of Brother Bernard Bafulo, Brother Illuminato had himself scourged through the city with a purse of coins tied around his neck, as if he would say, Lamentations 1 [.14]: "The yoke of my iniquities hath watched: they are folded together in his hand, and put upon my neck." Everyone who has walked "against" God "with his neck raised up, and is armed with a fat neck" [Job 15.26] should have such concern for his sins, because Ecclesiasticus says, 5 [.5]: "Be not without fear about sins forgiven." Moreover, it is worth knowing that Lord Bernard Bafulo had one daughter, named Bernardina. She was a wise, discreet woman, holy and devoted to God, and she was abbess in the convent of the Order of St. Clare in Parma.

The prophecies in Constantinople.

Also it is worth recording the following story about Lord Giles Bafulo, the father of Lord Bernard. For when Constantinople was captured by the crusaders, Lord Giles struck the gate with a powerful stroke of the sword, as Brother Gerard Rangone, who had witnessed it, told me. Then the Greeks recognized that the prophecy was fulfilled which was sculpted on the gate. (Indeed, there are many prophecies carved there, either on the gate or on a column of the gate, prophecies which will not be understood until they are fulfilled.)

The good qualities of the Bafuli family.

Once, after he had become a Friar Minor during the time that the Parmese were with the Emperor in an expedition against the Milanese, Brother Bernard Bafulo ran to a house that had caught fire in Borgo Santa Christina and standing

on the roof with an axe he threw down the burning timber to keep the other houses from catching fire. And his action was seen and praised by everybody, because he had acted wisely and courageously. "And it was reputed to him unto justice, to generation and generation for evermore," [Psalms 105.31], because for many years he was remembered for his honesty. Later, he went to the Holy Land and ended his life there laudably in the Order of St. Francis, the Order of the Friars Minor. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God, because he began well and ended well. I have written all of the above, because, for the most part, all of those I have spoken of I have seen and known, and they have quickly passed from this life to the next. Thus I know that the words of David before the Lord at the end of the first book of Paralipomenon [29.15] are true: "Our days upon earth are as a shadow, and there is no stay." And this is what St. James says in his Epistle, 4 [.15]: "What is your life? It is a vapour which appeareth for a little while, and afterwards shall vanish away." Therefore, wretched sinners who care for nothing except the riches, honors, and fleshly desires of the present life and walk "after vanity, and are become vain" [Jeremiah 2.5], would do better if they sought to enter "at the narrow gate" [Matthew 7.13] and if they "thought upon the days of old: and . . . had in . . . mind the eternal years" [Psalms 76.6] and would thus stop their sinning. For "sin maketh nations miserable," as the Wise Man says in Proverbs 14 [.34]. Whence Moses said to the Jews, Exodus [20.20]: "Fear not: for God is come to prove you, and that the dread of him might be in you, and you should not sin."

But enough has been said on this subject. Now it is time to return to the regular course of our chronicle. Yet if any more events worthy of record took place in 1285, they do not come to my memory. All the above I have described in good faith and truth, as I saw it with my own eyes. Explicit this year; sequitur the next.

The harsh winter of this year.

In the year of the Lord 1286, Indiction XIV, the events described below took place. In this year there was a harsh winter. For all the old proverbs, save one, were found to be false. This proverb says, "Short February is worse than all," to which should be added "than all the months." The truth of this proverb was certainly proved this year, more than I have ever seen in my life. For in this February seven times God gave "snow like wool" and scattered "mists like ashes" [Psalms 147.16]. And it was extremely cold and icy, so that one could believe the prophecy in the last chapter of Zachariah fulfilled [14.6]: "In that day, that there shall be no light, but cold and frost." Whence Ecclesiasticus 43 [.21] said: "He shall pour frost as salt upon the earth: and when it freezeth, it shall become like the tops of thistles."

The high death rate of chickens this year.

In this year there were cancerous growths in both men and chickens, which became known by their later effects. For in Cremona, Piacenza, Parma, Reggio and many other Italian cities and dioceses, there was a high death rate in both men and chickens. In Cremona, for example, some forty-eight chickens belonging to a single woman died in a short space of time. And a certain physician cut open some of these chickens and found a cancerous growth over the heart. For there was a pustule on the heart of every one of the chickens. He did the same with one of the dead men and found the same thing. At this time in the month of May, Master Johannino, a physician who lived in Venice where he earned his salary, sent a letter to his fellow citizens in Reggio warning them not to eat vegetables or chicken eggs or chicken for the entire month of May. Therefore, the price of chickens went down to five pence per chicken. Yet some wise women fed the chickens ground horehound mixed with water and bran or flour, and by this means the chickens were cured and did not die.

Let us return to the beginning of winter. The weather was beautiful and temperate from the beginning of winter till the feast of the Purification,⁶⁴ when a heavy rain began to fall, so that the proverbs of the ancients were not fitting like that of the Song of Songs 2 [.11]: "For winter is now passed, the rain is over and gone." More fitting was the passage from Psalms [147.17]: "Who shall stand before the face of his cold." And in this year the trees were really flourishing, but the frost came and in many places almost completely destroyed the blossoms of the almond trees and other fruit trees, as well as the green shoots of the vineyards. Thus the hope of an abundance of fruit seemed to be frustrated and disappointed.

The shortage of vegetables this year because God gave no rain to the earth.

Yet there were many fruits this year and a great abundance of grain and wine, and a great abundance of oil and other things, and a "fulness of the yearly harvest" [Jeremiah 5.24], with the exception that God seemed to be angry with the gardeners. For there was a great scarcity of vegetables, because the Lord sent no rain on the earth. But this was pleasing to the salt workers, the brick makers, and construction workers. And note that it did not rain for the whole month of March and April, save for an extremely light shower like a dew which fell on the feast of St. George and the rain that fell on the feast of St. Michael in May. Thus God was reconciled, for afterward "Heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit" [James 5.18].

The death of Lord Guido of Bianello.

Also, in that year Lord Guido of Bianello and his brother, Boniface, were killed on April 5 near evening, that is, the Friday after Passion Sunday, on which day these words are written on the calendar: "The last light of the Easter moon." Lord Guido was travelling from Reggio to Bianello with his sister-in-law, Lady Johan-

nino, the wife of his brother, Boniface. And Boniface himself was travelling alone only three miles behind them. These three were traveling unarmed with only a few horses with them, having no companions at all.

The men who killed Lord Guido of Bianello and Boniface, his brother.

Those who killed these two brothers were the following: first, Scarabello of Canossa, who knocked Lord Guido off his horse and ran "him through with" his "spear even to the earth at once," and there was "no need of a second time" [I Kings 26.8]. The second who pierced him was Azolino, brother of the abbot of Canossa and son of Lord Guido de Albareto. This man cut off his head. Others were Ghibertino of Modolena, Guerzo de Cortogna, and many others, both knights and foot soldiers, and they all struck him many blows and tore him "with wound upon wound" [Job 16.15], so that he could have said if he had been alive: "They have added to the grief of my wounds" [Psalms 68.27]. They did the same to Guido's brother, Boniface, who was behind. But they put Lady Johannino back on her horse, for she had thrown herself off in order to cover Lord Guido with her own body, believing and hoping that they would spare him for her sake, for she was their kinswoman. Afterward, she rode the whole day all alone groaning in the bitterness of her heart until she finally arrived at Bianello (which was formally the possession of the Countess Matilda). There, she told the terrible and bitter news. And "lifting up" their voices, those who heard "wept" [Genesis 29.11] until "they had no more tears" [I Kings 30.4]. And the bodies of those two brothers lay in that vast solitude all that night. But some men say that when Manfredino, the son of Lord Guerzo de Assaiuto, who lives in Coviolo, heard the news, he was moved by pity and bringing men and a wagon he collected those bodies and placed them in the church of the Templars, half way to Bianello.

The two brothers who were killed are buried in the convent of the Friars Minor at Montefalcone.

The next day, however, men from Bianello came and carried those bodies to the convent of the Friars Minor at Montefalcone and buried them there with their clothes and arms "in the sepulchre of their fathers" [I Machabees 9.19]. The day of the funeral was Saturday and in place of the Epistle, the Scripture from Jeremiah was sung in the mass which says, 18 [.21-22]: "Let their wives be bereaved of children and widows: and let their husbands be slain by death: let their young men be stabbed with the sword in battle. Let a cry be heard out of their houses." And because Lord Rolandino of Canossa was the cousin of Scarabello, he was denounced and accused to the podestà. For Scarabello himself had already been banished from Reggio so that even if he had been cited, he would not have come. Therefore, the podestà of Reggio, Lord Boniface, the Marquis of Lupi of Parma, sent for Lord Rolandino. And Rolandino came with a large number of armed men, but when the podestà discovered his innocence in this affair, he dismissed him in peace without any harm.

Lord Guido de Albareto is tortured.

After this Lord Guido de Albareto was denounced and accused, and he came forward and was detained for ten days and was lightly tortured once and then dismissed.

The men of Reggio fear that a civil war will break out in their city for three reasons at the time of Lord Guido's torture.

At the time of Lord Guido de Albareto's torture, the men of Reggio believed that a civil war was about to break out in their city for three reasons: first, because of the killing of these two brothers; second, because of the torture of this great lord; and third, because of the parties in Reggio.

The two parties of Reggio.

For there were two parties in Reggio, called the higher and lower parties. Yet both these parties called themselves Church parties, as they indeed were. For the Imperial party had been expelled from the city for many years and was widely dispersed. In the process of time, however, this discord among the citizens of Reggio settled down somewhat and they began to live without fear. Indeed, in the beginning when Lord Guido had to be tortured, the podestà asked him to bear it patiently for his love and God's, especially since he did not wish to do such things but was compelled by his job and by the accusation against him. Therefore, when Lord Guido realized that the podestà was acting for the honor of them both, he bore everything patiently and what had been so bitter to him before he then reckoned a joy. And he said to the podestà, "If this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done" [Matthew 26.42]. Yet some men said that Lord Guido was not tortured at all, because he paid the podestà money which "all things obey" Ecclesiastes 10 [.19]. For his son, Lord Roland, the abbot of Canossa, gave a hundred pounds imperial to Lord Guido de Corigia and as much to the podestà of Reggio, through which Lord Guido escaped torture. And when rumors went abroad that he was to be tortured, the podestà did not allow anybody there except the two of them. And the podestà had Guido sit for a while on a flour scales and talked with him in a friendly manner in the meantime about all the things that had been happening. And when it was over, Guido sent for Brother Jacopo de Palude and recounted to him all that he had suffered in the torture. After this, he left the palace and went to the house of Lord Rolandino of Canossa, which was near the square, and he spent the whole day at ease, eating, drinking, and living it up. A little before, however, when he had left the communal palace, he had himself supported on both sides by two men, seeking to show that he had been harshly tortured by the podestà. But the Lord says in Luke 12 [.2]: "For there is nothing covered, that shall not be revealed: nor hidden, that shall not be known," and Job 36 [.13]: "Dissemblers and crafty men prove the wrath of God." Also the book of Wisdom speaks of those who do not do justice, 6 [6.5]:

"Horribly and speedily will he appear to you. . . . Because being ministers of his kingdom, you have not judged rightly." So [.6] "a most severe judgment shall be for them that bear rule," which is right, because Proverbs 17 [.23]: "The wicked man taketh gifts out of the bosom, that he may pervert the paths of judgment," and Proverbs 18 [.5]: "It is not good to accept the person of the wicked" in judgment, "to decline from the truth of judgment." Also the Wise Man says about the evil judge in Proverbs 28 [.21]: "He that hath respect to a person in judgment, doth not well: such a man even for a morsel of bread forsaketh the truth."

Lord Guido of Bianello's lineage.

It should be known that Guido of Bianello was a noble man, for on the father's side, he was related to the Canossa family. Hence those who killed him were related to him. On his mother's side, he had kinsmen in Parma, for the sons of Ghiberto de Gente were his cousins. Moreover, his wife, Lady Joannina, was the daughter of Lord Guido de Monte and the niece of the late Lord William de Fogliani, bishop of Reggio; and her sister, Lady Maria, was the wife of Lord Jacopino de Rodelio. Whence these men were called, and indeed were, brothers-in-law, the husbands of two sisters.

The character and general demeanor of Lord Guido of Bianello. He had many enemies who slandered him, and he was too stubborn in his own beliefs.

Lord Guido of Bianello was a handsome and learned man, a man of great intelligence, memory, and eloquence. He was an alert, good-natured, and generous man, friendly and easy-going. He was a special friend and benefactor of the Friars Minor. For the Friars Minor had a convent on his lands, that is, in the forest at the foot of the Montefalcone, where, as I said above, he and his brother were buried in the tomb of his fathers. May his soul, if possible, rest in peace through the mercy of God. Amen. For while he lived he was a very good friend to me and to my brother, Guido de Adam, who also died in the convent at Montefalcone and is buried there.⁶⁵ Lord Guido of Bianello was, according to his enemies, a very evil man, for they accused him of many depravities, saying, for example, that he was a slanderer of the servants of god, after the words of Ecclesiasticus 11 [.33]: "He will lay a blot on the elect." Such, certainly, is the custom of carnal men to gladly defame the servants of God. For they think to excuse their own sins by putting holy men in their class. People also say that Guido had a habit of saying that if he were predestined to have eternal life, he would have it, however much he sinned. And if predestined to damnation, he would also have that, however much good he did. Then he would quote the Scripture in Luke 22 [.22] to prove it: "The Son of man indeed goeth, according to that which is determined." This was his great foolishness, for however much the Brothers and his friends warned him to beware, he would treat them lightly and refuse to listen, saying, "It is written in Ecclesiasticus 19 [.4]: 'He that is hasty to give credit, is light of heart,' and Ecclesiasticus 19 [.16]: 'Believe not every word,' and Ecclesiastes 7 [.22]:

'Do not apply thy heart to all words that are spoken: lest perhaps thou hear thy servant reviling thee.'" And I answered him, since I was very learned in the Bible: "The Wise Man says in Proverbs 28 [.14]: 'Blessed is the man that is always fearful: but he that is hardened in mind, shall fall into evil,' and Ecclesiasticus 18 [.27]: 'A wise man will fear in every thing.' And St. Jerome says, 'It is wise to fear whatever may happen.'" ⁶⁶ Yet as I said above, he refused to listen. Instead, he shook his head as if in contempt of my answer. Then I said to him, "It is written in Proverbs 12 [.15]: 'The way of a fool is right in his own eyes: but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsels,' and Proverbs 21 [.12]: 'The just considereth seriously the house of the wicked, that he may withdraw the wicked from evil.'" But when I concluded, "This is what I have done," he answered, "There are many words which have much vanity in disputing," Ecclesiastes 6 [.11], and Ecclesiasticus 43 [.29]: 'We shall say much'" <...> ⁶⁷ ... which is in the province of Syria. Second, because he received no satisfaction at the curia, neither about his petitions nor about his companion for the journey. Third, because when he was on his way to the Minister General in Paris, even before he got there, he received news of the Minister General's death, and so he returned to the curia, but we are ignorant of what he did. For it is the habit of the Cardinals to pay little heed to such men. Moreover, the Cardinals at that time had a gouty Pope of little worth, a Roman, who was avaricious and wretched: Jacopo de Sarelli, who was called Pope Honorius IV. For not only did he refuse to give support to new religious Orders but even did harm to those who did give such support or attempted to reform them. He sought, for example, to bring great harm and injury to such worthy Orders as the Minorites and Preachers, since, as we shall describe in its proper place, certain ecclesiastical prelates were crossing his palms with silver which "all things obey" [Ecclesiastes 10.19]. But God took him from the midst, so that, prevented by death, he was unable to fulfill his wishes and plans, because "He that breaketh a hedge, a serpent shall bite him" as Ecclesiastes [10.8] says. Whence the Lord says, Zachariah 2 [.8]: "He that toucheth you" is like him who "toucheth the apple of my eye." For this Pope Honorius would have greatly impeded the salvation of souls if he had managed to do what he planned.

To impede the salvation of souls is to persecute Christ.

Thus St. Bernard says in the first part of a sermon on Epiphany that to impede the salvation of souls is to persecute Christ. For he said:

It is a Herodian maliciousness and a Babylonian cruelty to wish to kill off a nascent religion and crush the little ones of Israel. For if anyone resists or fights against what pertains to salvation or a rising religion, clearly he seeks, with the Egyptians, to kill the sons of Israelite seed; nay rather, with Herod, he persecutes the newly born Savior. And now, what is even worse, it is the Christians, those who derive their very name from him, who persecute Christ. Your "friends and" your "neighbors have drawn near, and

stood against" me [Psalms 37.12]. For all Christian people, it seems, have conspired against you: from the lowest to greatest "From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein" [Isaiah 1.6]. Iniquity has sprung forth from the highest officials, your vicars, who are supposed to rule the people. And one should not say, "so the people, so the priest" [cf. Isaiah 24.2], for the priests ought not to be like the people. Alas, alas! Lord God, those who are the first among your persecutors are those who appear to love the first place in your Church, those who desire to rule. They have taken over the ark of Sion, they have overrun the ramparts, and, with will and authority, they are burning the city of God. Their base conversation is a pitiable subversion of your people. Shamefully, they put holy offices up for sale, and they equate piety with money. In the cure of souls their greatest piety is in receiving, nay rather in grasping, but for them the cure of souls is a minor matter, and the salvation of souls is the last thing to occur to them. How can there be any greater persecution of the Savior of souls? They and their followers are against Christ, and there are many anti-Christes in our times. Clearly, this persecution is worse and more cruel because it comes from those who have received these gifts and power, from those who are his own ministers. Also, many other men are allowed to have the appearance of working assiduously for the salvation of their neighbors in various means and on various occasions. But Christ sees all this and remains silent; the Savior suffers all this and hides it. Therefore, let us hide it, as is necessary, and let us keep quiet in the meantime, about our own prelates, the leaders of our churches. So without any doubt, we will please them. Let them, for the present, escape human judgment, for the harsh judgment shall eventually come upon those who rule, and the powerful shall suffer powerful torments.⁶⁸

Thus Bernard. For more on the Tartars, see above, folio 470. If anyone asks why I did not put all the material on the Tartars together, I answer that the events took place at different times and therefore I wrote about them at different times, and I was forced to write about them now under this year, now under that, as they took place and as I learned about them. And this is what Moses did in his books. For he did not put everything having to do with sacrifices and offerings in one place but at intervals as he heard them from the Lord, interspersed with his history.

The Apostles of Brother Gerard Segarello, who committed shameful deeds and suffered shameful things. See above, folios 317 and 324.

In this same year in the bishopric of Bologna, a certain young man had just married a wife and on the first evening before he had known her, he received into his house as guests three rascals, members of that group "that say they are" Apostles "and are not" [Apocalypse 2.9]. And they persuaded the young man not

to know his wife or sleep in the same bed with her on the first night until they told him to. Yet they said this in order to forestall and deceive the young man, and thereby sleep with his wife first—as was indeed done. For all three of them went to her bed one after the other, with a short time in between, and knew her [*cognoverunt eam*]. When on the fourth time, however, the young man went in to know her, she was astonished and said to him, “Three times you have dealt with me carnally, and still you want to do this work?” Then the youth realized that he had been deceived by those rascals, and so he had them captured, and made his complaint to the podestà. And they were hanged, in accordance with the law of Moses, where the Lord commands, Exodus 22 [.18]: “wizards thou shalt not suffer to live,” and Ecclesiasticus [27.29]: “He that diggeth a pit, shall fall into it: . . . and he that layeth a snare for another, shall perish in it,” and Ecclesiasticus 11 [.31]: “Bring not every man into thy house: for many are the snares of the deceitful.” Therefore, when Lord Obizzo of San Vitale, bishop of Parma, heard of these things, he expelled them from Parma and his entire bishopric, although, previously, he had favored them for the sake of Brother Gerard Segarello, their founder. For he recognized that they were base rascals, tricksters, deceivers, and seducers, men like those of whom St. John spoke in his second Epistle [1.7]: “Many seducers are gone out into the world.”

Brother Gerard Segarello, who took the dress of a minstrel and became a jongleur.

This Gerard Segarello, their founder, became so demented that he took up the dress of a minstrel and became a jongleur, that is, a mime, and went through the streets and squares like a fool. For he has a vain heart, seeking after and inventing vain things, and he does not fear “God, nor regard man” [Luke 18.4]. I have written at length of him and his followers above, folio 317.

A Brescian who was deceived by the devil and afterward strangled.

Also in this same year a certain Brescian died in Reggio. His occupation had been to teach boys to read the psalter, and he pretended to be a pauper, and went about begging, while singing at the same time in order to get more given to him. And a diabolic spirit put it in his mind that there was going to be a great famine. And so he toasted pieces of bread and hid them away in chests against the famine that he expected in the future. Also he packed flour in sacks and put these likewise in chests, hoping to ward off the effects of the famine, which, as I said, he expected by the devil’s inspiration. Yet as was said to the rich man in the gospel who had collected all his goods expecting to live at ease in the future: “Thou fool, this night do they require thy soul of thee: and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?” Luke 12 [.20], just so it happened to this wretch. For one evening he became gravely ill. And when he was alone in the house, he carefully barred the door. But that very night he was cruelly suffocated by the devil and handled dishonorably [*malo modo et inhoneste tractatus*]. When he did not appear the next day, the men of the neighborhood broke the door down, and, along with

the women and children who had gathered there, saw him lying dead on the floor. And they found the rotting flour in the sacks and trunks and two other chests full of pieces of toasted bread. They also discovered that he had two other houses in different neighborhoods in Reggio, which the commune of Reggio took over, in accordance with the common saying, "What Christ does not receive, the city treasury does."⁶⁹

The aforesaid Brescian is treated shamefully by children after his death.

Moreover, the children of the city took all the clothes off this wretch, tied ropes to his feet, and dragged him throughout the city, nude through all the neighborhoods and squares, where he was laughed at and scorned by everybody. Yet what is most to be wondered at, the children were not told to do this by anyone, and no one scolded them for the deed. Finally, when they reached the hospital of St. Anthony, they were tired of the hard labor, and so they wanted to tie this wretched corpse to the tail of a farmer's wagon which they happened to meet in the street. And when the farmer tried to prevent them, they ganged up on him and beat him harshly. So he allowed them to do as they wished. Therefore, going out of the city through the gate of St. Stephen, they threw the corpse off the bridge onto the sands of the Crostolo river, and then going down to him, "they gathered together upon him a great pile of stones" [Joshua 7.26], crying out, "Let your famine and avarice go down to hell with your stingy wretchedness, 'forever and ever'!" [Micah 4.5]. From that point forward, people always repeated the following saying as a proverb to wretches, "You'd better watch out, the children's wrath will descend on your stinginess." And note that the young are generous and the old avaricious. Thus Seneca said, "An old avaricious man is like a monster. What is more foolish than for an old man to lay up treasure when his life is almost at an end?"⁷⁰ Whence Martial Caecus:

We marvel at overgenerous youth and at avaricious age:
At the one because the remaining journey is so long;
At the other because it is so short.⁷¹

The great disturbance in the monastery of St. Prosper in Reggio this year.

Now let us speak of Reggio. In that same year there was a great disturbance in the monastery of St. Prosper of Reggio because of the wars. At that time the seventeenth abbot was Lord William de Lupicini, a good and honest man in the eyes of God, but simple, backward, and avaricious in the eyes of the world. Yet he treated the monks badly with respect to food, and therefore they betrayed him later. For with the consent of those disaffected monks, Boniface, the son of Gerard Boiardo of Rubiera, captured the monastery at the dinner hour on the feast of Pentecost and despoiled it, carrying off whatever he wished. The abbot, however, took flight and came to the convent of the Friars Minor, remaining there the whole day and the following night. Then he went to the house of his brother, Senebaldo,

and stayed there for many days in anxiety with a fearful heart. Moreover, Boniface occupied the lands of the monastery's granges at the time of wheat harvest, such as Migliarina and other lands, and, later, took over Fossola by force. Furthermore, he besieged, captured, and burned Villa Matta, and killed a man there, because he refused to let him take his oxen; and he seriously wounded another "and having wounded him went away, leaving him half dead" [Luke 10.30]. And note that all these things had been predicted to the abbot before they took place, but because of his simplicity and avariciousness he would not take proper precautions and care. Yet "Fewer shafts strike the man who is forewarned, and we can bear up better under the evils of this world if we are provided with a shield by foreknowledge."⁷²

Thus seeing that the abbot was slow to take precautions for himself, forty good men of Reggio, who were friends of the abbot, came unasked to guard the monastery of St. Prosper the entire night before Pentecost. Yet when the dinner hour came, he did not thank them for guarding the monastery the whole night, and he did not invite them to dinner. He allowed them, in short, to disperse to their own homes for dinner. In the meantime, he went to his palace with his squires and young bachelors to eat. And, behold, while he was at table, thinking that everything had settled down, he suddenly heard the sound of bells being rung by the traitor monks. Then the secular enemies of the abbot quickly came from their hiding places and rushed the monastery, hoping to put the abbot to the sword and elect a new one. But by divine mercy, the abbot managed to leap from a low upper floor (which they call a *perambulatorium*) and, going through the moats, arrived as I said before at the convent of the Friars Minor, fearful and trembling like a reed in the water. There, all his friends came to see him and roundly cursed him, reminding him that these things had happened to him because of his bad manners and avarice. And he bore it all with great patience, for he knew he was in the wrong.

Also, in the preceding month, that is, in May, before these things had happened to the abbot{...}⁷³

... are given,⁷⁴ which indeed can be given to the excommunicate and to those cut off from the Church in the hour of necessity. For now in these men are fulfilled, the words of the Gospel [Matthew 8.20]: "The son of man hath not where to lay his head," a state which they have fully shared. Also in their holy services and preaching, these Friars Minor are shunned as if they were excommunicated by the Cistercians, to the scandal and harm of the universal Church. And all of these things are judged by wise and prudent men to stem from the fire of envy and hatred. Therefore, since we have always especially loved and favored the Cistercian Order, we are sending letters ordering you, singly and universally, as our representatives to enter the individual convents and monasteries of the said Order in that particular district assigned to you, and admonish the abbots and abbesses and their

entire community. And we order also that you beseech them, in our name, to prudently revoke those constitutions which they so imprudently put forth to the scandal of the Church. Otherwise, we completely rescind herein every grace and indulgence or any privilege given by us or our predecessors to that same Order, commanding you strictly that . . . tolls and taxes . . .⁷⁵ receive from the individuals of the aforesaid Order as you would from any one else and that you take away from them all other things granted by right of privilege. Indeed, although many laws and statutes, by our lawful sanctions, have been instituted in favor of that Order even beyond reason and also extremely generous donations have been given to their holy and religious convents, we order and decree that no duke, marquis, count, nobleman, citizen, or anyone else whatsoever within our realm shall henceforth give any of his lands or possessions to the Cistercian Order or even transfer any such goods to them by title of alienation without our express consent. And this is done especially on account of their pride and arrogance . . . and the huge possessions in which the Order is known to abound. And if they shall not obey, we institute by the present letter and statute that all donations and alienations granted to them shall be void and invalid, and we command you singly and universally by our imperial majesty to revoke them and to hold them in trust for the imperial office, by publishing the present letter (or, better, statute and law) throughout all towns and cities, Given, etc.

The cause of the quarrel between the Cistercian Order and the Friars Minor.

The reason for the quarrel between the Brothers of the Cistercian Order and the Friars Minor which occasioned this harsh constitution, as I learned later, was this: A certain Friar Minor left our Order and entered the Cistercian Order, and he conducted himself so well that he was elected abbot of one of their large monasteries. But the Friars Minor, having "a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge" [Romans 10.2] in this case, were afraid that other Brothers would leave the Order by his example. And so they captured him and brought him back to his original Order, and fed "him with the bread of affliction, and the water of distress" [III Kings 22.27]. When the Cistercians discovered this, they were angry and indignant with the Friars Minor. And there were five reasons for their anger: first, because the Friars Minor punished one who did not deserve punishment; second, because the Brother had already been absolved from our Order; third, because they captured him in his religious habit; fourth, because he was a high-placed prelate in their Order, since he was an abbot; fifth and last, because he had conducted himself so well in their Order with respect to life, knowledge, and good morals that he had been received by them and was pleasing to all.

The Emperor Rudolph's love for the Order of the Friars Minor. At the Emperor's request the Cistercians destroy the constitution that they made against us.

Lord Rudolph, the legitimately elected Emperor, had great love for the Order of the Friars Minor and promoted it, and when he heard about the Cistercian's harsh and cruel constitution against it, he was indignant, and so he wrote the above letter to them, as if he would fulfill the word of the Lord in Zachariah 2 [.8]: "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye." Indeed, King Rudolph was that near kinsman of whom the Wise Man speaks in Proverbs 23 [.10-11]: "Touch not the bounds of little ones: and enter not into the field of the fatherless: For their near kinsman is strong: and he will judge their cause against thee." And so after they heard this letter, the Cistercians quickly retracted and destroyed that constitution, and ordered that the Friars Minor be received in their houses in a friendly manner, lovingly, courteously, and with good will, not only in order to avoid the harm threatened in the letter, but also because they chose to obey so great a lord, according to the word of the Apostle, Romans 13 [.1]: "Let every soul be subject to higher powers." For more about the love of the Emperor Rudolph for the Order of the Friars Minor, see above how he gave his palace in Reggio to the Brothers for a convent and how he promised to do greater things in the future, folio 403.

The envy of Brother Bonagrazia, similar to that above.

When Brother Bonagrazia was Minister Provincial in the province of Bologna, he had a similar kind of envy toward the monastery of Nonantola, in the district of Modena. For a certain Brother Guidolino of Ferrara left our Order and entered the Order of St. Benedict, the Order of the Black monks. And he conducted himself so well and laudably in that monastery, and was so pleasing to all that the monks elected him abbot. And this caused a great quarrel between the monks and the Friars Minor when Lord John Gaetano was Minister General, who later became Pope Nicholas III. And by exerting great force the Friars Minor kept Guidolino from becoming abbot, although the monks spent ten thousand pounds imperial in the case. And when they saw that they were laboring in vain, they refused to elect another abbot, but instead made Guidolino lord of the abbey, so that he was as good as abbot. Lo, how much the monks loved him! Indeed, he was like the ancient Joseph, who would not render evil for evil to his brothers when he had the power, but rather strove to do them good, prefiguring and fulfilling the words of the Apostle, Romans 12 [.17]: "To no man rendering evil for evil" and [.21]: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good." See also Ecclesiasticus 10 [.6]: "Remember not any injury done thee by thy neighbour, and do thou nothing by deeds of injury." Brother Guidolino fulfilled that well, for he was always glad to see the Friars Minor and received them in Nonantola like angels of God. And he requested the Brothers to always keep two scribes in that place at the monastery's own expense, in order to make abundant copies of the books in their

library on the acts of the saints. This Brother Guidolino was an intimate friend of mine, when I lived with him in the convent at Ravenna.

The privilege granted by Pope Nicholas IV that nobody leaving the Order of the Friars Minor could be promoted to prelate elsewhere.

And note that the Friars Minor obtained the privilege from Pope Nicholas IV (who was of their Order) that nobody who left the Order could ever be elected prelate in another Order.

The Dominicans return to their convent in Parma.

In that year 1287, Indiction XV, the Dominicans returned to Parma, which they had left voluntarily as a result of a woman they had burned as a heretic, who was named Alina. They returned on the Feast of St. Peter.⁷⁶ And some Parmese and men of religious orders went out to meet them with trumpets and flags, and received them with honor and brought them back into the city.

The two monks who were killed at the monastery of St. Prosper, and the foolishness of the citizens of Reggio.

Also, in the same year, two monks were killed at the monastery of St. Prosper of Reggio, after peace had been settled between the Lupicini and the Boiardi. These two monks were those traitors to the abbot and the monastery. Later, however, as revenge for these two, a certain other monk of the monastery was killed. This monk, in company with another priest, was serving as procurator to the curia, appointed by the abbot. He was the son of Gifredo de Mutis, a member of the Godenti order of Reggio. And he asked those who had wounded him, "Who are you?" And they answered, "We are the procurators of those two monks who were killed a few days ago, and we have been sent to give tit for tat." And so "having wounded him went away, leaving him half dead" [Luke 10.30]. He was carried to his parents' home, and after confessing well, he slept in the Lord. After a few days his mother died because of the great grief for her son.

Praise of the Lenten season, during which one should perform works of piety, and refuse to engage in dancing and dishonorable festivities.

In this year the citizens of Reggio did not hold festivities during Shrovetide after the custom of the other Christian cities, all of which during this time act wildly and foolishly. In contrast, Reggio remained quiet, as if mourning the dead. During Lent, the time dedicated to God, however, they began to celebrate in an "acceptable time," a "day of salvation" [II Corinthians 6.2], the time for giving alms and doing works of piety, in accordance with Isaiah 58 [.7]: "Deal thy bread to the hungry," etc. This is also the time for confessing, hearing sermons, visiting churches, praying, fasting, and weeping, as the Scriptures say which are read in church during that time, as in Joel 2 [.12]: "Be converted to me with all your heart, in fasting, and in weeping, and in mourning," etc., and Isaiah 55 [.7]: "Let

the wicked forsake his way," and [Joel 2.17]: "Between the porch and the altar the priest" wept, etc. And the Lord says, Luke 6 [.21]: "Blessed are ye that weep now: for you shall laugh." Whence the poet has written:

If here, now, you weep not, tears eventually will be your lot,
Weeping endlessly in your sorrow, with no hope, no future, no
tomorrow.⁷⁷

Thus the Lord said, Luke 6 [.25]: "Woe to you that now laugh: for you shall mourn and weep." And St. James says, 5 [.1]: "Go to now, ye rich man, weep and howl in your miseries, which shall come upon you," and [James 4.9]: "Be afflicted, and mourn, and weep: let your laughter be turned into mourning, and your joy into sorrow." Thus Solomon said, Ecclesiastes 2 [.2]: "Laughter I counted error: and to mirth I said: Why art thou vainly deceived?" and Ecclesiastes 7 [.5], "The heart of the wise is where there is mourning, and the heart of fools where there is mirth," and Job 21 [.13]: "They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell." Ecclesiasticus gives useful counsel, 5 [.8-9]: "Delay not to be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day. For his wrath shall come on a sudden, and . . . destroy thee" and Ecclesiasticus 5 [.5]: "Be not without fear about" sinners "forgiven."

A bishop who did penance in the desert forty-nine years because he once denied Christ out of fear of torture.

Take note of the example of the bishop who denied Christ from fear of torture during the time of the persecution, and afterward lived forty-nine years in the desert doing penance for his sin of denial. In all those years, as he himself said, he was not assured of reward until the day that a certain holy father came to bury him.⁷⁸

The people of Reggio, however, did not perform works of piety, nor any of the good works mentioned above, but they "have walked after vanity, and are become vain" [Jeremiah 2.5]. And although the Lord prohibited, Deuteronomy 22 [.5]: "A woman shall not be clothed with man's apparel, neither shall a man use woman's apparel: for he that doeth these things is abominable before God," they did the complete opposite and walked after "their own inventions" [Psalms 80.13]. For many of them dressed in women's clothing and paraded through the streets in holiday spirit, and, in order to look more like women, they put white masks on their faces, without regard for the penalties against such actions. For the Scripture speaks about sinners [Joel 2.6; Nahum 2.10]: "All faces shall be made like a kettle. The faces of them all are as the blackness of a kettle," and Lamentations 4 [.8]: "Their face is now made blacker than coals, and they are not known in the streets." Woe to such wretched Christians who strive to turn ecclesiastical worship into dissipation and vanity. And although Christ's every act is instruction for the Christian, they wish to follow the devil rather than to imitate Christ, although the Apostle says, Ephesians 5 [.1-2]: "Be ye therefore

followers of God, as most dear children; And walk in love, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath delivered himself for us, an oblation and a sacrifice to God for an odour of sweetness." Certainly, Christ our God taught us in the Scripture to fast during Lent, and the venerable fathers, the Roman pontiffs, and other men of the Church established the custom after the example of the Savior. Whence the passage: "The Law and the ancient prophets anticipated this, and, afterward, Christ, king of all and the Creator of the seasons, made it holy." Yet certain wretched Christians in the Lombard cities neither fast nor confess their sins during Lent. And because during Lent meat cannot be found at the butcher shops, they eat the flesh of chickens and capons in secret, and afterward they spend the entire day after the sixth hour lying under porticoes in the plazas gambling and dicing. And they blaspheme God and the Blessed Virgin, his mother. Such men believe themselves "able to change times and laws" [Daniel 7.25] and live carnally, saying, Isaiah 22 [.13]: "Behold joy and gladness, killing calves, and slaying rams, eating flesh, and drinking wine: Let us eat and drink; for to morrow we shall die." Whence Ezechiel said, 16 [.49-50]: "Behold this was the iniquity of Sodom thy sister, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance, and the idleness of her, and of her daughters: and they did not put forth their hand to the needy and to the poor. And they were lifted up, and committed abominations before me: and I took them away as thou hast seen." Thus it shall be done to these wretched Christians, for they shall be taken from the world and cast into hell, unless they repent. Whence the Lord, Luke 13 [.5]: "Except you do penance, you shall all likewise perish."

The Apostle specified certain signs of evils among Christians which would be manifest near the time of the Antichrist.

Note that the Apostle specified certain signs of evil Christians which will be manifest near the time of the Antichrist, and these appear to be fulfilled in those men in our days who sin without shame. For he said in I Timothy 4 [.1]: "The spirit manifestly saith," etc, and in II Timothy 3 [.1]: "Know all this, that, in the last days, shall come dangerous times," etc. And take note that because of the many sins of the Jews God turned his face from them, as Jeremiah says, 32 [.30]: "For the children of Israel, and the children of Juda, have continually done evil in my eyes from their youth," etc. Look in the Bible. Therefore, as the Apostle says, Romans 11 [.20-21]: "Be not highminded," Christian, "but fear. For if God hath not spared the natural branches, fear lest perhaps he also spare not thee." But such wretched sinners will not take warning from the example of other men, although the Scripture says, Proverbs 24 [.30-2]: "I passed by the field of the slothful man, and by the vineyard of the foolish man: And behold it was all filled with nettles, and thorns had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall was broken down. Which when I had seen, I laid it up in my heart, and by the example I received instruction." Also:

Happy is the man who takes warning by others' misfortunes,
For your things are safe while your neighbor's house burns.⁷⁹

But the people of Reggio did not profit by such teaching. For they saw the evil ways of their neighbors the Modenese, and failed to apply the warning to themselves. Moreover, they themselves did many deeds which were but preambles to the evil that later befell them, some of which I have just described, and more below.

Certain millers of Reggio who dressed up like Friars Minor and danced in the public streets during Shrovetide.

For some time before this year certain millers of Reggio, with evil intent, requested the Friars Minor to give them some old habits, which they said they could use in their work. Later, however, on the evening of Shrove Tuesday they dressed themselves in these habits and went through the public streets singing and dancing. They did this through the instigation of the devil, who sought to "lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33], so that it would appear to the passers-by that it was the Friars Minor themselves who were doing such things in order to bring shame and scandal upon the Order. But Ecclesiasticus 27 [.30-32] speaks of the punishment that will befall such men: "A mischievous counsel shall be rolled back upon the author, and he shall not know from whence it cometh to him. Mockery and reproach are of the proud, and vengeance as a lion shall lie in wait for him. They shall perish in a snare that are delighted with the fall of the just: and sorrow shall consume them before they die." That Scripture was indeed later fulfilled in these guilty millers. For when the podestà of Reggio at that time learned of the affair, he punished them harshly with a perpetual ban and fines, not only because of his zeal for the Friars Minor but also because of the requirements of his office, so that nobody in the future would dare to do such things, in accordance with the words of Proverbs 19 [.25]: "The wicked man being scourged, the fool shall be the wiser." Whence the Wise Man said, Proverbs 22 [.22-23]: "Do no violence to the poor, because he is poor: and do not oppress the needy in the gate: Because the Lord will judge his cause, and will afflict them that have afflicted his soul," and below 23 [.10-11]: "Touch not the bound of little ones: and enter not into the field of the fatherless: For their near kinsman is strong: and he will judge their cause against thee," and Job 4 [.8-9]: "I have seen those who work iniquity, and sow sorrows, and reap them, Perishing by the blast of God, and consumed by the spirit of his wrath."

The death of Pope Honorius IV and the cause of his death. For he was struck by God, who humbles the proud and the foolish. Thus the Order of the Friars Minor or St. Francis can say to God [Psalms 40.12]: "By this I know, that thou hast had a good will for me: because my enemies shall not rejoice over me."

*See above on the death of Pope Innocent IV, folio ...*⁸⁰

Also on April 3 of that year of 1287, that is, on Maundy Thursday, Pope Honorius IV died, and was buried the next day, on Good Friday. This Pope was previously called Jacopo de Savelli; he suffered from gout, and he was a citizen of Rome who had been a cardinal before his election. He sat for two full years. He created only one cardinal, and he sent him into Germany to see to the election of Rudolph as Emperor, because, as the people believed, he wished to crown him Emperor. But the Pope died, and Rudolph was never crowned Emperor. And it appears to be the divine will that there be no further Emperors, for the prophets predicted of Frederick II: "In that man, also the Empire will come to an end because even if he has successors they will be deprived of the supreme honor of the imperial name of Roman."⁸¹ But there was another reason for Pope Honorius' death. For he sought to rise up against the Friars Minor and the Preachers, taking away from them the right to preach and hear confession at the instigation of the prelates beyond the mountains, who spent a hundred thousand pounds Tournois for this purpose. And Lord Matthew Rossi, the cardinal Protector, Governor, and Corrector of the Order of the Friars Minor, came weeping to the Brothers and said tearfully to them, "My Brothers, I have labored with all my might to change the High Pontiff's mind, but I have been unable to turn him from the hatred he has in his heart toward you. Wherefore, pray to God, 'Who bringeth to nought the designs of the malignant, so that their hands cannot accomplish what they had begun' [Job 5.12], that he may deliver you 'from importunate and evil men' [II Thessalonians 3.2]. Pray also to St. Francis that he deign to perform his usual miracles against those who strive to disrupt his Order, so that the living and all those who do evil 'might know' that 'it is not easy to fight against God' and his servants" [Ecclesiasticus 46.8]. When they heard these things the Brothers gave themselves up wholly in prayer to God, beseeching help in this critical time. And because "It is impossible that the prayers of a multitude will not be heard,"⁸² as Augustine says, he "had regard to the prayer of the humble: and he hath not despised their petition" [Psalms 101.18]. Thus on the fourth day of Holy Week, the day before Maundy Thursday when Pope Honorius had planned to publish the aforesaid sentence against the Brothers, God struck him and he died. Whence the Wise Man said in Proverbs 23 [.10]: "Touch not" etc. See above.

The capture of Carpineti by Nicholas de Fogliani and the expulsion of the party from Reggio.

Also in that same year Nicholas de Fogliani captured Carpineti and Pavullo (two castles in the bishopric of Reggio), and he placed his men there as guards in the service of Monaco of Canossa, whose brothers, Guido of Bianello and Boniface, had been killed the year before. Also, in vengeance for his brothers,

Monaco of Canossa, who was ruler of Bianello, came with a large army and forced his way into Reggio. On that day the civil war in Reggio was begun. And the podestà, who was from Cremona, and the captain, who was from Parma, left their palaces, and the next day, having received their salaries, returned to their own cities. The principal men who took over the government of Reggio were Lord Matthew de Fogliano, Lord Guido of Tripoli, Monaco of Bianello, and Nicholas de Fogliani.

The audacity of Monaco of Bianello and the death of Ugolino of Canossa.

Monaco of Bianello went personally and set fire to the house of Lord Rolandino of Canossa, burned it, and had it destroyed "even to the foundation thereof" [Psalms 136.7]. After these things were done, he exhorted his troops in the following way, "Come with me in confidence and fear nothing, for I have a charmed life and I cannot be harmed." He said these things in order to provoke his men and make them daring. And a certain common man was killed there, who was a fine, good man, my friend and a friend of all the Friars Minor. He was of Lord Rolandino's party, and he was guarding his house that day. This man was a tailor in Reggio, and he was called Ugolino of Canossa. All these events took place on Wednesday before the octave of Easter, on which day we sang the mass: *Venite, benedicti*. At that time I was living in the convent of the Friars Minor at Montefalcone, and that day I went into Reggio and saw all these things with my own eyes, for I went about the city the whole day, while these events were taking place.

Thus the festivities of the citizens of Reggio during Lent were all changed into lamentation, for they portended ill at the time they were done. For there is "a time of war, and a time of peace, a time to laugh, a time to mourn" because "all things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven" as Ecclesiastes 3 [.8, 4, 1] says, and in Ecclesiastes 8 [.6] it is written: "There is a time and opportunity for every business." Yet the archbishop, Enzo Uberto, and a certain hermit both told the people in a public sermon that the festivities in Reggio during Lent signified good things.

Praise of Brother Benvenuto Montanari.

But Brother Benvenuto, a Friar Minor, contradicted them in his sermons, saying that such festivity portended evil, as the event indeed demonstrated. Brother Benvenuto was from the district of Modena, a lector in theology, and he was a very fine preacher, pleasing both to clerks and to common people. He knew both Greek and Latin, and he was an expert in interpreting the Bible. He was a Corrector of the scriptural reading during the conventual meal, and there is no one today who can match Brother Benvenuto as a Corrector. Indeed, at one time he was a Corrector at Paris. He was a close friend of many men who later became Popes, like Pope Adrian and Pope Gregory X, who was born in Piacenza. And yet he preferred "to be humbled with the meek, than" [Proverbs 16.19] to live in the courts of the great, and so he returned to his Order where in accordance

with the custom he washes dishes in his turn. He was an extremely learned man, a man of great intelligence and a truly capacious memory. He owns many fine books, which he bought or had copied for him when he was at the University of Paris. Also, he delighted greatly in the ecclesiastical offices and knew how to sing extremely well. He was humble and friendly, a good and honorable man, reputed by all to be of holy life and good conversation. With proper adaptation to the present subject with respect to Reggio, this man seems to me to be prefigured in Micah, who counseled King Ahab not to make war on the Syrians in Ramoth Galaad. Moreover, Sedecious, the son of Chanaana, who "made himself horns of iron" and said to the king "With these shalt thou push Syria, till thou destroy it" [III Kings 22.11] prefigured those men who praised the citizens of Reggio for acting foolishly during Lent, in accordance with the verse [Psalms 9b.3]: "For the sinner is praised in the desires of his soul: and the unjust man is blessed." For the aforesaid history, see III Kings 22.

Therefore, when these things were taking place in Reggio I found the archbishop of Reggio at St. Peter's church, where he was a canon, and he was very sad and indeed completely thunderstruck. He took me by the hand as a friend and acquaintance, since I had lived in Reggio for six years. And I asked him how he was. He answered that he had been through the mill. Then because he had been one of those who had praised the people of Reggio for acting foolishly during Lent, I wanted to say to him what Micah had said to a certain man in the history cited above [III Kings 22.25]: "Thou shalt see" that is, you will know and understand, "when thou shalt go into a chamber within a chamber to hide thyself." The prophet's meaning was that he would know the truth better when vexation made him understand [cf. Isaiah 28.19]. When I started to tell him this, however, my heart and tongue spared him, because I remembered the Scripture which says: "Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul: for there is one that humbleth and exalteth, God who seeth all," Ecclesiasticus 7 [.12].

Monaco of Bianello frees the prisoners from the city prison the first day of the civil war in Reggio.

Also, on the first day those disturbances began in Reggio, Monaco of Bianello (or of Canossa) broke into the city prison with his armed men and led out all those who were "bound in want and in iron" and were "in darkness and the shadow of death" [Psalms 106.10], took off their chains, and set them free. And some of them had been imprisoned for life, and some had remained there an extremely long time. But now "a new light seemed to rise" for them, and they had great "joy . . . and dancing" [Esther 8.16]. They thanked the Monk and promised that they would always be ready to love and serve him.

The good qualities of Lord Jacopino de Panceri and his son.

That day in Reggio Lord Jacopino de Panceri and his son Thomasino attacked the opposite party, like lions rushing on their prey, "ready to break through . . . walls of iron" [II Machabees 11.9]. And Thomasino's horse was killed, when he pressed the enemy all the way up to the Roberti intersection. Lord Jacopino had

gone to San Nazaro Gate, not in order to go out but to give commands that the gate was to be left open. But as he was returning, he met a large number of armed men and by sheer numbers was forced to go out of the city. For the Lupicini had withdrawn from the party of Lord Rolandino because of an arranged marriage which they had recently contracted with Lord Matthew de Fogliani. For Lord Garsendonio had arranged for his son Ugolino to marry the daughter of Lord Matthew. And other men of the party of Lord Rolandino of Canossa and Lord Jacopino de Panceri were not prepared to fight. Some of these had, in fact, left the city and were living in castles.

The houses of some of those who left Reggio are pillaged.

Then the houses of some of those men were pillaged, and their contents, like wine, grain, and all utensils, were carried off. And on the following days the houses themselves were completely destroyed. These were the houses of Lord Jacopino, Bartholomew, Bonaccorso de Panceri, Albertino de Indusiati, Ugo de Conradi, Rolandino of Canossa, and Lord Manbredino de Guerzo.

Certain rascals attempt to pillage the convent of the Friars Minor.

Also on the same day as the commotion in Reggio many rascals and evil doers came to the convent of the Friars Minor some time after the ninth hour, prepared to enter and pillage it. When the Brothers saw them, they rang their large bell, and immediately Lord Guido of Tripoli came up armed on his horse and struck them and put them to flight with his club, as I saw with my own eyes. Then he looked at me and said, "Ah, brothers, why do you not have good staffs to hit such rascals with to keep them from robbing you?" Then I answered that we were not permitted to strike anyone, because the Lord says, Matthew . . .⁸³ [5.39]: "If one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn him also the other." The Lord showed that he did not mean this in an exact literal sense when he spoke reasonably to the man who struck his cheek, John 18 [.23]: "If I have spoken evil, give testimony to the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?" And yet Jeremiah had predicted of him, Lamentations 3 [.30]: "He shall give his cheek to him who striketh him, he shall be filled with reproaches." Truly, a certain holy brother, however, fulfilled those words to the letter.

The humility of a certain holy man who was struck on the cheek by a demoniac, and the devil went out of him in confusion because of this.

A certain holy man was struck on the cheek by a demoniac and turned the other cheek, and immediately as a result of that act of humility the devil went out of the demoniac's body in confusion and never bothered him again. Thus the Apostle says, Romans 12 [.21]: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil by good," and the Lord, Matthew 5 [.40]: "If a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him." Then I recognized the truth of Isaiah 9 [.5]: "Every violent taking of spoils with tumult."

The widespread disturbance in the bishopric of Reggio.

Moreover, in those days Lord Rolandino of Canossa, Lord Francis de Fogliani and his brother, the provost of Carpineti, Lord Jacopino de Panceri and his son Thomasino, and many others of their party went to Parma and had flags, pennants, and armaments made to take to their castles in the bishopric of Reggio, from which they planned to fight against their enemies in Reggio. And one day the men of Gesso raided Roncolo and drove off their oxen and cattle from the pasture. Then as a result the men of Roncolo moved all their possessions to the bishopric of Parma and left their village empty and their homes deserted. But the people of Quattro Castello carried off their houses and rebuilt them on the summit of Mt. Bianello. And the citizens of Cauresana, Farneto, Corniano, Piazola, and Oliveto did the same, rebuilding on the very top of Monteluccio. And the men of Bibbiano built fortifications for fear of future war. And the citizens of Caviano built their houses around the church and dug moats and filled them with water in order to be safe "from the face of the destroyer" [Isaiah 16.4]. This is the way things stand today; the future is unclear, because "Various is the event of war: and sometimes one, sometimes another is consumed by the sword" [II Kings 11.25].

Seeing the evils that befell Reggio, the Modenese begin to fear.

Hearing all these things that happened at Reggio, however, the Modenese were very much afraid and thought about expelling their fellow citizens who had just recently come from Sassuolo and with whom they had only a short time before come to a peace agreement. But these men told them that if they wished they were ready to go into confinement and scrupulously obey their every command. Thus convinced by such humility, the Modenese spared their fellow citizens and did not send them away. On the contrary, they confirmed the original peace settlement and friendship with them much more firmly than ever before. And they feasted with one another and made marriages and various alliances between the two groups.

The public works and the bells of Parma.

Also, in that same year there was a master from Pisa who had come to Parma to cast bells, and he made a large beautiful, and fine community bell for Parma. And he had to make another for the cathedral, the expense of which was paid by the Cardinal, who was from Gainaco. The year before he had made another for the city, but because of a defect in the metal it could not be hung, and therefore was destroyed because it was no good. A certain other Pisan Master had cast another bell, but it was faulty and could not be heard at a distance. When this bell was being hung near the Emperor's palace in the Arena, however, just as it was being lifted off the platform it tipped over and fell to the ground. But it injured no one, save for a young man whose foot it cut off. For he had once kicked

his father with this foot and therefore did not escape with impunity. Thus by a misfortune of this kind God demonstrated his justice. For it is clearly a worse sin to strike a father or mother than to curse them, about which the Lord commanded that "He that shall curse father or mother, let him die the death," Matthew 15 [.4].

Thus we have spoken of the works of Parma, and so let us describe others so that they may be remembered. And in order to do this better, it is best to refer you to the above sections: folios 426, 453, and 454.

The men of Reggio, both those of the city and those of Gesso, encamp near the Campola river, prepared for a battle, but they leave without a fight.

Also in this same year on Wednesday during the octave of Pentecost, that is, May 28, the men of Reggio went out of the city in full force, both the knights and infantry, in order to fight the men of Gesso, and they encamped near the Campola. (The Campola is a stream which takes its rise in Canossa and finally empties into the Crostolo). Then the men of Gesso also came forth ready for battle, and they requested an encounter from the men of Reggio. The armies were about a half a mile apart, and each side sent out messengers (which we call spies [*spias*] and scouts [*exploratores*]) to discover the size and weaknesses of the opposing army. And they did this the entire day, until in boredom they left without battle.

The men of Reggio besiege the church of Caviano and burn the village.

The following Saturday, the last day of May, the feast of St. Petronilla, the men of Gesso went out in a great host against the church of Caviano, where the men and women had fortified themselves. And that place was highly fortified, what with the tower, the church, and the moat around it, all guarded by men with stones, crossbows, and various other instruments. Then Lord Guido de Albareto, one of the leaders of the men of Gesso, rode up to the fortress and spoke with the men in the tower, saying, "All of you should think of your souls and surrender to us. If you do so, we will let you go free without any harm. If you refuse to surrender, however, I warn you that if you are captured by force, we will hang all of you without mercy." Then angered by his words, one of the men in the bell tower threw a stone from the top of the tower and hit Guido's horse on the head, and the horse shuddered with a horrible convulsion and almost fell to the ground. Then at once the two forces began to fight. And that day in the church fortress there were only forty men, and they wounded fifteen of their enemies, three of which later died and were buried. Finally, seeing that they could not capture the fortress, the men of Gesso went into the village of Caviano and pillaged it, carrying off geese, hens, cocks, capons, pigs, sheep, and everything they wanted there. For the village was filled with all kinds of goods, a beautiful little place among the groves. And the inhabitants lived there as if "according to the custom of the Sidonians" [Judges 18.7], separated from other people. But now

no one was there to resist the enemies or open "the mouth, or make the least noise" [Isaiah 10.14]. And that night they burned fifty-three houses all told in the village of Caviano. And they would have burned them all, save that they left off at the request and prayers of the Friars Minor, who resisted the evil doers.

The men of Bibbiano give one hundred pounds to the men of Gesso and make a peace agreement with them.

Seeing these things, the men of Bibbiano gave a hundred pounds imperial to the men of Gesso and arranged a one-year peace agreement with them, so that they could work in their fields safely and harvest their crops. This peace settlement was reached through the mediation of Lady Beatrice, widow of the late Lord Aimerico de Palude, and sister of Lord William de Rangone of Parma.

Lord Egidiolo of Montecchio attempts to arrange a peace settlement between the men of Reggio.

At that time Lord Egidiolo attempted to arrange a peace settlement between the men of Caviano and those of Gesso. And he was the perfect mediator, because his wife was related to the men of Canossa, since she was the sister of the abbot's mother. Similarly, Monaco of Bianello was her nephew, since he was her brother's son. Lord Egidiolo was an even-tempered, peaceable, eloquent man, and for the whole time of the war between the men of Reggio and those of Gesso, he labored restlessly, going back and forth between Gesso and our party, and bearing up under many rumors and slanders.

The Podestà of Modena courteously permits the Modenese from Sassuolo to leave Modena.

At that time the podestà of Modena was Lord Roland de Adegheri of Parma, and he called together the men who had come from Sassuolo, with whom the Modenese had come to a peace settlement, and he graciously gave them permission to leave the city before some misfortune befell them, for he recognized the mood of the citizens of Modena and knew that they were expecting help from the citizens of Reggio in a short time. And the men of Sassuolo were obedient in all things, and left the city. Later, mercenary soldiers came from Reggio, entered the city, and settled down without any objection.

At this time there was much slander against Parma in Reggio.

At this time there were many rumors abroad in Reggio that the Parmese were quarreling among themselves and that the entire city was up in arms; and it was expected that the city of Parma would be destroyed by the Parmese themselves. But the men of Reggio were merely voicing their own hopes. And many of them seemed to rejoice at the thought of the destruction of Parma, in accordance with the Scripture, Lamentations 1 [.21]: "all my enemies have heard of my evil, they have rejoiced that thou hast done it: thou hast brought a day of consolation, and they shall be like unto me." For it is a great comfort to the miserable to have company. But the Blessed Virgin appears to take especial care to watch over her city,

because she is so highly honored by the Parmese. At that time in Parma the captain of the one party was Lord Obizzo of San Vitale, the bishop of Parma, and the captain of the other party was Lord Guido de Corigia.

The courtesy and justice of Lord Rolandino of Canossa and the other leaders of the party at Gesso.

The men who had been expelled from Reggio were called those of Gesso, because of the name of the castle they lived in. The greatest leader among these was Lord Rolandino of Canossa, a handsome, noble, courteous, and generous man, who had been podestà many times in Italy. His mother, a noble and holy lady, was from the Piedmont. This Lord Rolandino performed an extremely courteous act which is worthy of memory. For once when the men of Gesso were at peace with the men of Albinea (which is in the bishopric of Reggio), a certain man of Albinea came to Lord Rolandino and complained that somebody from Gesso had stolen his oxen. And Lord Rolandino immediately had his oxen returned to him, and asked him, "Do you wish anything more?" And the man answered, "I want the man who is standing over there to give me back my clothes which he stole." But when Rolandino asked the man to give them up, he refused absolutely to do so. And so Rolandino took off his own coat or overcoat and gave it to the man with the words, "This should be a fair exchange. Now, go in peace." When the man who had stolen the clothes saw this, he blushed and came and knelt at Rolandino's feet, confessed his guilt, and returned the stolen garment.

These are the leaders in the army of Gesso: Lord Rolandino of Canossa; Lord Guido de Albareto with his sons, Azzolino and the abbot of Canossa, who is called Lord Roland; William Scarabello; Boniface, the half-brother on the mother's side of the abbot of St. Prosper of Reggio; the provost of Carpeneti and his brother, Lord Francis de Fogliani with his sons; Lord Jacopino de Panceri with his son Thomasino, both of whom fought valiantly at the time of the expulsion of the party from Reggio; Bartholomew de Panceri with his son Zachariah; Lord Hugo de Conrado with his son Conradin; Lord Manfredino de Guerzo with his sons; and Lord Henry de Gherro, a good banker. Also of their group was a certain bastard, a handsome, valiant man, who once served as their podestà. Lord Henry had also once been their podestà, and likewise, Lord Rolandino. Later, they began to choose their podestà from Cremona. All the other men of their army were either mercenaries [*militēs stipendiarii*] or freebooters [*beruarii*] or brigands [*ribaldi*]. And note that Conradin, son of Lord Ugo was chosen by the brigands as their captain and podestà.

The Lupicini desert their party when it leaves Reggio.

Note also that the Lupicini deserted their party at the time of the expulsion from the city. They remained in the city and allied themselves with Lord Matthew de Fogliani, whose daughter Lord Garsendonio received for his son Ugolino.

The siege of Bismantova. The prediction of Guido de Albareto's future which came true. That the future is predicted in various ways. See below 526.

And note that during that tempestuous time, Bismantova was besieged by the Dalli, who were in the service of Lord Matthew de Fogliani. For Lord Guido de Albareto and his allies had gone up on this rocky eminence to escape from their enemies. But, later, bored, the besiegers lifted the siege, and the men left Bismantova. Moreover, it is good to know about Guido de Albareto that some five years before he was subjected to torture as a result of the murder of Guido of Bianello, his son consulted a fortune teller about what would happen to his father. Then this man showed him a passage in a book written about his father: "He shall fall into the hands of the judge." This son, who was the Abbot of Canossa, was the very one who told me this fact one day as we were casually talking near the gate of Gesso. And so it turned out just as we have described above. See folio 467.

This shows that the future is predicted not only through prophets, but also through demons and sinful men. The future is best predicted, however, by just men, as we shall demonstrate in the following year, "If life accompany" [IV Kings 4.16].

The murder of Pinotto de Gente, the fact that justice was shown in three ways at his death.

Also in that year on a Saturday, May 17, that is, the sixteenth Kalends of June, in Campegine, Pinotto, son of Lord Ghiberto de Gente, was killed at dinner by his nephews, the sons of Lombardino de Gente, one of whom was called Ghibertino, the other William. The reason for his death was a mill, or, more specifically (which is worse) a small piece of land behind the mill, over which they had quarreled. Moreover, he had been quarelling for many years, not only with these nephews but also with their father Lombardino. Therefore, they came with other evil men and assassins, ran in on him with arms and clubs, and killed him, in accordance with the Scripture, Isaiah 30 [.13]: "The destruction thereof shall come on a sudden, when it is not looked for." And note in this murder, the three instances of God's justice: First, because all those who consented to and knew about the murder of Pinotto's wife, Beatrice of Apulia, were themselves killed in a very short time. The first of these was Pinotto himself. The second was Lord Guido of Bianello, who was, in fact, the reason why Pinotto had her killed. For he wanted to sleep with her, but she absolutely refused this adulterous relationship, not only to avoid the sin, but also because Pinotto and Guido were related to one another. The third man was Martinello, who had smothered her to death with a pillow in the village of Corigia. It was indeed just that this same Martinello was present at the murder of Pinotto, who had earlier commanded him to kill his wife. Later, this Martinello was wounded at the siege of Monte Calvoli, and later died at home because he could not restrain himself from sexual relations with his wife [*quia nescivit*

sibi ab uxore cavere]. The third marvellous justice of God is that if it had been outsiders who killed Pinotto, instead of his own nephews, those same nephews would have avenged him for the honor of the family and vainglory of the world.

Parma's advice is followed that Navone castle on the road to Villa Cade should be completed.

Also on the preceding Friday Parma's advice that Navone Castle be completed was confirmed. This castle is on the public road to Reggio near Villa Cade.

The forces of Gesso attack the men of Querzola, with whom they had a peace agreement, and it turns out badly for them.

Also in that year on June 16, the forces of Gesso attack the men of Querzola, with whom they were allied and had a peace agreement, seeking booty and captives. Earlier, they had been accustomed to attack Querzola, kill and capture their men and carry off the cattle. Now, however, despite a peace settlement with them, they had attacked again with the purpose of pillaging. But knights from Reggio, under the leadership of Pocapenna of Canossa, met them between Gesso and Querzola, and they fled, according to the words of the Scripture [Psalms 17.14]: "And thou hast made my enemies turn their back upon me, and hast destroyed them that hated me." For the forces of Reggio fought against them on the one side and Querzola on the other, and they captured one hundred and three of them. And most of them were taken to Reggio tied on a single rope and put in chains in the city prison. Some of the prisoners, however, were kept by the men of Querzola in recompense for the injuries done them by the men of Gesso. (Querzola is a village which belongs to Matthew de Fogliani.) In this battle, however, only mercenaries and outsiders were captured. For the leaders of Gesso remained at home in the protection of the castle. And when they heard of the defeat of their forces, they lamented, "Woe to us: for there was no such great joy yesterday and the day before: Woe to us. Who shall deliver us from the hand of these high gods?" [I Kings 4.8].

The fires lit as a sign of joy at the victory.

The next evening the men of Reggio displayed a flaming torch in the top of the community tower as a sign of their joy, and to rejoice the hearts of their friends in Bianello and the nearby castles. And these castles also immediately displayed flaming torches, like the rustics on Shrove Tuesday when they burn their little sheds and huts. The men of Caviano also displayed flaming torches in their bell tower.

Monaco sends armed men to burn Canossa.

The following day Monaco of Bianello sent armed men to burn the houses around Canossa in revenge for the burning of Caviano by the men of Gesso.

The men of Reggio besiege Muzzadella, destroy the houses around the castle and cut down the vineyards.

Moreover, three days later on the feast of the saints and martyrs Gervase and Protase,⁸⁴ the men of Reggio went to Muzzadella and destroyed the houses and vineyards around the castle. And the men of Bianello, Quattro Castella, Bibbiano, and Caviano were with them. The vineyards were completely destroyed. The men in the castle, however, wounded many of the invaders with arrows. Yet the men of Reggio returned that same day without a wounded man among them, the men of Quattro Castella and the other villages being the ones who were wounded.

The men of Sassuolo return to their city.

On the last day of June of that year the men of Sassuolo returned to their city, those whom the Modenese had given permission to leave and go into exile. They returned peacefully with the good will of the citizens.

The bishop of Modena dies, and Brother Philip de Boschetti becomes bishop.

The bishop of Modena, a man from Milan called Lord Ardezio, died, "being old and full of days" [Genesis 35.29]. And there was a great disturbance in Modena for many days about the election of a new bishop. Finally, Brother Philip de Boschetti of Modena, a Friar Minor, was elected. Out of the opposite party Lord Guido de Guidoni was also elected. He was archpriest of Cittanuova, a man experienced in canon law, but a man of little perception. He was the brother of Brother Boniface de Guidoni, a Friar Minor. But Brother Philip obtained the office and was consecrated bishop of Modena.

Many men of religious orders are promoted to ecclesiastic offices more for the sake of their family than for their Order.

And note that in my days many Friars Minor and Preachers have been promoted to high Church offices more for the sake of family and blood relationships than for the merit of their Orders. For the canons of the cathedrals and the mother Churches of the cities do not want to have as their rulers the members of religious Orders who shine in their life and works. For they are afraid of being reproached by them, since they wish only to live in carnality and lasciviousness, according to the words of Proverbs 15 [.12]: "A corrupt man loveth not one that reproveth him: nor will he go to the wise."

Joachim says many good things about the two Orders.

In his commentary on Jeremiah Joachim writes about the Friars Minor and the Preachers: "These two Orders will be born to the Church in simplicity and humility, but in the process of time they will harshly condemn and reproach the Babylonian fornicator."⁸⁵ Whence it is written, Proverbs 24 [.25]: "They that rebuke him, shall be praised: and a blessing shall come upon them." Take note

that the fornicator of Babylon can be understood as every soul which sins mortally. Again, Joachim writes of these two Orders: "It appears to me that the one," i.e., Order, "will gather the fruits of the earth [*botros terre*] without discrimination, both clerks and lay; the other, however, will concentrate wholly on the first fruits [*primitias*] of the clerks."⁸⁶

But enough has been said on this subject. Now let the pen return to the description of the acts of the men of Reggio, with respect to the present war which in this year and the following so greatly disturbed and afflicted the men of Reggio — which is our special purpose.

The men who escaped from the prison of Reggio, for which Scalfino de Indusiati was tortured.

In July of 1287, twenty-eight men escaped from the prison in Reggio. As a result, Scalfino, the son of Lord Guido de Indusiati, was captured and tortured harshly, because the men of Reggio believed that he had given a file to them to help them escape prison. And among other tortures they put his feet in a pot of live coals, using a bellows to blow on the coals and increase the torture. And as he was undergoing this, they brought his father there to watch his son being tortured. Then they fined him three hundred pounds Bolognese, and set him free once it was paid.

Certain men seek to invade Reggiolo, a castle belonging to Reggio, for which the Canini de Palude are banished.

Also, at this time some men sought to betray Reggio's castle Reggiolo to help the men of Gesso. But the treachery was discovered by Reggio, God helping, "Who bringeth to nought the designs of the malignant, so that their hands cannot accomplish what they had begun" [Job 5.12]. And ten of the guards of Reggiolo fled, those who apparently were the traitors. Indeed, the men of Reggio captured Conradin de Bondeno, the nephew of Conrad Canini de Palude (that is, his sister's son) and harshly tortured him "not once nor twice" [IV Kings 6.10]. Then at the city palace they strung him up by the arms, and, later, beheaded him, dragged his body through the streets at the tail of a horse in eternal mockery and shame, and then burned his body. Afterward, they banished all the Canini de Palude with all their heirs from the city of Reggio forever.

Conrad Canini has two men killed.

Note that once they had captured Reggiolo, the men of Gesso hoped the Veronese, the Mantuans, and the men of Sesso would come to their aid and help them capture Reggio and expel the party in control of the city. And Conrad Canini was to be their podestà for three years, but "iniquity hath lied to itself" [Psalms 26.12]. And this was fitting, for just two months earlier, he had had the archpriest of Parma, a man of the Fassoli family of Fornovo, killed. He also killed his nephew Brother Boniface Trauli (i.e. tongue tied), who was called Carotto, the son of Lady Alessante, sister of Lord Rolandino of Canossa. And although he had done

these evil deeds, the men of Reggio (to whom he later proved ungrateful) allowed him to live in the church of St. Nicholas — which belongs to Fontanelle Monastery of Parma — despite the fact that William de Foligiani, bishop of Reggio, and, later, the Godenti wished to have it for themselves. It was also rumored that the bishop of Parma gave two hundred pounds to help the men of Gesso take over Reggiolo and that also when the men of Sassuolo were exiled from Modena, he sent two hundred men, horse and infantry, to their aid, yet because the men of Reggio came so quickly to the aid of the Modenese, the forces of Sassuolo could not accomplish what they wished, and so they returned through Gesso because they feared reprisal if they went through Reggio. These men later helped the men of Gesso burn Caviano, as we have recounted above.

In the beginning of the war, the men of Gesso were very daring, but they later slacked off.

Note that in the beginning of the war the men of Gesso were very daring: burning, destroying, and capturing men of the opposite party. Later, however, they began to slack off, because every day the men of Reggio “went up to” them “with a great multitude” [I Machabees 1.22], and destroyed Lord Rolandino’s crops, burned his houses, and dug up his vineyards (from which comes Vernazza wine). They also dug up Lord Guido de Albareto’s vineyard and burned his house. This house had many rooms and apartments. For it had a portico, a hall, many bedrooms, kitchens, stables, wine-cellars, ovens, small cells, bakehouses, and many secret rooms. Yet the voracious fire consumed all of these.

The huge swarms of gnats in this year.

Note that in this year there were huge swarms of gnats, not only in the mountains and swamps, but also in the plains, and they lasted from the beginning of June to the feast of the Magdalene.⁸⁷ They made life miserable for men by their constant presence and their bites.

Crops are slow to ripen this year.

Note that this year the crops were extremely slow in ripening, so that the farmers could not harvest until the feast of Mary Magdalene. Therefore, what was said as a blessing for the Jews [Leviticus 26.5]: “The threshing of your harvest shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing times,” was believed by the Christians to have happened to them as a punishment.

The son of King Peter of Aragon conquers the French.

Also that same year the son of King Peter of Aragon, who was the son of the daughter of Prince Manfred, the son of the former Emperor Frederick, conquered the French (who had come to Apulia and Sicily under King Charles), and took over the whole kingdom.

Also in that same year the large, beautiful bell of the city of Parma was broken by the inexperience of the bell-ringer.

Many ambassadors gather in Parma to discuss peace settlements for all the cities of Lombardy.

Also in this year ambassadors gathered in Parma from Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Piacenza, Brescia, and Cremona for the purpose of discussing and bringing about peace to the cities of Lombardy, so that each could have a quiet, tranquil life and not be overwhelmed by discord and enemy factions. For as St. Gregory says: "Fewer shafts strike the man who is forewarned,"⁸⁸ etc.

In this year a general chapter of the Friars Minor is held in Montpellier. The great discord in Romagna because of the various factions.

Also, a general chapter of the Friars Minor was held this year at Montpellier, and Brother Matthew of Acquasparta⁸⁹ in the Spoleto valley in Tuscany was elected Minister General. But against the will of the Italians and indeed in the face of the tradition of the other General Chapters, this chapter was badly conducted. The vicar there was Brother Peter de Falengaria, who was later sent as lector to the curia, since he was a professor. Also in those days there was great discord in Romagna because of the various factions.

Certain trouble-makers seek to invade the convent of the Friars Minor at Montefalcone.

Also in that year eighteen trouble-makers from the party of Gesso decided to come and pillage the Friars Minor at Montefalcone. But when Lord Jacopino de Panceri and Boniface of Canossa, brother of the abbot of St. Prosper in Reggio learned of this, they issued a warning to them and scared them so much that they did not come. Thus they ceased from their folly [cf. II Machabees 4.6].

The commoners of Bologna establish harsh laws against their knights.

In that year the commoners of Bologna established harsh laws against the knights and noblemen of their city.⁹⁰ They ruled, for example, that if any knight or nobleman should do harm to any member of the city guild, his houses, fields, and vineyards, both in the villas and the city, would be destroyed, so that no goods would remain to him, nor one stone on another. And under this accursed law fell first the sons of Lord Nicholas de Bagaleri, who were completely destroyed by the people. So it happened that the Bolognese knights were afraid to live in the city because of the fury of the people, but took to living in their villas in the French fashion. Thus the commoners who live in the city in the French manner can truly once again be called burgesses.

Those who do evil and the time of their punishment.

But the commoners should fear lest the ire of God come upon them, because they act against the Scripture which says, Leviticus 19 [.15, 18]: "Judge thy neighbour according to justice. Seek not revenge, nor be mindful of the injury of thy citizens." Also it is through the commoners and the farmers that the world

is destroyed, and through the knights and noblemen that it is preserved. For Patecchio said in the *Book of Pests*:

When the shoe-sole becomes calf-skin.⁹¹

He means by this that it is a pestiferous thing when one who should be lower ascends on high, which God warns will happen because of sin, Deuteronomy 28 [.43-44]: "The stranger that liveth with thee in the land, shall rise up over thee, and shall be higher: and thou shalt go down, and be lower . . . He shall be as the head, and thou shalt be the tail." But afterward the opposite is to be feared, for

Like the capricious, fickle moon, Fortune's wheel turns soon.⁹²

An example worthy of memory and record.

Keep in mind the example of the butchers of Cremona, one of whom had a very large dog which was always being bothered by another butcher's smaller dog. The larger dog suffered patiently for a long time, but because the smaller dog would never cease his pestering, he finally got angry and drowned him in the Po. Thus it is with many men in this world: if they would live in peace, nobody would harm them. But because they go about actively seeking trouble, they naturally find it. Whence Ecclesiasticus says, 7 [.1,3]: "Do no evils, and no evils shall lay hold of thee. Sow not evils in the furrows of injustice, and thou shalt not reap them sevenfold." But enough has been said on this subject. Let us now return to Reggio.

Reggio besieges Rochetta for fifteen days, where the men of Gesso were forced to take refuge.

Also in this year of 1287, the men of Gesso took refuge in Rochetta because they were hard pressed by their enemies. And immediately the men of Reggio came with their allies and besieged them for almost fifteen days.

The Parmese and Bolognese manage to have the siege of Rochetta lifted for the purpose of arranging a peace, but then the men of Gesso do worse things.

Then ambassadors came from Bologna and Parma in order to arrange a peace settlement between the men of Reggio and those of Gesso, between the besieging forces and the sieged. And under the pretext of a peace agreement the siege was lifted. But the men of Gesso then came forth, and there was no peace. For they did worse things than before, plundering and destroying the villages of the bishopric of Reggio. Moreover, they captured men and by diverse, contrived, and unheard-of tortures sought to get them to ransom themselves. Among those who did these things were men from Bergamo and Milan, and freebooters from Liguria, whom the men from Gesso had hired. About these men can justly be repeated the words of Jeremiah, chapter 6 and chapter 50 [.23,.42]: "They are cruel and unmerciful."

The cruel acts of the free-booters from Liguria who were living in Gesso.

Once, for example, when they captured a certain poor man, who had never harmed them in any way but, indeed, would have served them if he could have, they tied him up, took him to Gesso, and said to him, "Set a ransom on yourself," that is, "Show how much you can give us." But when he said that he had nothing to give, they immediately struck him in the mouth with a stone and knocked out six teeth and loosened a seventh. And they did the same to many other men. They tied cords around the heads of some men and pulled them so tightly that their eyes started from their sockets and fell down on their cheeks. And they strung some men up by the thumb of one hand; others, by the testicles; still others by the little toe of one foot. They tied others with their hands behind their backs, and made them sit down with their feet in a bucket of live coals, which they then blew on to make hotter. And they tied up some with a string running from the big toe of their right foot to one of their teeth; then they punched them in the back with a goad until they pulled out their own teeth. They bound up others with their hands tied to their heels, like sheep being carried to slaughter, and hung them up on a stake all day long without food or drink. They rubbed the calves of other men's legs with rough wood, cutting through the flesh until they reached the bone. Simply to see such miseries was a great pity. But when the leaders of Gesso rebuked them for doing such horrors to Christian men, the freebooters were angered and threatened to leave them. And so they were compelled, willy nilly, to allow such things. And they thought up and did many other tortures, which I have not described for the sake of brevity. I have written these things, however, to show that some men are crueller than beasts. And so it is truly just and right that men of this kind be tormented by the demons in hell, as Isaiah described, saying, 5 [.14]: "Therefore hath hell enlarged her soul, and opened her mouth without any bounds, and their strong ones, and their people, and their high and glorious ones shall go down into it." Also the Lord says, Matthew 25 [.41]: "Depart from me, you cursed, into everlasting fire which was prepared for the devil and his angels," because you not only did not do works of mercy, but rather did such torments as the demons themselves. Whence Job said, 24 [.12]: "Out of the cities they have made men to groan, and the soul of the wounded hath cried out, and God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenge," and the Lord, Jeremiah 9 [.9]: "Shall not my soul be revenged on such a nation?" Certainly, he will be avenged, because "the Lord is the God to whom revenge belongeth" [Psalms 93.1]. Thus it is recorded in Job 4 [.8-9]: "I have seen those who work iniquity, and sow sorrows, and reap them, Perishing by the blast of God, and consumed by the spirit of his wrath."

The number of the men of Gesso who fortified themselves in Rochetta and the date they did so. Why Rochetta is called Tiniberga. Three thousand men were at the siege of Rochetta.

The men of Gesso fortified themselves in Rochetta on the Kalends of August, that is, on the feast of St. Peter in Vincoli, and they stayed there until the feast of the martyrs Hippolytus and Cassian.⁹³ And a certain young man who was with them the whole time told me that there were only three hundred men inside and two hundred and forty horses. Outside among the besieging forces, however, there were three thousand men, counting the men of Reggio and their allies, who were spread out in various divisions and armies here and there in the mountains around Rochetta. And if Reggio could have captured it (as they could have done if it had not been for the Parmese and the Bolognese attempting to make peace), the war would have been ended without a doubt, for all the leaders of their enemies were within Rochetta, and the besieging parties had mangonels and trebuchets, whose blows Rochetta would not have been able to withstand. Rochetta is just one mile from Sassuolo and ten from Reggio. It is in a valley surrounded by mountains, and in the middle of the valley is a small mountain, on which Rochetta is built. This castle is also called Tiniberga, for the following reason: Certain men of Bergamo, among its leading citizens, were banished from the city without hope of ever returning because of a homicide that they were guilty of. And they went to Reggio and petitioned the council for a place where they could settle safely. And the citizens of Reggio granted them permission to search for an uninhabited place anywhere in their bishopric, where they would be allowed to build a fortress suitable to their needs. And so they built Rochetta and called it Tiniberga. This place now belonged to Lord Bernard of Gesso.

The Bolognese exile many of their own knights.

Also, in this year the Bolognese exiled many of their own knights and sent them to live in various cities. And it was the commoners who did this, who had gained rule over the knights.

The rule of certain people is held to be very bad by the Holy Scripture.

Note that the rule of certain people is held to be very bad in Holy Scripture, that is to say, the rule of women, children, servants, fools, enemies, and base people. It is written of those:

Nothing is crueller than a humble man who has risen.⁹⁴

And Patecchio said in the *Book of Pests*:

A servant risen all too high.⁹⁵

About the rule of such people, see above, folio 235.

Bernard, deacon of the church of St. Antonino, who was killed by the assassins of Monaco of Bianello. Lord Peregrino, priest of Caviano church, was killed likewise by the same assassins the preceding year.

Also in those days Bernard of Quattro Castella, son of William, the deacon of the Church of St. Antonino, was captured by Monaco of Bianello (also of Canossa). And Bernard confessed fully and voluntarily without torture, as his captors said, that he planned to betray Bianello into the hands of the men of Gesso. And they immediately cut his throat, and carried him about that castle, a nude corpse, and, later, cast him out of the castle as vile carrion. And so he was buried in his chemise alone in the Church of St. Antonino. On the feast of St. John the Baptist when I sang mass in Bianello, Bernard sang the gospel that accompanies that Mass, and in that same year the day after the feast of the Beheading of St. John the Baptist,⁹⁶ on Saturday, this man was beheaded. They also cut out the tongue of Bernard's sister, Berta, and cast her out of Quattro Castella and banished her perpetually. For they accused her (as they did also Bernard's concubine or lover) of carrying messages between the men of Gesso and certain evil traitors from Quattro Castella. This deacon was an old man, and he had a mistress, and yet in his final hours he did not know that he should confess it—or did not wish to. His killer was named Martinello, a notorious wrong-doer and assassin, whom Monaco kept with him in the castle.

Also, in the preceding year Lord Peregrino, priest of Caviano church, was killed by the same assassins of Monaco of Bianello, and again they sought to "lay a blot on the elect" [Ecclesiasticus 11.33] by accusing him of not being firm in his loyalty to Monaco; and they accused him of many other things which are worthy of neither memory nor record. There were four men who killed him: Raymondello, Jacobello, Accorto, and Ferrarello. These four had had a friendly dinner with him that very evening, and then in the middle of the night while he was asleep in his bed, they killed him with their swords; and they mangled him so and treated him with such scorn that it was monstrous to behold.

God quickly avenged his murdered clerks, for "God doth not suffer it to pass unrevenged" Job 24 [12].

But God quickly took vengeance on the killers of this priest. For before the year was out, Raymondello was killed by the men of Gesso. Jacopello also fell into the hands of the men of Gesso, who broke out two of his teeth, and he barely escaped. But God killed both Accorto and Ferrarello in their beds.

The Bolognese carry off hostages which they took at Rochetta.

Also in that same year when the podestà of Bologna and the Bolognese citizens got the men of Rochetta out of the difficulty of the siege, they took with them to Bologna Lord Rolandino of Canossa and placed him in chains as a security for the peace, and they kept him prisoner a long time. They did the same with

Lord Bartholomew de Panceri, a judge and citizen of Reggio, and with the provost of Carpeneti, the son of Lord Albert de Fogliani and brother of Lord Francis.

All the men of the ancient Imperial party gather together hoping to capture Modena. Their captain is Thomasino of Sassuolo, but "iniquity hath lied to itself" [Psalms 26.12].

Also in that same year all the men of the ancient party of the Emperor Frederick, who had been expelled from their cities and had been travelling about in exile, decided to capture some city in which they could live again without shame and trouble, and take vengeance on their enemies if they would not allow them to live in peace. Yet they had come to this plan out of pure hard necessity, because the men of the Church party would show them no mercy whatsoever by receiving them in peace and allowing them back into their cities. Therefore, they came up with this plan for taking over a city. Moreover, Lord Rolandino of Canossa and the men of Gesso had sworn to those of Sesso that they would never by any means go back to Reggio unless they could do so peacefully — as was fitting. Therefore, all those of the ancient imperial party (from Cremona, Parma, Reggio, Modena, and Bologna) joined with the men from Gesso and Sassuolo, and in addition they had with them some five hundred knights from Verona and Mantua and two hundred from Germany. Then on September 6, a Saturday, near the hour of matins, Thomasino of Sassuolo with his forces entered the city of Modena through Bazoaria gate by going through the bed of the river. Then he began to run up and down throughout the city crying out that the city was his and his soldiers'. And they captured the fortification of the gate which was near the moat, and set up their flags and standards there. But [Psalms 26.12]: "Iniquity hath lied to itself," who thereby [Job 5.12]: "Bringeth to nought the designs of the malignant, so that their hands cannot accomplish what they had begun." For they began to kill little children still in the cradle. And God quickly took vengeance for these innocents in two ways: First, by receiving the little ones immediately into his kingdom, thereby giving eternal life to those they killed; second, by not allowing them to capture the city. For they would undoubtedly have captured it if they could have opened the gate, but suddenly they could not do so, because it had been barred above by a huge iron bolt. Thus it was not particularly smart of Thomasino of Sassuolo to go about shouting, "The city is ours," before the gate was open. Moreover, the two hundred German knights had not yet arrived to help them — though they did come later. Furthermore, the five hundred who had come from Mantua and Verona were waiting outside with the rest of the army, but were unable to enter. But when the gate would not open, they set fire to it so that they could enter through the burned-out gate. But there were two problems with the plan: First, there was a strong wind blowing against them so that the flames bursting out against them forced them back away from the gate; and, second, there were so many hot coals left afterward that they were still unable to enter. And when some of them cried out, "To the fire, to the fire!" the citizens woke up and, terrified, grabbed their arms, and fought off the enemy valiantly. They cast them out of the city, put

them to flight "with the edge of the sword" and "pursued them" [Judith 15.6] all the way to Sassuolo, and beyond, for they managed to keep them from entering Sassuolo.

The burning and destruction of Sassuolo.

Sassuolo was abundantly supplied, filled with all kinds of foodstuffs: grain, wine, animals, and arms, because the foreign troops who had come to capture the city had left all their goods there, save for the arms needed in the battle. But the Modenese burned that castle with all its goods, refusing to allow anyone to carry off anything⁹⁷ And so the Modenese returned to their cities and began diligently to search out the traitors.

Lord Garzone is hanged, along with thirty-four others.

And they captured Lord Garzone de Garzoni and tortured him until he died. Then, after his death, they hanged him at the Bazoaria gate. They also hanged thirty-four other men for the same reason, some of whom were innocent, as it was said.

Lord Bernardino, podestà of Modena.

The podestà of Modena at that time was Lord Bernardino of Ravenna, the son of Lord Guido da Polenta and of a noble lady of the Fontana family, the daughter of Lord Bernardino de Fontana and Lady Samaritan de Alberghetti of Faenza.

Lord Matthew de Corigia rebukes the podestà of Modena for the excessive rigor of his justice.

At this stormy time Lord Matthew de Corigia went to Modena and in full council in the city palace harshly rebuked the podestà, saying, "Certainly, Lord podestà, you have brought a heavy burden upon us and upon this city so that we will have to be afraid the rest of our lives because of the excessive vengeance of your justice. For 'Whether one punishes or forgives, the aim should always be correction.'⁹⁸ Then the podestà answered, "I have heard from the preachers that God commanded in the law, Exodus 22 [.18]: 'wizards thou shall not suffer to live.' And Paul the holy Apostle says that a podestà 'beareth not the sword in vain,' Romans 13 [.4]." After these things were said, each one returned to his own business.

The men of Gesso did not keep peace with those of Quattro Castella.

Also in this year on September 8, near the hour of Vespers on the feast of the nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the men of Gesso attacked the forces of Bianello and Quattro Castella, as I saw with my own eyes, and carried off oxen from the fields, that is to say, ten teams of oxen and one young steer. Moreover, they captured four children, and killed one man. And all this despite the fact that they had a peace agreement with them, for the men of Bianello and Quattro Castella had paid tribute to them. Yet the men of Quattro Castella, or perhaps it was the

men of Bianello, captured one Cremonese mercenary and turned him over to Monaco, and after he had been mildly tortured, he became a member of Monaco's party and lived with him.

The provincial chapter held at Ferrara.

At this time a provincial chapter of the district of Bologna was held at Ferrara, which the Minister General, Brother Matthew of Acquasparta, attended. Brother Bartholomew of Bologna, a great university professor, was at that time Provincial Minister of Bologna. And the Marquis of Este laid out lavish funds for that chapter; and he ate there.

The death of the Marchioness of Este.

And the Marquis' wife, who was ill, died. And as she herself had so greatly desired, she was honorably buried by the Brothers of that chapter in the convent of the Friars Minor. May her soul rest in peace through the mercy of God, because both in life and in death she did many good things for the Order of the Friars Minor.

The death of Lord Salvino de Torre.

Also on September 10 of that year during the octave of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, on a Wednesday, Lord Salvino de Torre of Milan died at Parma and was buried in the convent of the Friars Minor in the place where the Brothers themselves are buried. In accordance with his wishes, he was buried without ceremony. He was the son-in-law of the Count of St. Boniface of Verona, since he was married to his daughter. He was a very rich man. And he was fully and devoutly confessed by the Friars Minor. He had made a full and good will, and he left large bequests to Christ's poor, especially to the Friars Minor and the Preachers, as well as other religious orders, both in Milan and other cities. But his will was later abrogated, destroyed, and changed by Lord Guido de Corigia: may God delete his name from the Book of Life, unless he restore those things he fraudulently and maliciously stole from Christ's poor, because he has cheated the soul of a good man who had properly ordered his will for the good of his soul. Yet this Guido de Corigia, a citizen of Parma, was not even related to Lord Salvino, but was indeed his enemy. Yet because the Lord says that "He that humbleth himself, shall be exalted" [Luke 18.14] and because this Lord Salvino "humbled" himself "with the meek" [Proverbs 16.19] in the choice of his tomb, he now lies in the atrium near the gate of the Friars Minor in a fine, beautiful tomb. May his soul rest in peace through the mercy of God!

The public works of Parma, and the discord in Parma between the bishop and Lord Guido de Corigia.

Also in September of that year the Parmese began to build the stone bridge, called Salari, over the Parmese river on the road that leads to Santa Cecilia. And they also began work on the Gate of Borgo St. Giles on the public road which

leads to San Lazzaro; and also on the Gate of Prato San Ercolano on the road to Bologna. Moreover, they built a wall near the canal and the mill to shore up the moat, in order to hold back the water better.

At this time there was also a great quarrel in Parma between Bishop Obizzo of San Vitale and Lord Guido de Corigia. These two were captains of the two parties in the city at that time. Neither had been chosen by the Parmese, but had themselves assumed the leadership, each one believing himself to be acting reasonably for the good of the city. And the men at that time, according to their allegiance, spoke in praise or blame. But St. Augustine says that one should care little about the judgments of men, noting that slander cannot damn a man, nor false praise crown him.

The army of the king of Aragon prevails over the French and sinks their ships.

In that same year on the vigil of St. John the Baptist,⁹⁹ the army of Peter, late king of Aragon, sank many French ships in the sea off the coast of Naples. And many of the survivors of King Charles' army were blinded, both commoners and knights; noblemen and barons. And this was just and right ...¹

The French are extremely proud and very foolish men.

For the French are an extremely proud and foolish people, terrible and accursed, a people who hold all other nations of the world in contempt, especially the English and the Lombards, and by "Lombards" they mean all Italians. They themselves, however, are held in contempt by all others. The following witty verses about a vagrant rascal are appropriate for these Frenchmen:

Sitting at the fire drinking his wine,
The rascally vagrant, superciliously fine,
Grandiosely thinks: "The King of Araby
Serves me at table: my personal maitre d'"²

For after the French have a few drinks, they think they can conquer the whole world with a single blow. But they are mistaken, for note the words of Ahab, King of Israel, to King Benadab of Damascus, who boasted that the dust of Samaria would not outnumber his army. The king of Israel sent word to him, "Tell him [III Kings 10.11]: 'Let not the girded boast himself as the ungirded.'" And so it happened. King Benadab of Damascus is said to have led thirty-two kings to the siege of Samaria. Yet King Ahab of Israel won the victory over him with two hundred servants of the princes of the provinces [cf. III Kings 20.15]. Thus the French are extremely proud men, and they afflicted the citizens of the kingdom, as well as the Tuscans and Lombards who were living in Apulia. For they took food supplies away from them without pay: grain, wine and milk, fish and flesh, capons, geese, chickens, and all kinds of other foodstuffs. And not only would they not pay them, but they also grievously wounded them [cf. Luke 10.30]. This is made clear by the following example: a certain man of Parma had a very

beautiful wife, and she sold some geese to a Frenchman for a certain specified price. Yet not only did he refuse to pay the agreed price, but he also struck her and wounded her so seriously that there was "no need of a second time" [I Kings 26.8], and yet he derisively asked her if she wanted to be struck again. Hearing this, her husband quivered with rage, and no wonder, because whereas before his wife had been very beautiful with a fine erect carriage, ever after for her entire life she was bent and crooked. Therefore, the French rule was extremely cruel and proud. And so it merited its destruction. The Lord speaks of such a rule, Isaiah 52 [.5]: "They that rule over them treat them unjustly, saith the Lord, and my name is continuously blasphemed all the day long" by them.

The death of the king of the Saracens of Tunis, after whose death they elected the son of King Peter of Aragon because of their hatred of King Charles.

Also in that year the king of the Saracens of Tunis died, and because of their hatred of King Charles they elected the son of Peter, late king of Aragon, as their king, and he accepted the kingdom. He was the son of the daughter of Prince Manfred of Apulia, the son of the late deposed Emperor Frederick.

Also in that year the men of the ancient imperial party, seeing that they could capture neither Reggiolo nor the city of Modena by force³ ⟨...⟩

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Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* strain on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strain 101. The concentration of the *Agrobacterium* strain 101 was varied from 10 to 1000 cells per μ l. The transformation efficiency was determined by the number of transformants per μ l of the *Agrobacterium* strain 101. The data were expressed as the mean \pm SD of three independent experiments.

Figure 1. The effect of the concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension on the transformation efficiency of *Agrobacterium* strains. The concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension was 10⁶ cells/ml (A), 10⁷ cells/ml (B), 10⁸ cells/ml (C), and 10⁹ cells/ml (D). The concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension was 10⁶ cells/ml (A), 10⁷ cells/ml (B), 10⁸ cells/ml (C), and 10⁹ cells/ml (D). The concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension was 10⁶ cells/ml (A), 10⁷ cells/ml (B), 10⁸ cells/ml (C), and 10⁹ cells/ml (D). The concentration of the *Agrobacterium* suspension was 10⁶ cells/ml (A), 10⁷ cells/ml (B), 10⁸ cells/ml (C), and 10⁹ cells/ml (D).

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are under 15 years of age is expected to increase from 1.1 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of people aged 65 and over is expected to increase from 200 million to 400 million. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion. The number of people aged 15 and over is expected to increase from 3.5 billion to 4.5 billion.

[illegible]

1. The first group of variables includes the demographic characteristics of the respondents, such as age, gender, and education level. These variables are used to control for potential confounding factors that may influence the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are undernourished has declined from 1.1 billion to 800 million. The number of people who are malnourished has declined from 1.5 billion to 1 billion. The number of people who are obese has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million. The number of people who are obese and overweight has increased from 100 million to 300 million.

List of Frequently Cited Works

- Bonaventure, *Legenda maior* — References are to the sections of the Quaracchi edition.
- Cato, *Distichs* — *The Distichs of Cato*, ed. Wayland J. Chase. University of Wisconsin Studies 7 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1922).
- Caxton — William Caxton, trans., *The Golden Legend*. 7 volumes (London: Dent, 1931).
- Celano, *First Life, Second Life* — Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima* and *Vita Secunda* (References are to the sections in the Quaracchi editions, 1926-27).
- Contini — Gianfranco Contini, ed., *Poeti del Duecento*. 2 volumes (Milan and Naples: Riccardo Ricciardi, 1960).
- Decretals* — *Corpus Iuris canonici*, ed. Aemilius Friedberg. 2 volumes (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1959).
- Eccleston — Thomas of Eccleston, *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester, 1951).
- H-E — *Chronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum*, ed., O. Holder-Egger. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, 32 (Hanover and Leipzig, 1905-13).
- Hervieux — *Les Fabulistes Latins*, ed. Leopold Hervieux. 2nd ed. 5 volumes (Paris, 1893-1899; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin).
- Jordan — *Chronica fratris Jordani*, ed. H. Boehmer. Collection d'études et de documents 6 (Paris, 1908).
- MGH — *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.
- Epp. — Epistolae.
- SS. — Scriptores.
- PG — Patrologia Graeca.
- PL — Patrologia Latina.
- Reeves, *Prophecy* — Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).
- Scalia — *Salimbene de Adam Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia. 2 volumes. Scrittori d'Italia 232-33 (Bari: Laterza, 1966).
- Second Rule* — References are to the sections of the Quaracchi edition.

Notes

1. This is the beginning proper of Salimbene's own *Chronicle*. Up to this point he has been following rather closely the chronicle of Sicardo of Cremona, although he has, as he tells us below, made a number of changes and deletions. The words immediately before this opening are *Hic verba Sichardi episcopi deserunt*, "The words of Bishop Sicardo leave off at this point." Although all editions preserve the earlier portion of the *Chronicle* (about forty pages in Scalia), we have decided that no real purpose would be served by retaining it in a translation. Our opening section, therefore, begins on Scalia's page 40, and Holder-Egger's 29. It should be understood, however, that Salimbene still relies heavily in these early years upon the work of other chroniclers. The interest he holds for us, of course, lies mainly within the period of his own lifespan (b. 1221; writing *Chronicle* 1283-1288; d. 1289?), with his reports of people and events that he himself personally experienced.

2. Preface to the Books of Samuel and Malachi in Jerome's version of the Bible.

3. Salimbene makes frequent allusions to other chronicles that he has written, but the one presently in hand is the only one that has come down to us in his name.

4. Salimbene is in error here; he mingles an account of the Albigensian Crusade with this event.

5. The carroccio was a four-wheeled war chariot of the Italian city-states. A kind of rectangular platform on wheels, it carried the city's standard, trumpeters, and an altar at which a priest held services before battle. The earliest recorded use of a carroccio is from the year 1038. It was considered a grievous humiliation to lose the carroccio by capture or destruction. The use of the carroccio is a purely Italian phenomenon. When Salimbene tries to explain the dishonor associated with the loss of a carroccio to some French friars, he has resort to a comparison with the oriflamme, the battle standard of the French kings. The French are amazed at such an odd convention, exclaiming, "Ha, God! now we have heard wonders!" Some carroccios, we learn from Salimbene, were even given affectionate names, like Cremona's, which was called Bertha.

6. Throughout this work all Scriptural citations will be identified within the text in this manner. Salimbene himself usually identifies book and chapter cited, though ordinarily not the particular verse. All Biblical passages herein are quoted directly from the Douay-Rheims Bible, as being the English version closest to the Vulgate which Salimbene employs. Salimbene cites this particular passage in Acts describing the coming of the Holy Spirit, of course, because the battle, as he points out above, took place on the Day of Pentecost.

7. Salimbene is in error. H-E points out that these events took place on the tenth of June, 1203.

8. This is the famous Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. During the pontificate of Innocent III (1198-1216), the papacy reached its medieval peak of authority, influence, and prestige in the Church and in its relations with civil rulers.

9. Otto IV (d. May 19, 1218) was at first supported by Innocent III to the detriment of Frederick II, who was considered too young. Innocent crowned Otto Emperor on October 4, 1209. Otto proving too recalcitrant and imperialistic, however, Innocent put all his efforts into bringing him down. He excommunicated him on November 18, 1210, and officially deposed him in the Lateran Council of 1215. With Innocent's support, Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194-1250) was crowned King of Germany on July 25, 1215, by the papal legate; and later, after Innocent's death, he received the imperial crown from Pope Honorius III on November 22, 1220. For an excellent account of Frederick II in the historical context of the first half of the thirteenth century, see Thomas Curtis Van Cleave, *The Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972). Ernst Kantorowicz's biased

account in *Frederick the Second 1194-1250*, translated E. O. Lorimer (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957; orig. pub. 1931), is dated, but still fascinating.

10. Joachim of Fiore (1135?-1202). Joachim's reputation during his lifetime was primarily that of a prophet and biblical exegete. His fame as a seer is clearly established by surviving records of meetings with important political figures and Popes, such as Richard I of England, Emperor Henry IV, young Frederick II, Pope Lucius III, Urban III, and Celestine III. After his death, his reputation as prophet was firmly established and broadened by the publication of numerous prophetic works falsely ascribed to him. The work Salimbene cites here is, apparently, the most popular of the pseudo-Joachite books, the *Super Hieremiam*. Salimbene is quite ambiguous in his attitude toward Joachim and Joachimism. Frequently, he will, as here, cite him as a veritable prophet; at other times, he will attempt to divorce himself wholly from Joachimism and the Joachites. At the time Salimbene is writing, the Franciscan Spirituals, fully identified with Joachimism, are being persecuted for their beliefs.

11. Henry VI (1165-1197), Holy Roman Emperor.

12. July 21.

13. Cato, *Distichs*, III.6.

14. The following lines are left untranslated, since they are practically untranslatable in any case, the whole wit lying — as Salimbene at least sees it — in the use of ungrammatical constructions. For a suggestion that Salimbene himself misses the clever wittiness of the very passage that he has preserved for us, however, see J. L. Baird and G. Baglivi, "Salimbene and *il bel motto*," *American Benedictine Review*, 28 (1977), 201-9.

15. The cathedral school at Toledo was an important center of scholarship (especially scientific work), as well as a kind of melting pot of Christian and Mohammedan learning. As a result of this emphasis on science and "Saracenic" thought, it early gained a reputation as the home of the occult sciences.

16. Honorius III was Pope from July 18, 1216 to March 18, 1227.

17. The point of extremely high prices comes through clearly enough, and no attempt has been made to be more specific in terms of monetary values and measures. In fact, the "whole system of weights and measures and coinage," as Helene Nolthenius writes, "differed from city to city according to its prosperity." See *Duecento: The Late Middle Ages in Italy* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 58.

18. Frederick's first wife, Constance of Aragon, sister of the king of Aragon.

19. Salimbene is in error. Honorius III became Pope in 1216.

20. The *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* of Aelius Donatus (fl. A.D. 350) became the standard grammatical works for the Middle Ages. The term *Donat* or *Donet* came to mean simply "primer" or "elementary textbook." Thus one who had not read his *donatus* was simply ignorant of Latin altogether.

21. The Indiction, a fifteen-year cycle, was a chronological term used to denote a measure of time. The word as employed by Salimbene is used to denote the individual years of the Indiction period of fifteen. Thus, for example, when he refers to the year 1277, he adds "*indictione V*," i.e., the fifth year in the Indiction period. To compute the Indiction number for a particular year, add three to the year date and divide by fifteen. The fractional remainder will then denote the year of the Indiction. If there is no remainder, the Indiction number is fifteen.

22. John of Brienne, titular King of Jerusalem. Frederick II married his daughter, Isabella, on November 9, 1225, and through her laid claim to the kingdom of Jerusalem. The battles referred to here mark the beginning of the Fifth Crusade.

23. Salimbene is in error here, as his own text ("thirty years and *eleven* days") clearly indicates. Frederick died on St. Lucy's Day (i.e., December 13), not on St. Cecilia's Day (November 22). Later (p. 354), although once again listing St. Cecilia's Day as the date

of Frederick's death, Salimbene goes on to note that "Others say that he died on the Festival of St. Lucy."

24. The Taleata (Tagliata) Canal was excavated by the Cremonese, so that they could bypass the section of the Po controlled by the Mantuans. This navigable canal was some sixty miles long.

25. Dominic (1170-1221) was founder of the Order that goes by his name, the Dominican Order or the Order of the Preachers.

26. Mille ducentis atque viginti, Christe, duobus,
postquam sumpsisti carnem, currentibus annis,
talìa fecisti miracula, rex benedicte:
stella comis variis Augusti fine refulsit;
Septembris pluvia vites submersit et uvas
destruxitque domos fluvii de more rapacis;
lunaque passa fuit eclypsim mense Novembris;
Christi natalis media quasi luce diei
terra dedit gemitus rugiens tremuitque frequenter:
tectà cadunt, urbes quassantur, templa ruerunt,
exanimés dominos fecerunt menia multos,
Brixia precipue pressit ruinosa colonos,
flumina mutarunt cursum repetentia fontes.

27. St. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226): Founder of the Franciscans or Friars Minor, 1209; received the stigmata 1224; canonized 1228.

28. Cepit sub Innocentio
cursumque sub Honorio
perfecit gloriosum.
Succedens his Gregorius
magnificavit amplius
miraculis famosum.

This is from the Office of St. Francis, written by Julian of Speyer. See *Analecta Franciscana*, Vol. 10, p. 375. St. Francis' conversion took place under Innocent III (late 1206 or early 1207), he died under Honorius III (October 3, 1226), and under Gregory IX, he was entered in the Catalogue of Saints (July 16, 1228).

29. July 25.

30. Ugolino (or Hugolino), close friend and confidant of St. Francis, was the first Cardinal Protector of the Franciscan Order, an office apparently created at St. Francis' own request. Ugolino was later to become Pope Gregory IX.

31. Salimbene is in error. Honorius died on March 18, 1227, and Ugolino was elected Pope the next day, March 19, 1227.

32. In 1230, Gregory IX commissioned his chaplain and confessor, Raymond of Penafort, a Dominican, to compile a new collection of decretals to replace the *Quinque compilationes antiquae decretalium*, the "Five Compilations." This work was completed in about four years.

33. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 24.

34. Alexander III (1159-1181); Innocent III (1198-1216); Gregory IX (1227-1241); Innocent IV (1243-1254); Honorius III (1216-1227); Alexander IV (1254-1261); Clement IV (1265-1268).

35. It is unclear what place is intended by this abbreviation.

36. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-1231) was married to the landgrave of Thuringia at

the age of fourteen, and after his death she put on the habit of the third order of St. Francis and devoted herself to the care of the poor and sick at Marburg in Hesse. She was canonized in 1235.

37. That is, she joined the third order of lay members.

38 Mangonels (also called *onagers*, "wild asses") were a type of catapult used to propel stones, spears, and other projectiles. Nearly all catapults employed in ancient and medieval artillery operated by sudden release of tension on wooden beams or twisted cords of horsehair, gut, sinew, or other fibers.

39. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.

40. St. Clare of Assisi (1194-1253) was born of a noble family, but renounced all and left home secretly at the age of eighteen. St. Francis put her in the care of Benedictine nuns at Bastia, and later when she was joined by her sister (St. Agnes), he installed her in a house which was to form the nucleus of a new order, sometimes called the Order of the Poor Ladies, and, later, the Poor Clares.

41. Salimbene is a bit premature here. The daughter, i.e., Sister Agnes, Salimbene's niece, is not yet dead. It is for her, in fact, as he later informs us, that he is writing the *Chronicle*.

42. Matilda (1045-1115), Countess of Tuscany, was the powerful ally of the Church in the Investiture Contest with Emperor Henry IV. Sometimes called the Great Countess, she is one of Salimbene's most admired women, as he later tells us.

43. Fond of this symbolical indication of the crossroad of vice and virtue, Salimbene uses it a number of times in the *Chronicle*. Pythagoras is said to have regarded the letter *y* as a symbol of human life. The straight "back" of the letter is the arduous way; the deviating line, the easier path of vice.

44. Salimbene was born on October 9, 1221, and entered the Order on February 4, 1238. He was, therefore, a few months over sixteen years old when he became a Minorite, not just fifteen as this statement makes it at first appear.

45. Elias was twice Minister General of the Franciscan Order: from 1221-1227 and from 1232 to 1239. In 1239, he was deposed from his post by Pope Gregory IX, and, later, was excommunicated by both Gregory IX and Innocent IV for associating with the excommunicated Emperor Frederick II.

46. Cf. I Corinthians 4.9; and Hebrews 5.9.

47. In the early days of the Order *custos*, "custodian," was synonymous with *Provincial Minister*. Later — and this is true of Salimbene's usage — when the provinces were subdivided into *custodies*, *custos* was employed as the title of the administrative officer of this smaller unit.

48. This is one of Salimbene's two favorite metaphors; the other is "as useless as a fifth wheel of a wagon."

49. The meaning of this term — *pissintunicis* in the original — is probably somewhat more specific than would appear at first sight. Professor Baglivi, for example, remembers observing monks in Italy who would assume a kind of squatting position in order to urinate without lifting or otherwise disturbing their robes.

50. The Latin for this passage is "sed veni mecum, et omnia mea tibi dabo." Et respondi et dixi patri meo: 'Vade, vade, pater!'" What Salimbene has done — and without the slightest hint, because he knew his audience would know — is to put the words of Satan into his father's mouth and Christ's into his own. As the last temptation in the wilderness, Satan shows Christ all the kingdoms of the world and says: "Haec omnia tibi dabo." And Christ answers him, "Vade, Satana." See Matthew 4.9-10.

51. Cf. St. Bernard, Letter III. PL 182, col. 255. H-E remarks about Salimbene's purported conversation with his father that nobody really believes that Salimbene said such

things to his father. It appears likely, in fact, that in addition to the example of St. Francis' similar renunciation the episode was influenced by this letter of St. Bernard's, for it deals with the same subject (not turning back once one has put his hand to the plow), and Bernard quotes one of the significant Bible verses that Salimbene also uses: "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me."

52. Martin of Fano had a considerable reputation as a professor of law in the thirteenth century. He twice served as podestà of Genoa, in 1260 and 1262. Late in life he joined the Dominican Order and entered the convent in Bologna. He died c. 1272 at an advanced age.

53. There were, of course, rumors on the opposite side. As Ernst Kantorowicz writes: "Shrewd woman that she was, Constance had taken measures to forestall such gossip: she had had a tent erected in the open marketplace, and there in the sight of all she had borne her son and proudly displayed her well-filled breasts—so the counter-rumor ran." See *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250*, p. 5.

54. See O. Holder-Egger, "Italienische Prophetieen des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 176.

55. That is, John of Brienne. See note 22, p. 660.

56. This is the famous Alexander of Hales, d. 1245. As the first Franciscan to hold a chair of theology at the University of Paris, he was the Franciscans' *flos philosophorum* and *primus Doctor*, as his epitaph informs us. He wrote the first *Summa theologiae* (in the manner of the later Aquinas) applying Aristotelian categories to Church dogmas. He was called the Unanswerable Doctor.

57. Avent tutt mantenant
 novum nostris temporibus.

58. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055. Salimbene repeats a quotation, as frequently.

59. Albert of Pisa, Minister General 1239-1240.

60. "Fickle and lighthearted lay brother." Throughout the *Chronicle*, Salimbene expresses contempt for these lay members of the Order. Later, one of his harshest (and probably false) accusations against the Minister General Brother Elias is that he admitted large numbers of lay brothers.

61. Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on II Corinthians*, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 329.

62. *Second Rule*, ch. 6.

63. The *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus Voragine, the "Life of St. John the Evangelist." An easily accessible translation is William Caxton's *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints* (London: J. M. Dent, 1900). For this story, see volume 2, pp. 165-69.

64. Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on II Corinthians*, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 329.

65. *Vita S. Pauli primi eremitae*. PL 23, col. 25-26.

66. Chapter 29. PL 66, cols. 186-88.

67. II, chap. 21. PL 66, col. 172.

68. Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on II Corinthians*, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 329.

69. We, like H-E, have been unable to discover where Jerome says this.

70. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Liber IV Regum, ch. 5. PL 198, co. 1389.

71. This and the following two stories are recounted in the *Dialogues*, Book I, chaps. 7 and 9; and Book III, chap. 37. PL 77, cols. 181, 189, 305.

72. This story does not seem to occur in the *Vitae patrum*.

73. Note that Salimbene is citing a "similar" story and is not giving his source for this tale. He apparently refers to the story of the Emperor Tiberius II, who finds treasure hidden under a succession of pavement stones marked with a cross, as recounted in Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards*, Book III, chaps. 11-12. See also Gregory of Tours, *The*

History of the Franks, Book V, chap. 19. In neither version, however, is there a detail corresponding to the interesting motif of the soul leaving the body as a little creature.

74. Salimbene resumes again, after long digression, the account of his vision which he left off on p. 21.

75. *Glossa Ordinaria*. PL 113, col. 979.

76. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, In Evangelia, chap. 50. PL 198, col. 1565.

77. Nobilitat viles frons generosa dapes.

Walter the Englishman, *Fabulae*, XII, in *Les Fabulistes latins*, ed. Leopold Hervieux (New York: Burt Franklin, 1899), II, 321.

78. Salimbene does not make the slightest concession to his reader. Christ's speech must have ended here, however, since the next sentence speaks of the Lord in the third person.

79. This is probably the famous tract *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, a scathing denunciation of the friars. William of St. Amour (c. 1200-1272) was leader of the opposition at the University of Paris against the mendicant orders, seeking to deprive them of professorial chairs at the University. He was for a time somewhat successful in his efforts, but, finally, Pope Alexander IV deprived him and his followers of all benefices and requested King Louis to expel him from France. After numerous delays and defenses, he was forbidden to teach and was exiled. Eventually allowed to return from exile, he chose to live in his native village, where he died in 1272.

80. Pope Alexander IV condemned *De periculis novissimorum temporum* on October 5, 1256, and after William's defense the condemnation was repeated on November 10, 1256 and again on March 30, 1257.

81. Frederick II was deposed on July 27, 1245 by a council convened in Lyons by Innocent IV.

82. Gregory of Monte Longo, an arch-intriguer and capable military leader, was Frederick II's most implacable foe. Under his leadership, as Van Cleve notes (*The Emperor Frederick II*, p. 416), the cities of the Lombard League achieved a unity and solidarity that they had never had before. At once attracted to and repelled by Gregory, Salimbene devotes a great deal of space to him later in the *Chronicle*.

83. Gerard Patecchio was apparently Salimbene's favorite poet. He cites him a number of times in the *Chronicle*, and even, he tells us later, wrote his own (poetic?) work in the manner of Patecchio. Little is known about Gerard Patecchio beyond the fact that he was from Cremona, and once served (in 1228) as a delegate in the peace negotiations between Cremona and Parma.

84. The section in which he does so has not come down to us.

85. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Genesis, chap. 30. PL 198, col. 1080.

86. We have been unable to locate this.

87. An order of Augustinian canons.

88. This Scripture is the normal one cited by medieval writers against nepotism.

89. Actually only Pope-elect, since he was never consecrated. He was elected Pope on July 11, 1276 and died on August 18 of the same year.

90. Turpius eicitur quam non admittitur hospes.

Ovid, *Tristia*, V.vi.13.

91. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Genesis, chap. 36. PL 198, col. 1087.

92. *Ibid.*, Liber IV Regum, chap. 16. PL 198, col. 1398.

93. Asperius nichil est humili, cum surgit in altum:
cuncta ferit, dum cuncta timet, deseuit in omnes,
ut se posse putet; nec belua seior ulla est,
quam servi rabies in libera terga furentis.

Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I.181-84.

94. August 10.

95. We have not been able to locate this.

96. See Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, chap. 15, *Analecta Franciscana*, X.

97. Anthony of Padua (1195-1231; canonized 1232) was a very eloquent preacher, who profoundly affected his contemporaries with his sermons, some of which have survived. He was a Friar Minor.

98. St. Bernard, Letter 111. PL 182, col. 255.

99. Laudato et benedhetto et glorificato sia lo Patre! . . . sia lo Fijo! . . . sia lo Spiritu Sancto!

1. Ave Maria clemens et pia,
gratia plena, virgo serena!
Dominus tecum, et tu mane mecum!
Benedicta tu in mulieribus,
que peperisti pacem hominibus
et angelis gloriam!
Et benedictus fructus ventris tui,
qui, coheredes ut essemus sui,
nos fecit per gratiam, et cet.

Adam of St. Victor, "De Beata virgine," edited in Digby S. Wrangham, ed., trans., *The Liturgical Poetry of Adam of St. Victor* (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, & Co., 1881), III, 222.

2. Iacet granum occultatum,
sydus latet obumbratum,
sed plasmator omnium
ossa Ioseph pululare,
sydus iubet radiare,
in salutem gentium.

See *Analecta Hymnica*, LV, 133.

3. This manner of listing examples without recounting them occurs very frequently in sermons—the preacher, of course, could flesh them out in his delivery—but it is a curious occurrence in a chronicle.

4. Salimbene takes the following from the *Vitae patrum* V.2.16. PL 73, col. 860.

5. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 272.

6. From the *Office of St. Francis*, written by Julian of Speyer, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 10, p. 383.

7. Boncompagno (1165-1240) of the University of Bologna was an eccentric and boastful rhetorician of the thirteenth century. His best-known works are *Rhetorica antiqua* (also called *Buoncompagnus*); *Cedrus*; *Palma*; *Myrrha*; and *Rhetorica novissima*; all of which deal in some way with the *ars dictaminis* or letter writing and the preparation of documents. C. S. Baldwin writes that the *Rhetorica antiqua* was so popular and so widely used "that Boncompagno's name, like Donatus, became a common noun . . ." *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic* (New York; Macmillan, 1928), p. 212. Boncompagno's importance has perhaps, however, been exaggerated by modern scholars. See, for example, James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), pp. 253-55.

8. Et Iohannes iohanniçat
et saltando choreizat.
Modo salta, modo salta,
qui celorum petis alta!

Saltat iste, saltat ille,
resaltant cohortes mille,
saltat chorus dominarum,
saltat dux Venetiarum, et cet.

9. Cf. Letter 130. PL 22, col. 1124.

10. St. Augustine, Letter 211. PL 33, col. 961.

11. See Caxton, VII, 82.

12. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, X, 70-71.

13. This famous proverb appears to have originated with Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy* II.7.

14. We have been unable to locate this.

15. qui non assuescit bonis moribus, dum iuvenescit,
 a vitiis nescit recedere, quando senescit.

Raimund de Bitteris, *Liber Kalilae et Dimnae*, in Hervieux, V, 514.

16. *Second Rule*, chap. 9.

17. Antra deserti teneris sub annis
 civium turmas fugiens petisti,
 ne levi saltem maculare vitam
 famine posses.

H-E notes that this poem is by Paul the Deacon.

18. H-E indicates that this is from Celano, *Second Life*, III, chap. 66, but we have been unable to locate it.

19. Salimbene confuses Primas, who is associated with Orleans, with the Archpoet of Cologne. The long poetic Confession, for example, beginning on p. 62 is probably the Archpoet's. Hugh Primas of Orleans flourished apparently in the first half of the twelfth century. The Archpoet—it is he who gives himself the title *vates vatum*—lived somewhat later, and is associated with the court of Frederick Barbarossa.

20. The authorship of the "Apocalypse" is unknown. It has been attributed variously, to Alan of Lille, to Walter Map, to Walter of Chatillon, and, by Salimbene here, to Hugh Primas.

21. Indigeo bobus ad rura colenda duobus.
 Pontificis munus veniat bos unus et unus.

22. Ne spernas munus, si desit apostolus unus.
 Ut verbis ludam: rapuit fornaria Iudam.

23. Mittitur in disco michi piscis ab archiepisco.
 [Me] non inclino, quia missio fit sine vino.

24. His vaccis parcam, que sacri federis arcam
 olim duxerunt, sed aquis comedi meruerunt.

25. In cratere meo Tetis est sociata Lieo,
 est dea iuncta deo, sed dea maior eo.
 Nil valet hic vel ea, nisi quando sunt pharisea;
 amodo propterea sit deus absque dea!

26. The translation is, admittedly, very free. How, after all, does one translate into English a poem that depends for its effects on grammatical gender. But here is the text:

Fertur in convivio vinus, vina, vinum:
masculinum displicet atque femininum;
in neutro genere ipsum est divinum,
loquens linguis variis optimum Latinum.

27. There is no need to give the original text of this long poem, since it is frequently anthologized. An easily accessible text (and translation) is available in George F. Whicher, *The Goliard Poets* (New York: New Directions, 1949), pp. 106-19. There are, however, certain differences in the texts.

28. Henry (called the VII, because his father Frederick II had made him king of Germany) revolted against his father and allied with the Lombard League to prevent Frederick from crossing the Alps. It was an ill-fated attempt, and Henry, of course, failed. At a diet at Worms in July of 1234, he was deposed and imprisoned. His death which Salimbene records here did not take place until 1242.

29. Salimbene gives this story in full later in the *Chronicle*.

30. Cuius finis bonus est,
 ipsum quoque bonum.

31. *Passio Thomae* II. PL 190, cols. 326-28. Thomas à Becket was, of course, killed in 1170 in Canterbury cathedral by knights of Henry II. He was canonized by Pope Alexander III in 1173.

32. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Liber IV Regum, chap. 17. PL 198, col. 1399.

33. We, like H-E, do not know where Jerome does this.

34. Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, Liber IV Regum, chap. 17. PL 198, col. 1399.

35. Salimbene returns to this subject some forty folios later, although he fails here to fill in the number he had left blank.

36. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Liber IV Regum, chap. 17. PL 198, col. 1399.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*, Exodus, chap. 64. PL 198, col. 1183-86.

39. *Ibid.*, Esther, chap. 11. PL 198, col. 1505.

40. Frederick II was famous (or notorious) for his tolerance towards the Muslims (and the Jews), a fact for which he was harshly criticized by churchmen like Salimbene. Arabic influence and culture was very prominent at Frederick's court. Johannes Maurus, the royal Chamberlain and a Muslim, was one of Frederick's most trusted officials.

41. See *De rerum proprietatibus*, Book 18, chaps. 41-43. The 1601 edition has recently been reprinted.

42. *The Book of the Prelate*, though treated somewhat like a separate work, is an integral part of the *Chronicle* (see Introduction, p. xxv). Here, Salimbene seeks to blacken as much as possible the character of the disgraced former Minister General, the official, in fact, who had received him into the Order.

43. February 4.

44. *Regula pastoralis*, I.10. PL 77, col. 23.

45. Salimbene is probably in error here. Elias' father may have been from the village of Castel Britti near Assisi. See Rosalind B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 50.

46. Elias was deposed in 1239 by Gregory IX. Gregory, who had earlier supported Elias, suggested to him that he should offer to resign, but when he bluntly refused, Gregory declared him deposed.

47. Cativo hom podhestà de terra,
 e pover superbo ki vol guerra,
 e senescalco k'intro 'l desco me serra,

e villan ki fi messo a cavallo,
 et homo k'è zeloso andar a ballo,
 e l'intrar de testa quand'è fallo,
 e avar hom ki in honor aventura,
 è tutti quanti de solaco no cura.

This is a curious mixture. The last two lines cited by Salimbene are not from Patecchio at all, but from Ugo di Perso's answer to Patecchio, lines 17-18. In the modern edition, the lines cited do not follow one another consecutively as in Salimbene, and there are other slight differences. See Gianfranco Contini, ed., *Poeti del Duecento* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1960), I, 585-86, 589.

48. Milvus ait pullo, dum portaretur ab illo:
 "Cur pi pi faris? Non te tenet ungula talis."

49. Salimbene interrupts the quotation at this point with the words *et ponitur hic caput pro fine*, "the word *caput* is used here in the sense of 'end.'"

50. Bonaventure, *Legenda major*, chap. 3, in *Analecta Franciscana*, vol. 10, p. 568.

51. *Super Hieremiam*, chap. 9.

52. quicquid agant homines, intentio iudicat omnes.

Juvenal, *First Satire*, 85.

53. *Second Rule*, chap. 7.

54. Gregory IX, *Decretals*, Tit. XXVIII c. 60.

55. Here Salimbene condemns Elias for exactly the same "fault" for which he praises John of Parma later.

56. Elias' two periods of rule were 1221-27 and 1232-39. He had been *appointed* by St. Francis, not *elected* for his first tenure. And he was not, of course, deposed the first time.

57. Cf. *Second Rule*, chap. 10: "And let those who are ignorant not concern themselves with learning."

58. St. Jerome, Letter 53. PL 33, col. 542.

59. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Deuteronomy, chap. 16. PL 198, col. 1257.

60. That is, September 9.

61. Martin IV was Pope from 1281-1285.

62. *Caputium longum*. Salimbene's point apparently is that Elias demoted them to the level of novice. And so we have translated "hood of probation." In the passage just below, however, Salimbene uses the term *probationis caputio*.

63. Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I.181-84. For the Latin verses, see footnote 93, page 665.

64. For corroboration of Elias' abuses through the use of Visitors, see also Jordan, cols. 62-63 and Eccleston, pp. 38-40. Brooke notes (*Franciscan Government*, p. 48) that this is the "principal grievance against Elias."

65. Necdum bella bonis, necdum certamina desunt,
 et cum quo pugnet mens pia semper habet.

Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigram* 96. PL 51, col. 528.

66. V.6.

67. This is St. Barlaam. See Caxton, VII, 87. But despite this heading, Salimbene says nothing further about him.

68. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Genesis, chap. 58. PL 198, col. 1105.

69. Cf. Jordan, cols. 61-66; Eccleston, pp. 67-68.

70. Not apparently from Augustine, but from the *Golden Legend*.

71. *Second Rule*, chap. 8.
72. Sermon 5 on the Ascension. PL 183, col. 321.
73. This was probably Henry the Young King, son of Henry II of England.
74. This clause makes sense only in light of the fact that *Lombards* had practically become synonymous with *usurers*. See, for example, the *Decameron*, I.i.
75. This and the following are both from the third book of the *Dialogues*, despite Salimbene's reference just below to the fourth book. The first is from chapter 1, the second from chapter 37. PL 77, cols. 217; 305, 309-12.
76. Like H-E, we have not been able to locate this.
77. See Caxton, II, 114-16.
78. Hic est David patriarcha
 nudus saltans coram archa,
 sese vilem reputans.

79. *Moralia in Job*, XXVII.46.77 PL 76, col. 443.
80. Like H-E., we have not been able to find this in Augustine's work.
81. *Second Rule*, chap. 10.
82. H-E. notes that this is Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, Homily 43.
83. H-E. notes that a similar, but not exact, sentence occurs in the *Dialogus creaturarum*, 23.
84. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Romanos*, chap. 1. PL 17, col. 52.
85. Sermon 37 on the Song of Songs. PL 183, col. 974.
86. Dente timetur aper, defendunt cornua cervum;
 imbelles dame, quid nisi preda sumus?

87. *Ad equum macilentum vadunt musce*. H-E. cites the following Italian proverb for comparison: *Ai chan magri va' le mosche*.
88. Caxton, IV, 213.
89. Not in the *Glossa ordinaria*.
90. *Regula pastoralis*, II.6.
91. We, like H-E., have been unable to find this, but cf. Gregory, Letter 27. PL 77, col. 882.
92. Sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,
 sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves,
 sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves.

- H-E notes that these verses are attributed to Virgil in *Vergilii vita ampliata*.
93. H-E. has found a similar saying with respect to a king rather than a prelate in the *Dialogus creaturarum*, 25.
94. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 542. Not an exact quote. Jerome, for example, says, *Aggeus*, not *Malachi*.
95. *Regula pastoralis*, II.11. PL 77, col. 50.
96. Like H-E, we have not been able to find where Seneca is supposed to have said this.
97. Caxton, VII, 78.
98. Cui non est pietas debetur nulla potestas.

99. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Liber II Regum, chap. 9. PL 198, col. 1330.
1. Pseudo-Bernard, *Epistle ad fratres de Monte Dei*, I.2. PL 184, col. 311.
2. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Evangelia, chap. 58. PL 198, col. 1568.
3. Pseudo-Augustine, *Scala paradisi*, chap. 8. PL 40, col. 1001.

4. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Liber I Regum, chap. 28. PL 198, col. 1322. H-E incorrectly lists as Liber II Regum, chap. 27.

5. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 542.

6. Sermon 18 on the Song of Songs. PL 183, col. 860.

7. *Regula pastoralis*, I.10. PL 77, col. 23.

8. Caxton, II, 198-204.

9. This is, of course, Salimbene's number referring to the folio in the MS. where he returns to the subject.

10. Caxton, II, 112.

11. H-E notes that this is from the *Speculum perfectionis*, chap. 80.

12. Not Patecchio at all, but Ugo di Perso's first answer to Patecchio, lines 41-42. See Contini, I, 590.

Si me noia hom ki desdigna
l'altra gente, per honor ke lu fia.

13. Letter 52. PL 22, col. 532.

14. Pseudo-Jerome, Letter 42. PL 30, col. 298.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. Vis diffinire aut quid sit femina scire?
Est fetidum cenum, rosa fetens, dulce venenum,
semper prona rei, que prohibetur ei.

Cf. the verses in Hervieux, V, 762.

18. Est adamas mulier, pix, ramnus, carduus asper,
lappa tenens, vesspa pungens, urtica perurens.

Sunt tria grandia: laus, sapientia, gloria rerum.
Hec tria destruit, hec tria diruit ars mulierum.

H-E (p. 133) cites the following lines for comparison:

Sunt tria gaudia: pax, sapientia, copia rerum.
Hec tria diruit, hec tria destruit ars mulierum.

19. Unable to locate.

20. Unable to locate.

21. H-E identifies this as Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matth.*, Homily 32.

22. Unable to locate.

23. H-E compares this with a line from Boncompagno's *Rhethorica novissima*.

24. Caxton, II, 184.

25. This is a curious error for Henry II. H-E points out that in one text of the *Golden Legend* the words *a rege artatus* appear and the king is not named. Some scribal confusion of an expression like this must have led to Salimbene's error.

26. Caxton, II, 186.

27. Letter 8. PL 77, col. 863.

28. Letter 6. PL 77, col. 451.

29. Letter 26. PL 77, col. 479.

30. Letter 30. PL 77, col. 933.

31. Letter 20. PL 77, col. 946.

32. Letter 30. PL 77, col. 933.

33. Letter 44. PL 77, col. 1153.

34. Caxton, III, 64.
35. Letter 37. PL 77, col. 1095.
36. Caxton, III, 65.
37. Letter 47. PL 77, col. 721.
38. Letter 40. PL 77, cols. 766-67.
39. Moribus et vita quisquis vult esse facetus
me legat et discat que mea musa nota.

40. Peter Comestor, *Historica scholastica*, Esther, chap. 8. PL 198, col. 1502.
41. Caxton, III, 61-62.
42. *Regula pastoralis*, III, 21. PL 77, col. 87.
43. Unable to locate.
44. Unable to locate.
45. Unable to locate.
46. In tenui calamo mel latitat sepe suave,
et modici fontis temperat unda sitim.

Henricus Septimellensis, *Elegia sive de miseria*, ed. Aristides Marigo (Pavia: Droghi, 1926), p. 43, ll. 459-60.

47. *Dialogues*, I.5. PL 77, col. 180.
48. Vix humilis parvus, vix longus cum ratione,
vix repperitur homo ruffus sine prodicione.
49. *Dialogues*, I.5. PL 77, col. 180.
50. Not Augustine, but Gratian, *Decretals*, secunda pars, quest. I, col. 45. Salimbene attributes the quotation to Augustine apparently because Gratian mentions Augustine immediately afterward.
51. Unable to locate.
52. Unable to locate.
53. Unable to locate.
54. Not Gregory, but Gratian, *Decretals*, prima pars, dist. XXV, col. 6.
55. Unable to locate.
56. Unable to locate.
57. Not Ambrose, but Gregory, *Regula pastoralis*, III.4. PL 77, col. 54.
58. Unable to locate.
59. Not Augustine, but cf. Gratian, *Decretals*, prima pars, dist. LXXXIII, col. 2.
60. *In Evangelia*, II.32. PL 76, col. 1235.
61. Not Isidore, but Gratian, *Decretals*, secunda pars, causa XI, quest. iii, col. 101, art. 2.
62. Unable to locate.
63. Sermon 77 on Song of Songs. PL 183, col. 1156.
64. *De consideratione*, III.5.20. PL 182, cols. 771-72. See also Gaufrid, *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*, X.11. PL 184, col. 444.
65. For this and the following quotation, cf. Gaufrid, *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*, X.10; and XVI.19, first part of quotation only. PL 184, col. 443; and col. 448.
66. Unable to locate.
67. Gaufrid, *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*, XVII.20. PL 184, col. 449. Greatly changed.
68. Partial quotation from Sermon 33 on the Song of Songs. PL 183, col. 959.
69. Unable to locate.
70. Unable to locate.

71. Not Bernard, but Gratian, *Decretals*, dist. XL, col. 12. Listed incorrectly by H-E as dist. XLVI.

72. Unable to locate.

73. Unable to locate.

74. *De consideratione*, II.7. PL 182, col. 750.

75. *Homily on Ezech.*, II.6.6. PL 76, col. 1001.

76. Unable to locate.

77. Unable to locate.

78. Letter 9. PL 182, col. 107.

79. Gaufrid, *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*, XXI.25. PL 184, col. 451.

80. Unable to locate.

81. Not Jerome, but Pseudo-Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum*, chap. 83. PL 83, col. 154. H-E incorrectly lists this as chap. 54.

82. For Nicholas and the following on St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, see Caxton, II, 112; III, 112, 63.

83. *Vitae patrum*, VIII.12. PL 73, cols. 1103-04.

84. Isidore, *Etymologies*, XII.2.21. PL 82, col. 437.

85. Gaufrid, *Declamationes ex S. Bernardi sermonibus*, XIII.14. PL 184, col. 445.

86. I.9. PL 77, col. 22.

87. Caxton, V, 53.

88. *Expositio evangel. Luke*, II.33. PL 15, col. 1564.

89. *Synonyms*, II.43. PL 83, col. 855.

90. Letter 153. PL 33, col. 662.

91. Sic volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas.

Juvenal, *Satire* 6.223.

92. Prelatus mitis, affabilis atque benignus
sit patiens, iustus, sit dulcis compatiensque,
ut crimen proprium celet peccata reorum.

Sit piger ad penas, sit velox ad miserendum
et doleat, quotiens facit illum culpa ferocem.
Infundat mulcens oleum vinumque flagellans,
nunc virgam patris, nunc exerat ubera matris,
sibilet et cantet, stimulet, cum cogit, oportet.

93. *De consideratione*, II.3. PL 182, col. 745.

94. Unable to locate.

95. Chap. 6. PL 77, col. 228.

96. Unable to locate.

97. Letter 77. PL 33, col. 266.

98. Letter 78. PL 33, cols. 270-72, for this and the following quotations.

99. Salimbene takes this account from Gregory, *Dialogues*, III, chap. 14, although he has altered the details somewhat. PL 77, cols. 244-49.

1. Cf. Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, VIII.9-10. *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 595-96.

2. Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis.

Cato, *Distichs*, III.6.

3. Chap. 14. PL 77, cols. 248-49.

4. Sermon 351. PL 39, cols. 1539-40.

5. This and the following story are from the *Vitae patrum*, V.8; VII.12. PL 73, cols. 908; 1035.

6. Stultitiam simulare loco prudentia summa est.

Cato, *Distichs*, II.18. In the edition by Wayland J. Chase (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1922), this line reads: "Stultitiam simulare ioco, cum tempore laus est."

7. Caxton; V, 86.

8. H-E indicates that this is from Celano, *Second Life*, III, chap. 66, but we have been unable to locate.

9. "Pappa, pappa, domine imperator!" A form of expression usually employed with children.

10. Caxton, II, 172-73.

11. See Caxton, II, 227.

12. Fortius ut feriat, fortis distenditur arcus.

13. *Commentary on Matthew*, I.10. PL 26, col. 71.

14. *Glossa ordinaria*, PL 113, col. 1095.

15. Unable to locate.

16. St. Augustine, *Treatise of the Seven Vices*. PL 40, col. 1089.

17. *Regula pastoralis*, I.9. PL 77, col. 22.

18. Unable to locate. This quotation makes sense only in light of Deuteronomy 25.5-10.

19. *De consideratione*, IV.4.12. PL 182, col. 781.

20. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, I Regum, chap. 11. PL 198, cols. 1303-5.

21. Cf. Gregory, *Dialogues*, II.3. PL 66, col. 136.

22. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Acts, chap. 56. PL 198, col. 1682.

23. Namque per oppositum noscitur omne bonum.

Non sine felle suo dulcet fortuna nec albet
absque nigredine, nec mons sine valle fuit.

Henricus Septemellensis, *Elegia sive de miseria*, lines 544, 31-32.

24. *Commentary on Matthew*, I.9. PL 26, col. 60.

25. Cf. Eccleston, pp. 67-68.

26. *Second Rule*, chap. 3.

27. nullius sine sotio
iocunda fit possessio.

Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, VI.4.

28. Cf. Jordan, c. 61.

29. Cf. Eccleston, pp. 67-68.

30. *Second Rule*, chap. 8.

31. Cf. Eccleston, pp. 67-68.

32. Cf. Jordan, c. 65.

33. St. Bonaventure was Minister General of the Order from 1257-1274.

34. Cf. Eccleston, p. 69 and note; Matthew Paris, *Chronica maiora*, III, 628; Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, MGH, SS XIX, 379; *Catalogus Generalium Ministrorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, MGH, SS XXXII, 659.

35. Hor atorno fratt' Helya,
ke pres'ha la mala via.

36. Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, VII.3. *Analecta Franciscana*, X, 588.

37. Cf. Eccleston, p. 42 and note.

38. Elias was reconciled to the Church, being absolved just two days before his death in 1253. Cf. Eccleston, p. 29.

39. Unable to locate.

40. So the text (*fecerunt michi*), as if the Lord were still speaking.

41. Guido Bonatti (d. 1298) was also a Friar Minor (as Salimbene neglects to inform us). He was famous for his knowledge of astrology, for which Dante places him among the soothsayers in *Inferno*, XX.

42. Albert of Pisa was Minister General from 1239-1240.

43. February 2.

44. Azzo d'Este, a powerful leader in the Imperial party who later shifted allegiance to the Pope. From the time that Frederick II came to Rome to receive the imperial crown, Azzo was his close ally. Frederick had confirmed his feudal holdings, and, in 1228, Azzo described himself as "by the grace of God, the Pope, and the Emperor, Margrave of Ancona and Este." It was only after the irrevocable break between Gregory IX and the Emperor that Azzo aligned himself with the papal party.

45. Haymo of Faversham, who was earlier instrumental in bringing Elias down, was Minister General from 1240 to 1244.

46. Gregory of Monte Longo. See footnote 82, p. 664.

47. Salinguerra was a grand old warrior, and Salimbene gives an excellent account of his general feistiness. He was eighty years old at the time that he was leader and defender of Ferrara, and finally having lost, was allowed to retire to Venice to live in honor until his death in 1244.

48. Cf. Boccaccio, *Decameron*, 8.8: "Quale asino da in parete, tal riceve."

49. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Acts, chap. 55. PL 198, col. 1681.

50. Obizzo d'Este (1264-1293), the heir of Azzo, was created perpetual lord of the city of Ferrara under the pressure of Guelf strength.

51. The MS. is defective at this point. Two or three sentences seem to be lost, with only scattered and unconnected words remaining.

52. Adrian V (unconsecrated) was Pope from July 11, 1276, to August 18, 1276.

53. Nicholas III was Pope from 1277 to 1280.

54. Matthew Rossi was an Orsini, one of the most powerful families in Rome.

55. Jerome of Ascoli was Minister General from 1274 to 1279.

56. Et trappi longhi, ki la polver menna.

Not Patecchio, but Ugo di Perso's second answer to Patecchio, l. 65. See Contini, I, 594.

57. Some nine lines are missing here.

58. Non eodem cursu respondent ultima primis.

Distichs, I.18.

59. Peter Comestor, *Historica scholastica*, Evangelia, ch. 21. PL 198, col. 1548-49.

60. H-E indicates that the hermit was a beggar named John Cocleria, as reported by Saba Malaspina, II.6.

61. *Dicta Eritheae*. See *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 168.

62. This is Salimbene's fullest declaration of his Joachimism. Later, he will report that he gave up this belief as a result of the untimely death of Frederick (whom he believed to be the Antichrist) and the passing of the year 1260 (the apocalyptic date of Joachistic thought).

63. Charles I (d. 1285), King of Naples and Sicily, Count of Anjou and Provence, son of King Louis of France. Supported by Popes (Urban IV and Clement IV), Charles entered Italy in 1265, and in that year was crowned King of Sicily and Apulia.

64. Elected Oct. 25, 1241; Died Nov. 10, 1241.

65. Venuto n'è 'l liono

de terra Florentina,
per tenir raxone
in la cità Regina.

66. Innocent IV was Pope from June 25 (coronation June 28), 1243, to December 7, 1254.

67. H-E remarks that this is an error of Salimbene's, for whom Frederick is the author of all evils.

68. Enzo (1224-1272), King of Sardinia, son of Frederick II. The last twenty-two years of his life were spent in prison in the Guelf city of Bologna.

69. Crescentius was Minister General from 1244 to 1247.

70. This is the *Second Life*.

71. This is the official biography of St. Francis.

72. John of Parma, Minister General of the Franciscans from 1247 to 1257. Between St. Francis and Bonaventure, Brooke notes (*Franciscan Government*, p. 255), there was no Minister General "as well qualified as he to direct and represent the Order." Known as the saintly John of Parma, he was a humble and sincerely religious man. He made an attempt to visit all provinces of the Order. In his first two years in office, for example, he visited England, France, Burgundy, and Provence, and was on his way to the provinces of Spain when recalled by the Pope. And he made all these journeys on foot, refusing in his humility to ride a horse.

73. The text has the strange term *turropli* ("men fighting from towers"?) here and in the following sentence.

74. Louis IX of France (1214-1270). Known for his sanctity, Louis was canonized in 1297. Louis led two Crusades to the Holy Land. The first (1250) was a total disaster: the Crusaders were decisively defeated and Louis himself was taken prisoner. Twenty years later, soon after arriving on his second Crusade (1270), he died of dysentery at Tunis.

75. Ezzelino da Romano (1194-1259) was the most powerful of Frederick II's allies in Italy. It is from writers favorable to the Church party, like Salimbene, that we gain the most information about Ezzelino, but even allowing for this bias, it seems clear that he was an exceedingly cruel, unfeeling man. Van Cleve writes (*The Emperor Frederick II*, p. 499) that Ezzelino's "extravagant cruelties, his mastery of the most exquisite forms of torture, his capacity for duplicity and greed, his monstrous ways of life, especially during his later years, inevitably gave rise to legends which have served through the centuries to make his name synonymous with tyranny."

76. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matth.*, Homily 43.

77. Again, Salimbene has failed to give the folio number. He has already spoken on this subject.

78. H-E indicates that this is from *Sententiae*, II.39.24.

79. *Dialogues*, IV.44. PL 77, col. 404.

80. H-E indicates that this is Pseudo-Augustine, Sermon 220.

81. Unable to locate.

82. As Salimbene notes in a moment, Henry of Pisa was his Custodian in the convent at Siena in the time of Pope Gregory IX. Salimbene lived at Siena from 1241-1243; Gregory IX died August 22, 1241.

83. If you do not care for me,
I will no longer care for you.

84. Philip the Chancellor (d. 1236) was well-known as a poet, showing great skill in accentual verse, religious and, especially, satirical.

85. Richard of St. Victor (d. 1173), a native of Scotland, became a monk at St. Victor in Paris, where he studied under the famous Hugh of St. Victor.

86. As Salimbene tells us below, Vita was his singing master in Lucca in the year of the great eclipse of the sun, that is, in 1239.

87. Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
ut nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati.

88. Brother Giles was the third friar received by St. Francis. Beloved for his reverence and humility, Giles was one of Francis' so-called intimate companions. It is said that when Brother Giles was shown the elaborate church built at Assisi in honor of the founder and was led through its sumptuous quarters, he said to the friars there, "Now you have need of nothing but wives." Giles is also reported to have said of John of Parma's election as Minister General: "Well and opportunely you have come, but you have come late."

89. This section of the *Chronicle* has not come down to us.

90. Donatus, *Ars grammatica*, III.4.

91. Dedicatory letter to Leandro, chap. 5. PL 75, col. 516. With slight changes.

92. H-E indicates that this is from *Praefatio in XII prophetas*.

93. Gratian, *Decretals*, I, Dist. 15, c. 3, §24.

94. H-E cites MGH, Epp., II, 93, nr. 124.

95. Song of Songs, sermon 51. PL 183, col. 1027. Greatly changed.

96. *Codex justinianus*, VI.vii.2.

97. Among the first brothers that gathered around St. Francis in the primitive days of the Order, Brother Leo was one of St. Francis' intimate companions. After the death of Francis, he continued to live his humble, unassuming life. He was so shocked by the magnificent church built at Assisi in honor of the founder — so the story goes — that he broke the marble vase placed in front of the building to collect offerings from the faithful.

98. Unfortunately, this work has not come down to us.

99. Unlike our usual procedure, this is our translation, since the Douay rendering ("For who in the clouds can be compared to the Lord; or who among the sons of God shall be like to God?") is rather far from the sense that Salimbene intends. Cf. the Latin: "Nam quis in nubibus aequabitur Domino, similis erit Domino inter filios Dei?"

1. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.

2. Non faciunt anni quod facit una dies.

3. Non eodem cursu respondent ultima primis.

Cato, *Distichs*, I.18.

4. Piero delle Vigne (c. 1180-1249) was Frederick II's royal Chancellor and next to Frederick the most powerful man in the Empire. As Dante has him say (*Inferno* XIII, 58), "I am he that held both keys to the heart of Frederick." Under mysterious circumstances, the facts of which have never been fully sorted out, he was accused of collusion with the papacy, seized, blinded, and imprisoned. In his despair, he committed suicide by hurling himself headlong against the stone column to which he was chained, crushing his skull.

5. *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 20. With slight changes.

6. Obsequio quoniam dulces retinentur amici.

Cato, *Distichs* I.34.

7. H-E indicates that this occurs in the *Moral Essays* I.6.3, but that seems to be incorrect.

8. H-E indicates that this is from *Dialogus creaturarum*, 56.

9. Navi submerse solet omnis ventus obesse.

10. Dum zephyrus flabat, nimiis comitabar amicis;
nunc omnes aquilo turbine flante fugat.

H-E notes that this is from Henricus Septimellensis, *Elegia de diversitate fortunae*, I.129-30.

11. Ovid, *Tristia*, I.ix. 5-6.

Cum fueris felix, multos numerabis amicos;

nubila si fuerint tempora, solus eris.

12. Unfortunately, this chronicle is not extant.

13. Conrad IV (1228-1254), King of Germany, King of the Romans, Emperor (uncrowned).

14. Manfred (1232-1266), natural son of Frederick II, came to power after the death of Conrad IV, as the last Hohenstaufen king of Sicily. He was killed by the forces of Charles of Anjou in the famous battle of Benevento in 1266.

15. John of Piano Carpine went to the Far East to the court of the Mongol Great Khan at Karakorum as an envoy of Innocent IV in 1245.

16. Salimbene generally uses the form *Tatar* after this remark, but tends to shift back to *Tartar* again, especially in the headings. We have preserved his usage in all cases.

17. John of Piano Carpine's book is extant, and may be consulted in *Voyages and Travels*, ed. Charles R. Beasley, 1903.

18. Chap. 1.

19. Leo I was Pope from 440 to 461.

20. These are, of course, works of Joachim of Fiore. There is still some contention among scholars whether or not the *Book of Figures* is a genuine work of Joachim's; opinion on the subject is fairly evenly divided among modern Joachimist scholars. It is interesting to note that Salimbene's title for this work has been retained by modern scholarship. See *Liber Figurarum*, ed., Leone Tondelli, et. al. (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1954). The second work referred to seems clearly to be Joachim's genuine *Liber concordie novi ac veteris testamenti*, now available in a new edition (1983) by E. Randolph Daniel.

21. Theodoric the Great (c. 454-426), King of the Ostrogoths.

22. Chap. 31.

23. Paul the Deacon, *History of the Longobards*, chaps. 1-2.

24. Gregory IX, Pope from 1227-1241; Innocent IV, from 1243-1254; John XXI, from 1276-1277.

25. See note 74, p. 675.

26. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, III Regum, ch. 37. PL 198, col. 1382. This is a direct quotation from Peter Comestor, although Scalia does not indicate it.

27. That is, Peter Comestor, whose *Historia scholastica* (written 1173) Salimbene so frequently cites.

28. From December 13 to February 2.

29. Salimbene had been sent to Paris to study, but he soon left without authorization.

30. William of Auxerre (d. 1231) was especially learned in Aristotelian epistemology.

31. Chap. 4.

32. *Psalterium decem chordarum*, fol. 227^{r-v}.

33. Unable to locate.

34. Our translation, since the Douay reads "O Lord, thy eyes are upon *truth*."

35. *Vitae patrum*, VIII.50. PL 73, col. 1154.

36. Chap. 35.

37. Chap. 10. PL 77, col. 200; and col. 204 for the following quotation.

38. This chronicle is not extant.

39. Literally, "Come on, it's just flour"; i.e., it's useless.

40. See note 25, p. 670.

41. Wine should be good and beautiful and white,
Bold and strong and pure and bubbling (?),
Cold and fresh and sparkling.

42. Vinum dulce gloriosum

pingue facit et carnosum
atque pectus aperit.

Et maturum, gustu plenum,
valde nobis est amenum,
quia sensus acuit.

Vinum forte, vinum purum
reddit hominem securum
et depellit frigora.

Sed acerbum linguas mordet,
intestina cuncta sordet
corrumpendo corpora.

Vinum vero quod est glaucum
potatorem facit raucum
et frequenter mingere.

Vinum vero turbulentum
solet dare corpus lentum
et colorem tingere.

Vinum rubeum subtile
non est reputandum vile:
nam colorem generat.

Auro simile citrinum
valde fovet intestinum
et langores suffocat.

Alba limpha maledicta
sit a nobis interdicta,
quia splenem provocat.

43. Verses 18-24. Our translation.

44. Gratian, *Decretals*, I, Dist. XXXV, ch. 8, *3.

45. Det vobis piscem Normandia terra marinum,
Anglia frumentum, lac Scotia, Francia vinum,
silva feras, aer volucres, armenta butyrum,
ortus delicias, nemus umbram, stagna papirum.

46. *Second Rule*, chap. 9.

47. Eudes Rigaud was a devoutly religious and humble man, who lived a life dedicated to deeply religious principles. He joined the Franciscan Order in 1236, and served as Archbishop of Rouen for the long period of time from 1248 to 1275. He was counsellor to St. Louis, and was with him on the last Crusade during which the king died.

48. See note 77, p. 664.

49. See note 63, p. 674.

50. June 29.

51. Hugh of Digne (d. 1255 or 1256?) was greatly admired by St. Louis. He was a scholar and preacher, and (as Salimbene's portrayal of him scolding the papal court shows) a man of great courage. As a Joachite — Salimbene calls him *magnus Joachita* — he was suspect in the view of the more orthodox. Still, his *Exposition of the Rule*, in which he defends the doc-

trine of extreme poverty, held a respected place among the other treatises put out by popes and masters of theology.

52. Accusative ad curiam si ceperis ire,
Proficis in nichilo, si pergis absque dativo.
53. Curia Romana non curat ovem sine lana.
Presulis Albini seu martyris ossa Ruffini
Rome quisquis habet, vertere cuncta valet:
mus elephas fit, fasque nephas, de Symone Cephas.

The “bones of Albinus” and “relics of Ruffinus” are, of course, silver and gold.

54. H-E indicates that this is from Pseudo-Joachim, *Expositio onerum Isaiae*.
55. Salimbene has substituted *cardinales* for *cardines*.
56. Caxton, V, 201.
57. Unable to locate.
58. Vix humilis parvus, vix longus cum ratione,
vix reperitur homo ruffus sine proditione.
59. Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253), Bishop of Lincoln, was one of the first great teachers at the University of Oxford, where he also served as Chancellor. A prolific writer, he was important in the thirteenth-century movement stressing the importance of a substantial knowledge of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic. He was the teacher of Roger Bacon.
60. Adam March was Grosseteste’s student, and, like him, stressed the importance of the “exotic” languages Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic.
61. See note 56, p. 663.
62. Raimond Berengar IV, the last native count of Provence. Charles of Anjou obtained the country of Provence by his marriage to Raimond Berengar’s youngest daughter.
63. Note that it is the learned men of the town, not just members of the clergy, who are interested in Joachimism.
64. This is an important section, because it is the earliest record we have of the influence of Joachimism among the Franciscans.
65. Gerard of Borgo San Donnino was the first Joachite to exploit fully Joachim’s trinitarian conception of history, and the first man to proclaim the advent of the Third Age. Condemned to perpetual imprisonment, he entered prison rejoicing, unshaken in his beliefs. He remained in prison for eighteen years, until his death, cut off from books, friends, and sacraments.
66. *Super Hieremiam*. One of the many works falsely ascribed to Joachim.
67. Note that they do not deny the prophetic nature of the work, merely that the prophecy had already been fulfilled in the earlier Crusade.
68. This is the infamous *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel* put forth by Gerard of Borgo San Donnino at the University of Paris in 1254. The book itself has not come down to us, but it seems to have consisted of an Introduction (written by Gerard) to the three major works of Joachim of Fiore as edited and glossed by Gerard. This work caused a great scandal and furnished the anti-mendicant faction of the University with powerful weapons against the friars. Although the book has not survived, we know a great deal about it from the (admittedly) hostile report of the commission which condemned it. Reeves (*Prophecy*, p. 60) sums up Gerard’s revolutionary ideas in this way: “For the core of Gerard’s message was that, with the advent of the third *status* [age], the Old and New Testaments were utterly abrogated and authority had wholly passed to the Eternal Evangel of the Holy Ghost contained in the works of Joachim. Thus Joachim, who had always upheld two Dispensa-

tions, even while expecting the third *status*, and had maintained that the two Testaments would last till the end of time, became the prophet of a system which might involve the overthrow of all previous institutions and authorities in a third and final Dispensation." Gerard's work was condemned by Pope Alexander IV on October 23, 1255.

69. Joachim's work was entitled *De unitate seu essentia trinitatis*. It was condemned by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Salimbene's book on the subject has not come down to us. On Peter Lombard, see note 61 p. 683.

70. "Preface" to the *Liber concordie novi ac veteris testamenti*, fol. 3.

71. It is important to note the kind of Joachimism expressed in this debate. Hugh speaks only of the prophecies of the days of crisis, the Antichrist, and Frederick II. He does not touch on the coming of the Third *Status* or Age. This is what Reeves (*Prophecy*, 185) calls the "first phase of Joachimism."

72. *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 21.

73. *In Evangelia*, II.35. PL 76, col. 1259.

74. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.

75. Non murmur resonat, non querimonia,
sed corde tacito mens bene conscia
conservat patientiam.

76. See *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 21.

77. Caxton, trans., III, 231.

78. The Golden Number (probably so called because gold was used for them in the MS calendar) was used in calculating the date of Easter. The number refers to the nineteen-year Metonic cycle after which the phases of the moon recur on the same date. The sequence of golden numbers, used in fixing the date of Easter, begins at one in each year in which the new moon occurs on January 1.

79. The four senses of interpretation: the literal, the allegorical, the moral, the anagogical. Jerusalem, for example, is *literally* the Biblical and historical city; *allegorically*, the Church; *morally*, the believing soul; *anagogically*, the heavenly City of God.

80. For the following prophecies, see *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1980), 168-76.

81. Caxton, V, 48.

82. Unable to locate.

83. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on Corinthians*, I, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 245.

84. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaum*, Homily 42.

85. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on Corinthians*, I, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 245.

86. Non rosa dat spinas, quamvis sit filia spine,
nec viole pungunt, nec paradisus obest.

H-E notes that this is from Henricus Septimellensis, *De diversitate fortunae*, IV. 101-2.

87. H-E notes that these verses are attributed to Virgil in *Vergilii vita ampliata*.

Hos ego versiculos feci, tulit alter honorem.
Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis oves,
sic vos non vobis fertis áratra boves,
sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes,
sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.

88. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Genesis, ch. 58. PL 198, col. 1105.

89. *Ibid.*, ch. 46. PL 198, col. 1094.

90. *In Evangelia*, II.30. PL 76, cols. 1225-26.

91. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 543.

92. Utilis est rudibus presentis cura libelli
et facilem pueris prebet in arte viam.
93. *Liber concordie novi ac veteris testamenti*, fol. 135.
94. Unable to locate.
95. vii.9. PL 34, col. 39.
96. Curiously, Reeves (*Prophecy*, 166) writes of this debate, "The Preacher puts up a good resistance, but appears to have been saved from capitulation by a call to hurry to his boat, now ready for departure. One suspects that he went away still sceptical, but the episode shows that the Dominicans could not ignore Joachimist doctrine at this time."
97. One of a number of semi-heretical sects that were beginning to spring up in Provence at this time.
98. Quod nova testa capit inveterata sapit.
99. The Second Council of Lyons in 1274 reaffirmed the Fourth Lateran Council's ban on new orders. Gregory X was Pope from 1272 to 1276.
 1. Pope Honorius IV condemned the order of the Apostles specifically in 1284 in the bull *Olim felicitis* after the order had existed for some twenty years. Salimbene is apparently referring to the ban on new orders by the Second Council of Lyons. Given his great disliking for the Apostles, it is odd that Salimbene does not mention Honorius' specific condemnation of the order, an indication perhaps of his seclusion by that time.
 2. Gerard Segarello, himself illiterate, seems never to have sought to actually found a new order, as Salimbene's text appears to confirm. After the condemnation in 1284 (repeated by Nicolas IV in 1290), members of the sect were rounded up and imprisoned. Segarello himself was burned in 1301. The sect did not, however, immediately disband. Leadership was assumed by one Dolcino, and eventually a crusade had to be ordered against the group, which had taken refuge in the mountains in Novara. On March 23, 1307, Dolcino and some of his followers were captured. After being held captive and tortured for three months, he was finally handed over to the secular authorities and burned.
 3. *In Evangelia*, Homily 13. PL 76, col. 1123.
 4. H-E indicates that this is from the life of Hyppolitus in the *Golden Legend*, but we have been unable to locate.
 5. *Glossa ordinaria*. PL 113, col. 128.
 6. Caxton, V, 153.
 7. Chap. 26. PL 77, col. 281.
 8. Earlier, Salimbene had attributed these lines to Origen. H-E compares with a line from Boncompagno's *Rhetorica novissima*.
 9. A man of some stature in the Order, not to be confused with the great Minister General St. Bonaventure.
 10. Cf. Jerome, Letter 53. PL 22, col. 545.
 11. Salimbene has dropped the number 60 from the "1200" of this quotation. He has altered 1260, normally so important for Joachites, apparently in order to make it fit the time of St. Francis, as in his following sentences.
 12. *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, fol. 148.
 13. H-E indicates that this is from *De remediis fortuitorum*, X.4.
 14. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 1.
 15. *In Evangelia*, Homily 13. PL 76, col. 1123.
 16. Unable to locate.
 17. *Moralia in Job*, XXI.ii.4. PL 76, col. 189.
 18. Letter 211. PL 33, col. 961.
 19. Pseudo-Jerome, Letter 42. PL 30, col. 298.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. Letter 52. PL 22, col. 532.

23. H-E indicates that this is Pseudo-Augustine, Sermon 293.

24. H-E indicates that this is from Augustine, *Confessions*, X.40, but we have been unable to locate.

25. H-E indicates that this is from *Sequentia ex actis Chrysanthi et Dariae*, c. I.

26. Subtrahe ligna foco, si vis extinguere flammam;
si carnis motus, oia, vina, dapes.

Alanus de Insulis, *Liber parabolum*, I.37-38. PL 210, col. 582.

27. Persequitur, si tu sequeris, fugiendo fugatur,
si cedis, cedit, si fugis, illa fugit.

Alanus de Insulis, *De planctu naturae*, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 474.

28. Si Loth, Sansonem, si David, si Salomonem
Femina decepit, quis modo tutus erit?

Alexander Neckam, *De vita monachorum*, ed. Thomas Wright, p. 188. Rolls Series 59, vol. 2.

29. Unable to locate.

30. Unable to locate.

31. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 544.

32. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 542.

33. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Exodus, c. 78. PL 198, col. 1194. Slightly changed.

34. Quicquid agant homines, intentio iudicat omnes.

Juvenal, *First Satire*, 85.

35. February 4.

36. Jerome, Letter 53. PL 22, col. 548.

37. Sermon 351.

38. August 4.

39. Letter 120. PL 22, col. 985.

40. Seneca, *De beneficiis*, II.16.1.

41. H-E indicates that this is from Letter 22.

42. Cf. *Glossa ordinaria*. PL 113, col. 979.

43. Not to be confused with Boncompagno, the rhetorician.

44. Unable to locate.

45. Unable to locate.

46. Unable to locate.

47. St. Bernard, *De consideratione*, III.5.20. PL 182, cols. 771-72. Greatly changed.

48. *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 4.

49. *Ibid.*, ch. 13.

50. "Introduction" to *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ch. 6.

51. *Glossa ordinaria*. PL 113, col. 946.

52. O lasso me, ke fu' temptato,
cum fo Adam el paradhiso,
ki volse plu ke no i fo dato,
perdé lo bene o' era miso.
Perçò ne prego ogne amadhor,
ke no alçe tanto 'l core,

ke cadha in terra e sia damnato.

53. Adam, Adam, primus homo,
tu damnatus es pro pomo.
Quod sumpsisti contra Deum,
hoc te fecit esse reum.

Adam, Adam, quid fecisti,
quare stolam amisisti,
qua indutus, immortalis
eras angelis equalis?

Adam, Adam, quid querebas?
Deus eras, hec nesciebas,
te maiorem es contemptus,
vere minor es inventus.

Responsio.

Serpens nequam me decepit,
genus meum sic deiecit.
Miserere mei, Deus!
ad te clamat Adam reus.

54. Boni sun li sparici e li funci,
e meio sun le pecor' a ki le munçe.
Ki punçe troppo ad alto e no li çunçe,
kadhe in terra e tutto se deçunçe.

55. Reeves (*Prophecy*, 54) notes that "no one except Salimbene and Milioli specifically connected it [the flagellant movement] with Joachimism." See especially p. 505, where Salimbene makes specific connection with the age of the Holy Spirit.

56. See *Liber Figurarum*, ed., Leone Tondelli *et al.* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1954), Pl. XII.

57. Salimbene has really taken this from Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Acts, chap. 28. PL 198, col. 1661.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *De epiphania Domini*, sermon 3. PL 183, col. 150.

60. The genuine work by Joachim, *Tractatus super quatuor evangelia*.

61. In the *Sentences*, in which patristic doctrine is arranged according to the cardinal topics of the Christian scheme, Peter Lombard (c. 1100-c. 1160) set forth the ultimate problems which were to engage the minds of the men of his own time and long afterward.

62. Bonagrazia was Minister General from 1279 to 1284.

63. Not Augustine, but from the *Golden Legend*.

64. St. Bonaventure (1221-1274; canonized 1482) was Minister General of the Franciscans from 1257 to 1274, and was so effective in the office that he is sometimes called the second founder of the order.

65. See note 79, p. 664.

66. See note 80, p. 664.

67. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*, Homily 43.

68. H-E notes that a similar, but not exact, sentence occurs in the *Dialogus creaturarum*, 23.

69. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on Romans*, c. 1. PL 17, col. 52.

70. Iniuriam latam sibi nunquam vindicat apte
qui ruit in peius, quo dedecoratur aperte.
71. John XXI was Pope from September 8, 1276 to May 20, 1277.
72. John III Vatatzes was Emperor of Constantinople from 1222-1254.
73. Nil nocet admisso [id est veloci] subdere calcar equo.
- Ovid, *Ex ponto* II.6.38. The bracketed words are Salimbene's addition.
74. Michael VIII Palaeologus was Emperor of Constantinople from 1261 to 1282. Salimbene is in error about his killing Vatatzes' son. Palaeologus served as guardian to John IV Lascaris, grandson of Vatatzes. When Palaeologus seized power, he blinded and deposed his child ward.
75. Henry III.
76. Displicet imprudens unde placere studet.
- Walter the Englishman, *Fabulae*, XVII, "De cane et asello," 16. Hervieux, II, 324.
77. See note 73, p. 669.
78. Nullius sine socio iocunda est possessio.
- Seneca, *Epistulae morales*, VI.4.
79. As a result of the scandal caused by the publication of Gerard of Borgo San Donnino's *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel* and his own Joachimist leanings, John of Parma was apparently compelled to resign.
80. September 29.
81. October 4.
82. That is, from October 4 to November 1.
83. July 29.
84. H-E indicates that this is Pseudo-Seneca, *De moribus*, 18.
85. Miramur iuvenes largos vetulosque tenaces,
illis, cum multum, his breve restet iter.
- Godefrid, Epigram 147. Thomas Wright, ed., *The Anglo-Latin Satirical Poets and Epigrammatists of the Twelfth Century*, II, 126. Rolls Series 59.
86. Note that here and elsewhere Salimbene refuses to call Frederick Emperor without adding "former" or "sometime," since Frederick had been deposed by the Pope.
87. See note 74, p. 675.
88. February 24.
89. John of Parma, in his humility, travelled widely but always on foot.
90. As thanks offerings for preservation from earthquake?
91. In the part of the *Chronicle* that has not come down to us.
92. An ancient province of France.
93. Spurius ille puer nullum suadebit honestum.
- H-E notes that the verse is by Henricus Septimellensis, *De diversitate fortunae*, IV.153.
94. June 13.
95. June 15.
96. The Templars were a military order of Christian knights founded in the first quarter of the twelfth century during the early years of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Their original aim was to protect Christian pilgrims from marauding Muslim bands. The Order was destroyed by Philip the Fair of France in the early fourteenth century.
97. Chap. 58. PL 77, cols. 425-28.
98. *De sacro altaris mysterio*, IV, c. 44. PL 217, col. 886.
99. Our translation, as opposed to Douay: "and I put his meat to him that he might eat."
1. Unable to locate.

2. H-E notes this is from *De fide orthodoxa*, IV.4. PG 94, col. 1110.
3. See Gregory, *Dialogues*, II.24.
4. Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Exodus, ch. 34. PL 198, col. 1160.
5. H-E notes this is from Sermon 220.
6. Flos florum, dux morum,
 venie vena,
 quam gravis in clavis
 est tibi pena.
7. Caxton, V, 48.
8. Bernard, Letter 111. PL 182, col. 255.
9. Jerome, Preface to Job.
10. H-E notes that a similar quotation from Gregory occurs in the *Dialogus creaturarum*, c. 53.
11. Marquis Hubert Pellavicino, vicar-general of Lombardy, was of one of the oldest and most prominent families of Italy. A powerful ally of Frederick II, he fought relentlessly against the temporal ambitions of the papacy, even long after the death of the Emperor. At one time or another, he dominated Cremona, Piacenza, Pavia, Vercelli, Milan, Alessandria, Crema, and Tortona.
12. H-E indicates that this accusation comes from Innocent IV's bull of deposition. Frederick II actually did fulfill his Crusade obligation and was quite successful. Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre were surrendered to the Christians, with the exception that the Muslims were to retain Al-Haram ash-Sharif, the enclosure containing the Mosque of Oman and the Temple of Solomon. Christians were granted access to the Temple for prayer, and, in return, the Muslims were given access to Bethlehem. The town itself was ceded to Frederick, along with a strip of territory between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The Christians also gained Nazareth, Sidon, Tibnin, Jaffa, and Acre. And Frederick achieved all this through diplomatic negotiations, rather than through bloodshed, a deed for which he (as here) was criticized harshly by the papal court.
13. Frederick II died suddenly at Fiorentino on December 13, 1250, of a persistent attack of dysentery. It was said that he had been warned years before that he would die *sub flore* ("under the flower"), and that, consequently, he always avoided entering the city of Florence ("flower"); thus it is perhaps fitting that he actually died in the town of Fiorentino ("little flower").
14. See notes 13 and 14, p. 677.
15. *Dicta Eritheae*. See *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 168.
16. November 22.
17. December 13.
18. Frederick II's court was, in the widest sense of the word, a cultural center of the arts and sciences. As Van Cleve writes (*The Emperor Frederick II*, p. 301), Frederick's "mere literary interests were shared by other monarchs, but Frederick's patronage of the natural sciences and mathematics, coupled with his habitual association with men distinguished by their achievements in these sciences, including many whose religions and customs differed from his own, gives him a unique position in cultural history."
19. Not a Sibyl, but from the *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 51.
20. Conradin, grandson of Frederick II and the last heir of the Hohenstaufen, was defeated by Charles of Anjou and beheaded on October 29, 1268. He was only fifteen years old at the time of his death.
21. The death of Frederick II in 1250 and the subsequent destruction of the entire Hohenstaufen line marked the end of any serious pretensions to the continuation of the Empire.

22. H-E notes that this is from *De fide orthodoxa*, IV.29. PG 94, col. 1219.

23. Post presentem miseriam,
 hoste morte devicta,
 gloriosam victoriam,
 de qua mira sunt dicta,
 summam confer letitiam,
 decoris adde gloriam,
 O dulcissima vita!

24. Scanty information has come down to us about the life of Michael Scot. It seems clear, however, that he was born some time in the last quarter of the twelfth century, and that he died in 1236. He exerted a profound influence on the scholarship and theology of the thirteenth century, especially as a result of his translations from Arabic of Aristotelian texts and commentaries, as well as numerous other Arabic works, particularly those on astronomy. In the early thirteenth century, he was favored and encouraged by both Honorius III and Gregory IX, but his true patron was Frederick II, whom he served as royal astrologer.

25. The point is lost to us, because the meaning of these words is obscure. The mangonel and trebuchet, however, were two variant types of catapults.

26. Constance's father was Roger II, not William.

27. The events noted here and in the following poem were a part of the Great Investiture Contest.

28. These stories of William and his descendants are, of course, not accurate. William II, e.g., had no sons, and Constance's father was Roger II.

29. See *Neues Archiv* 15 (1890), 176.

30. Salimbene is quite correct about the hostility between Constance and Henry VI. In 1197 there was a conspiracy among the anti-German faction in Sicily to murder Henry, and both the Empress and the Pope appear to have been parties to the plot. Warned by a traitor to the cause, Henry immediately attacked and defeated the rebels. His vengeance was severe. The pretender to the Sicilian throne had a red-hot crown placed on his head and fixed in place by iron nails driven into his skull. Other conspirators were burned at the stake, flayed alive, or smeared with tar and set ablaze. Constance was forced to watch these gruesome activities.

31. Salimbene is fond of bringing up the fact that Frederick was "nourished" by the Pope, and it is true that he was placed in the care of Innocent III, but it can hardly be said that Innocent, intent as he was on increasing the temporal power of the papacy, acted in the best interests of the child Frederick.

32. See H-E's edition in *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 175-77.

33. All of these are pseudo-Joachite works

34. See H-E's edition in *Neues Archiv*, 30 (1905), 349-77.

35. Alberigo da Romano was almost as notorious for his cruelty as his brother Ezzelino.

36. Ha, quanta miseria,
 O Deus, considera!
 Tuum est succurrere,
 tuum est occurrere!
 Vide tribulatas,
 tibi reservatas,
 tibi derelictas!

37. Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on II Corinthians*, ch. 12. PL 17, col. 329.

38. See Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, IV Regum, ch. 32. PL 198 col. 1414.

39. A folio has been cut out and lost at this point.

40. *In Evangelia*, II.35. PL 76, col. 1259.

41. Mundi prosperitas et vite brevitatem multos decipiunt,
dum volunt vivere, preventi funere cito deficiunt.
Nulla potentia, nulla prudentia prodesse poterit,
cum rerum omnium pretereuntium finis advenerit.
Quicquid est hodie laudis et glorie transit ut nebula,
non est durable quicquid mirabile ferunt hec secula.
Mundi divitias atque delicias quisquis amplectitur
vel mortis gladio vel infortunio pauper efficitur.
Cur ergo queritur quod cito perditur? Non prodest querere
quicquid interitu vel quovis exitu potest deficere.
Que transitoria nichil sunt omnia; defectus indicat:
iacet in vitiis qui transitoriis se nimis implicat.
Transeunt omnia seculi gaudia miserabiliter,
et quicquid preterit diu non poterit esse feliciter.
Quid prodest species, quid pulcra facies, quid color roseus?
Et multiplicium quid prodest vestium ornatus aureus?
Invida homini mors pulcritudini non novit parcere,
mors nescit ordinem aut celsitudinem rerum agnoscere.
Ad finem impia mors trahit omnia que sunt in seculo,
facit deformia cuncta decentia, digna spectaculo.
Mortis sevitia plenos lascivia oculos operit,
fit caro candida pallens et livida, quam vita deserit.
Venusta facies, blanda mollities, que placet nimium,
postquam subtrahitur vita qua fungitur, fit cibus vermium;
et quod amantibus fuerat omnibus magna letitia
abhorrent oculi clausum sub tumuli brevis angustia.
Forma laudabilis, iam marcescibilis, sepulchro tegitur,
pulvis in pulverem, cinis in cinerem cito redigitur.
Opes Tyberii, gloria Iulii, Marchi facundia
sunt audientibus et non videntibus veluti somnia.
Olim Virgilius vates egregius laudem promeruit,
quamvis laus hominum post vite terminum nil sibi profuit.
Nec Plato plurima scribens de anima mortem detinuit
per sapientiam, cuius notitiam veram non habuit.
Sed nec gramatica nec dialetica nec flores Tullii
quos crudierant a morte liberant huius exilii.
Oportet igitur quamdiu vivitur opus perficere
quod Deo placeat, et hic non valeat mundus consumere,
ut, cum de omnibus seculi actibus nichil supererit,
nostra sint gaudia in illa gloria que nunquam preterit. Amen.

These lines are from the famous *De contemptu mundi* (itself some 3000 lines in length) by Bernard of Morlaix. The striking feature of the poem is its remarkable metrical form: a dactylic hexameter in which both leonine and end rhyme is maintained in each line. In dedication of the poem to his superior, Bernard expresses his belief that only through divine inspiration was he able to preserve this difficult form throughout.

42. Chap. 38. PL 77, cols. 316-17.

43. Jerome, Letter 60. PL 22, cols. 601-2.
44. H-E notes that this is from *Manuale*, c. 34.
45. H-E notes that this is from Sermon 49.
46. H-E notes that this is collected in MG, Epp. I, 216, nr. 296.
47. Et intendenza cu no posso parlare.
- Not Patecchio. Rather, Ugo di Perso, 2nd answer to Patecchio, line 38. Contini, I, 593.
48. Caxton, VII, 78-82.
49. Salimbene has merged two different Bible verses: Proverbs 21.9 and 21.19. He is apparently quoting from memory.
50. H-E notes that this is from Martinus episcopus Dumiensis, *Formula honestae vitae*, IV.9.
51. *Et si non caste, tamen caute*. Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, 2nd half of the 11th century: "We have heard that most pious archbishop of ours, Adalbert, say over and over again in counseling his clerks about preserving their chastity, 'I admonish and command you,' he used to say, 'to preserve yourselves from the pestiferous bondage of women. Yet if this proves too much for you—which, after all, is a state of perfection—at least preserve yourselves from the dread bondage of marriage, in accordance with the old saw: Si non caste, tamen caute.'" MGH, SS. VII, 346.
52. H-E notes that this letter was actually sent not for the legation in 1255 but in 1267.
53. A folio has been cut out and lost at this point.
54. For the image of the nightingale as a bird of war, see J. L. Baird and J. R. Kane, *Rossignol* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1978), pp. 18-23.
55. January 24.
56. Victorem a victo superari sepe videmus.
- Cato, *Distichs*, II.10.
57. Hic virtute Dei patris ossa manent Helysei,
 que Salimbene detulit ossa bene.
58. January 24.
59. Unable to locate.
60. Unable to locate.
61. This and the following from Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Exodus, ch. 42. PL 198, col. 1167.
62. Gregory IX, *Decretals*, III, tit. 28, c. 1.
63. *Ibid.*, c. 9.
64. The following long quotation is, as Salimbene says at the end, from Bonaventure's *Sentences*, IV, dist. 17, p. 3, art. 1, q. 2.
65. *Second Rule*, chap. 9. At this point Salimbene breaks into his response to the archpriests, and then after the following two sentences picks up the thread again.
66. June 23.
67. *De consideratione*, III.v.20. PL 182, cols. 771-72. Slightly changed.
68. *In Evangelia*, I.12. PL 76, cols. 1118-19.
69. H-E notes that this is from the Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*.
70. This and the following quotation are from Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Daniel, ch. 8. PL 198, col. 1457.
71. *Homily on Ezekiel*, II.vi.6. PL 76, col. 1001.
72. Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.
 Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.

The lines are from two separate poems. The first is Walter the Englishman, *Fabulae*. Hervieux, III, 368. The second is Horace, *Epist.* I.xviii.84.

73. Odo of Ceriton, *Parabolae*, LXIII. Hervieux, IV, 289-90.
74. I.11. PL 77, col. 24.
75. H-E notes that this quotation is from Pseudo-Isidore, *De norma vivendi*, ch. 10.
76. H-E notes that this is from the Prologue to Kings.
77. Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere vitam,
hanc mensam indignam noverit esse sibi.

The story and the verse are from the *Golden Legend*. See Caxton, V, 54-55.

78. H-E notes that this is from *Expositio in Psalmum*, 71.
79. *In Evangelia*, I.12. PL 76. col. 1119.
80. Unable to locate.
81. Unable to locate.
82. Unable to locate.
83. Letter 69. PL 22, col. 662.
84. H-E notes that this is not Seneca but Martinus episcopus Dumiensis, *Formula honestae vitae*, IV.9.
85. This is all very confusing. He had said just a moment before that the treasure had been carried off.
86. *Moralia in Job*, XXI.4. PL 76, col. 190.
87. *In Evangelia*, I.13. PL 76, col. 1123.
88. H-E notes that this is from Letter 69.
89. See note 47. p. 678.
90. Song of Songs, sermon 12. PL 183, col. 832.
91. O consolatrix pauperum
Maria, tuis precibus
auge tuorum numerum
in caritate Christi!
Quos tu de mortis manibus,
per filium humilimum,
mater, eripuisti.

92. Manfred, the natural son of Frederick II, was the last Hohenstaufen King of Sicily. He was defeated by Charles of Anjou in the famous battle of Benevento in 1266.

93. Si bene successit, non prima, sed ultima spectes.
A casu describe diem, non solis ab ortu.
Sub meliore statu semper peiora caveto.

Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Poetria nova*, ll. 282-83, 287.

94. Cum fueris felix, que sunt adversa caveto
Cato, *Distichs*, I.18.
95. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.
96. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 51.
97. *Liber Figurarum*, ed. Leone Tondelli, et al. (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1954), pl. XIV.
98. H-E notes that this is from the *Commentary on Isaiah*, II.20.
99. H-E notes that this poem appears in MS Egerton 274 with slight variations.
 1. October 11.
 2. On December 12.
 3. December 29.
 4. This is the papal bull *Virtute conspicuos*, issued August 2, 1258.

5. Jonathan and David, of course, from the Old Testament. Amis and Amile, famous friends in the French romance of the same name.
6. *In Evangelia*, II.38. PL 76, col. 1286, and *Moralia in Job* XX.xxxix.75. PL 76 col. 183.
7. Necdum bella bonis, necdum certamina desunt,
 et cum quo pugnet, mens pia semper habet.

Prosper of Aquitaine, *Epigram* 96. PL 51, col. 528.

8. See note 68, p. 679.
9. H-E notes (incorrectly) that this is from Peter Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, Daniel, ch. 5.
10. *Moralia in Job* XIV.13. PL 75, col. 1048. Greatly changed.
11. Unable to locate.
12. Unable to locate.
13. H-E indicates that this is from Sermon 27.
14. The Latin reads *cibus eius electus*, "His food [is] the elect"?
15. Letter 22. PL 22, col. 396.
16. *Moralia in Job*, ch. 20. PL 76, col. 698. Slightly changed.
17. vii.9. PL 34, col. 39.
18. H-E notes that this is from Sermon 164.
19. H-E notes that this is from the *Sententiae*, II.xxxiii.5.
20. Rudolph I, King 1273-1291.
21. See note 74, p. 684.
22. This work, apparently in poetic form, has unfortunately not come down to us.
23. The flagellant movement began in Italy in the mid-thirteenth century, and spread from there into Germany and the Low Countries. Later, in 1349 Pope Clement VI condemned flagellation, a condemnation repeated by the Council of Constance (1414-1418).
24. Here Salimbene gives the full doctrine of the Three Ages.
25. Sometimes called the Jovial Friars.
26. Letter 53. PL 22, col. 549.
27. *Ibid.* PL 22, col. 542.
28. *De amicitia*, ch. 13.
29. Urban IV was Pope from 1261 to 1264.
30. Clement IV was Pope from 1265 to 1268.
31. Guelfs, that is, adherents of the Church party, as opposed to the Ghibellines, adherents of the Imperial party.
32. That is, from June 29 to September 29.
33. December 27.
34. Benevento, where Manfred was killed.
35. Not extant.
36. Peter III the Great of Aragon (1236?-1285). Since Peter had married Manfred's daughter Constance, he had legitimate pretensions to Sicily.
37. Unable to locate.
38. Cum verbis blandis et factis sepe nephandis
 amentem prudens fallere sepe solet.
39. From November 22 to November 29.
40. August 24.
41. October 18.
42. There is a blank space in the MS of about two lines at this point.
43. Frederick II established Lucera (a few miles north of Foggia) as a military colony

where he re-located the Sicilian Saracens. He allowed them to live there unmolested in their religious worship and social customs.

44. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Augustine, Sermon 220 and 257.

45. See note 74, p. 675.

46. A gap in the MS here, for there were words missing in Salimbene's source.

47. Note Charles' new title.

48. Edward I.

49. Philip III.

50. From June 29 to January 1.

51. Salimbene left a space here for the chapter number in Proverbs.

52. Gregory X was Pope from 1271 to 1276.

53. The vacancy lasted for two years, nine months and one day to the election of Gregory, and three years, three months, and twenty-eight days to his consecration.

54. Gregory IX, *Decretals*, III, tit. 36, c. 9.

55. June 24.

56. June 13.

57. Sanctus parebit et Christi scita tenebit,
angelice vite, vobis pavor, o Giezite!

58. Quarto Clementi, dum tertius annus agetur,
papa sacer genti iustorum substituetur,
ac dono Christi succedet sanctior isti,
patris de celis servus bonus atque fidelis.
Huic salvandarum zelus vehemens animarum,
et quod honoretur Deus a cunctis et ametur.
Currus et auriga Christi populis erit iste.
Nam sua non queret, sed que tua sunt, bone Christe.
Gaças terrenas spernet, discrimine plenas,
conformis Christo, mundo dum vivet in isto.
Hunc Deus ornabit et mire clarificabit,
sanctificabit, magnificabit, glorificabit.
Mundum pacabit et Ierusalem renovabit.
Fructus terra dabit, Deus orbem letificabit.
Sed prius horribile quiddam parebit in yle * :

* id est: in mundo

Clementi alius **, sacer hinc succedet et almus,

** id est: papa

cui procuratrix Theotocon, eius amatrix
et defensatrix semperque benigna ducatrix,
en circa mille bis centum septuaginta
tetraque *** : tunc ille, velut annorum quadraginta,

*** id est: IIII

sanctus parebit et Christi scita tenebit,
angelice vite, vobis pavor, o Giezite!
Christe, tuum pulcrum tunc nobis, sancte, sepulcrum
reddes subiectis, Agarenis inde reiectis.
Nunc male captivi tunc convertentur Achivi.
Cardinibus multam pones, Altissime, mulctam.
Tres Deus orantes quam sepius et vigilantes,
quod sic prestetur, clare docuisse videtur.

M. L. Delisle found another version of this poem in a MS dating from the end of the thirteenth century. See "Notice sur les manuscrits du *Liber floridus*, compose en 1120 par Lambert, chanoine de Saint-Omer," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 38 (1906), 739-40.

59. Cf. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 20.

60. As noted earlier, Reeves (*Prophecy*, 54) remarks that "no one except Salimbene and Milioli specifically connected it [the flagellant movement] with Joachimism."

61. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 51.

62. This must be the authentic Joachim, *Tractatus super Quatuor Evangelia*.

63. Innocent V's pontificate: January 21 (consecrated February 22) to June 22, 1276.

64. June 23.

65. Pope Adrian V (never consecrated) was Pope from July 11, 1276 to August 18, 1276.

66. John XXI was Pope from September 8, 1276 to May 20, 1277.

67. November 30.

68. Nicholas III was Pope from November 25, 1277 to August 22, 1280.

69. Martin IV was Pope from February 22, 1281 to March 28, 1285.

70. May 1.

71. *Sicilian Vespers* is the name given to the long war of the Sicilians against the occupying French forces of Charles of Anjou. The beginning of the war, so the story goes, resulted from a French soldier's mistreatment of a young married woman on her way to church on Easter Monday (March 30, 1282). The French soldier was struck down and the revolt arose on all sides with the cry "Death to the French" resounding through the streets. Men, women, and children of the oppressors were massacred, and the violence spread throughout the island. There were as many as three or four thousand victims. The resulting war lasted for twenty years.

72. Ratio preteriti scire futura facit.

Walter the Englishman, *Fabulae* LVII. Hervieux, II, 364.

73. April 25.

74. Cum tua maiestas, Lodoyce, que clara potestas,
urbis Verone comes inclite, sub regione
hac fuit inclusa, Libitine morsibus usa,
Aprilis quina restabat lux peregrina,
ast octogeni tres anni mille duceni.

75. Letter 153. PL 33, col. 662.

76. August 29.

77. October 3.

78. From May 21, 1279 to October 3, 1283.

79. The following letter, H-E notes, was sent out from the chancellery of Charles of Anjou.

80. December 26.

81. September 14.

82. Et Regii partes insimul mala verba tenebunt.

83. September 15.

84. I.e., *Audivistis propottam* for *Audivistis quod propositum est*.

85. Caxton, VI, 159-60.

86. Iniuriam latam sibi nunquam vindicat apte
qui ruit in peius, quo dedecoratur aperte.

87. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Seneca, in *De moribus*, 98.

88. Cf. Pseudo-Ambrose, *Commentary on II Corinthians*, 12. PL 17, col. 329.

89. *Dicta Eritheae*, in *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 168.

90. *Neues Archiv*, 15 (1890), 176.

91. See *Neues Archiv* 15 (1890), 174.

92. H-E notes that in 1284 Achmed Chan was killed by his brother Arghun Chan, who favored the Christians.

93. This is a corrupt text of an already obscure poem, and so we have not attempted a translation. See H-E (539-541) for suggested readings.

94. Mutina, quid speras, dum tecum iurgia queras?

Nil nisi te superas: vis mala ferre? Feras!

Tu te persequeris, quasi desperata teneris,
te furiosa feris, digna perire peris.

Cur, rea, te prodis, cur destruis, uris et odis?

Cur tua totque fodis viscera rupta modis?

Hic satis ac alibi poteris quasi mortua scribi.

Gens inimica sibi, Mutina, parce tibi!

Cerne tuas edes, incendia bellaque, cedes,
tu, milesque pedes, tristis ubique sedes.

Mutina, te recole, nimia iam languida mole,
et te cum prole flente perire dole!

Sit tibi, sit sedis paritas laris urbis et edis.

sit tibi! Si credis, ad bona prima redis.

Desinat armorum furor et discursus equorum,
sub strepitu quorum fit sine pace forum.

Suscipe doctrinas et quas tibi do medicinas,
et quas pono minas me posuisse sinas.

Si prece sive minis non flecteris aut medicinis,
ecce tuus finis, preda, ruina, cinis.

Gens Regina, lege qua vivit Mutina lege,
te cum pace tege, te sine parte rege!

Hec aliena vide discrimina, scisma recide,
de te confide non trepidanda fide!

Protinus istarum rerum sit cura tuarum,
exemplum quarum non tibi credo parum.

95. See note 72, p. 688.

96. A folio has been cut out and lost at this point. The text takes back up in the midst of the following prophecy (written between 1282-84 before the death of Charles of Anjou?) which Salimbene quotes.

97. This is the mythical caladrius of the bestiaries, a bird usually found, as these works tell us, in the halls of kings. The peculiar, valued property of the caladrius was its ability to predict the outcome of an illness. If, on being taken into a sickroom, the caladrius turned to face the patient, the sick person would recover; if, however, it turned its back on him, the illness was mortal.

98. August 12.

99. Contentique cibus nullo cogente creatis
arboreos fetus montanaque fraga legebant,
cornua et in duris herentia mora rubetis.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I.103-5.

1. Not XII, but XVII.x.2.
2. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.
3. December 21.
4. H-E notes that this is from the *Dialogus creaturarum*, ch. 56.
5. March 21.
6. Gratia sit Christo, grates referantur amico.
7. Song of Songs, Sermon 16. PL 183, col. 853.
8. Rosalind Brooke takes Salimbene's remark here as strong external evidence for Leo's authorship of the *Life of Giles* that has come down to us. Since Salimbene's *Chronicle* was so little known in the Middle Ages, she notes, "the attribution to Leo in the manuscripts can hardly be taken from Salimbene." See *Scripta Leonis, Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 311.
9. This is the famous Berthold of Ratisbon, whom Coulton calls "perhaps the greatest popular preacher of the 13th century."
10. August 15.
11. H-E notes that this is from Homily 5.7.
12. January 6.
13. January 7, 1285.
14. H-E corrects these figures: the first to 73 years; the second, to 1296.
15. Honorius IV was Pope from 1285 to 1287.
16. See note 72, page 688.
17. The number is missing, but in any case the folio referred to has not come down to us.
18. Unable to locate.
19. Unable to locate.
20. H-E notes that this is from Celano, *Second Life*, III.61, but we have been unable to locate.
21. Vinum de vite det nobis gaudia vite.
Si duo sunt vina, michi de meliori propina.
Non prosunt vina, nisi fiat repetitio trina.
Dum quater poto, succedunt gaudia voto.
Ad potum quintum mens vadit in laberintum.
Sexta potatio me cogit abire suppinum.
22. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.
23. H-E indicates that this is in *Vita Clarae*, Acta Sanctorum, August 11, pp. 754-58.
24. Caxton, VI, 144.
25. Celano, *First Life*, ch. 7.
26. Orosius, III.17.
27. Space was left here for the chapter number.
28. Fuge rumores, ne incipias novus auctor haberi.
Distichs, I.12.
29. Unable to locate.
30. *Vitae patrum*, V.14. PL 73, cols. 956-57.
31. *Ibid.*, III.144. PL 73, cols., 788-89.
32. Caxton, III, 77.
33. H-E notes this is from Pseudo-Isidore, *De contemptu mundi*.
34. Celano, *Second Life*, ch. 79.113 and Bonaventure, *Legenda maior*, V.5.
35. *Sermo in die paschae*. PL 183, col. 275.
36. In x finita, tria sunt animalia dira:
sunt pulices fortes, cimices culicumque cohortes,

nos cruciant penis estivo tempore sevis.
Sed pulices saltu fugiunt culicesque volatu,
et cimices pravi nequeunt fetore necari.

37. Unable to locate.
38. Arlotto of Prato was Minister General from 1284 to 1287.
39. Chapter 8. PL 77, col. 233.
40. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, c. 15.
41. August 6.
42. From August 21 to October 2.
43. *Etymologies*, III.lxxi.16-17.
44. February 5.
45. See note 9, p. 659.
46. October 4.
47. That is, from October 4 to December 13.
48. Victorem a victo superari sepe videmus.
- Cato, *Distichs*, II.10.
49. Ratio preteriti scire futura facit.
- Walter the Englishman, *Fabulae* LVII. Hervieux II, 364.
50. Philip III, son of Louis IX, reigned 1270-1285.
51. Philip IV, called The Fair, reigned 1285-1314.
52. Salimbene is quite correct about these deaths. All three men did indeed die in 1285.
- Charles of Anjou's son, called Charles the lame, was captured on June 5, 1284.
53. December 13.
54. Louis was canonized in 1297.
55. November 11.
56. H-E notes that this is from *Ad fratres in eremo*, Sermon 49.
57. On Hugh Primas, see note 19, p. 666.
58. December 7, 1254.
59. In medio lune mutatur rota fortune.
60. Horace, *Satire* I.106.
61. Coulton (p. 384, n. 2) writes about this sentence: "Salimbene had no business to know this, for by Canon Law not only were all men forbidden to play at games of hazard, but it was sinful even to abet or watch the players, especially for an ecclesiastic; and this prohibition had been recently renewed by the great Lateran Council of 1215."
62. That is, from October 14 to November 1.
63. Unable to locate.
64. February 2.
65. Salimbene himself is also believed to have died there.
66. Cf. Letter 123. PL 22, col. 1055.
67. About two folios are lost here.
68. *De epiphania Domini*, Sermon 3. PL 183, col. 150, and beginning with the words "And now, what is worse," *In conversione S. Pauli*, Sermon 1. PL 183, cols. 361-62.
69. Gratian, *Decretals*, II.c. 16, q. 7, c. 8. Quotation from Augustine.
70. H-E notes that this is Pseudo-Seneca, *De moribus*, 18.
71. Miramur iuvenes largos vetulosque tenaces,
illis cum multum, his breve restet iter.
- Not Martial, but Godefrid, *Epigram* CXLVII, ed. Thomas Wright, II, 126. Rolls Series 59.
72. Gregory, *In Evangelia*, II, Homily 35. PL 76, col. 1259.

73. Folios 475-79 have been cut out and lost.
74. The following is a fragment of a letter of 1286 from the court of King Rudolph I (1273-91).
75. Some words of the MS are illegible here.
76. June 29.
77. Qui modo non fletis, flendi dum tempus habetis,
eterno luctu lugebitis et sine fructu.
78. *Vitae patrum*, VI.iii.14. PL 73, col. 1011.
79. See note 72, p. 688.
80. Blank space left for the number.
81. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 51.
82. Not apparently from Augustine but from the *Golden Legend*.
83. Space left for the missing chapter number.
84. June 19.
85. Pseudo-Joachim, *Super Hieremiam*, ch. 13.
86. *Ibid.*, ch. 9.13.
87. July 22.
88. *In Evangelia*, I.12. PL 76, col. 1259.
89. Matthew of Aquasparta was Minister General from 1287 to 1289.
90. Here Salimbene's aristocratic leanings can be seen very clearly.
91. Et quando de sola fi tomara.
- Not Patecchio, but Ugo di Perso's 1st answer to Patecchio, 68. Contini, I, 591. It is interesting to note that Contini cites Salimbene to explicate this line.
92. In die fortune mutantur cornua lune.
93. August 13.
94. Asperius nichil est humili, cum surgit in altum.
Claudian, *In Eutropium*, I.181.
95. Et cativo homo podhestà de terra.
- Line 12. Contini, I, 585.
96. August 29.
97. A few words here impossible to read.
98. Augustine, Letter 153. PL 33, col. 662.
99. June 23.
1. The MS is damaged here, and some words are lost.
2. Dum trutannus in ir pateram tenet et sedet ad pir,
regem Capadocum credit habere cocum.
3. The MS is defective at the end.

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This first complete translation of the lively **Chronicle** of a Franciscan friar writing in 1283 constitutes a major primary source. The **Chronicle** has been called "the greatest work of Italian historiography of the thirteenth century" and "the most remarkable autobiography of the Middle Ages."

Many inherent contradictions of the age are characterized here — sanctity and cruelty, humility and intolerance, poverty and greed. Salimbene records personal experiences as well as the monkish pranks he witnesses, and provides lively impressions and anecdotes of such men as Pope Innocent IV, Bernard of Quintavalle, John of Parma, King Louis of France, and Pope Innocent III. The **Chronicle** contains details about the early development of the Franciscan Order which are available nowhere else, and is an important source for the study of Joachimism and early Franciscan biblical interpretation.

The translators have kept the conversational tone and the free-flowing sentence structure, while remaining faithful to the literal sense of the original. This volume includes a substantial introduction, abundant footnotes, a bibliography, a table of page correspondences between the two major editions, and a comprehensive index.

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